# CENSUS OF INDIA, 1901.

## *VOLUME I.*

# INDIA

## ETHNOGRAPHIC APPENDICES.

BY

H. H. RISLEY, I.C.S., C.I.E.,

OFFICER OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY,

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF BERLIN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

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# CENSUS OF INDIA, 1901.

## VOLUME I.

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# INDIA

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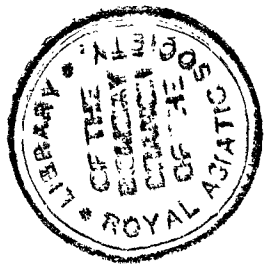
## ETHNOGRAPHIC APPENDICES.



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# CENSUS OF INDIA, 1901.

## VOLUME I.

# INDIA

## ETHNOGRAPHIC APPENDICES,

BEING THE DATA UPON WHICH THE CASTE CHAPTER OF THE REPORT IS BASED.

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This volume contains in the form of Appendices the principal data upon which the caste chapter in the first volume is based. In accordance with the order of treatment adopted in that chapter the physical evidence has been set out first. It consists of summaries of measurements and diagrammatic seriations of the individual data which serve to establish the types. The social grouping comes next, followed by a general map locating the main physical types, and a number of small maps illustrating the distribution of the more important tribes and castes. Appendix IV, which occupies the greater part of the volume, comprises a number of accounts, derived from various sources, of some typical tribes and castes of the various ethnic regions. The selection has been made with the object of covering as much ground as possible, and giving within a moderate compass yet in fairly full detail a description of some of the chief constituent elements of the population of India. Last of all are quoted at length the theories of caste by Mr. Nesfield, Sir Denzil Ibbetson, and M. Emile Senart which have been referred to in the main chapter.

H. H. RISLEY.

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Chamār and Muchi . . . . . .
Dom . . . . . .
Dosādh . . . . . .
Gond . . . . . .
Jāt . . . . . .
Gola . . . . . .
Gujar . . . . . .
Jolāha . . . . . .
Kaibartha and Kewat . . . . . .
Kāyastha . . . . . .
Koli and Kori . . . . . .
Kāpu . . . . . .
Koiri and Kachhi . . . . . .
Kumhār . . . . . .
Kurmi . . . . . .
Mahār . . . . . .
Marātha . . . . . .
Lodha . . . . . .
Mal . . . . . .
Meo . . . . . .
Namasudra and Pod . . . . . .
Palli . . . . . .
Pāsi . . . . . .
Nāyar . . . . . .
Parāiyan . . . . . .
Pathan . . . . . .
Rājbansi Koch . . . . . .
Saiad . . . . . .
Teli and Tili . . . . . .
Rājput and Khatri . . . . . .
Santāl . . . . . .
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# APPENDIX I.

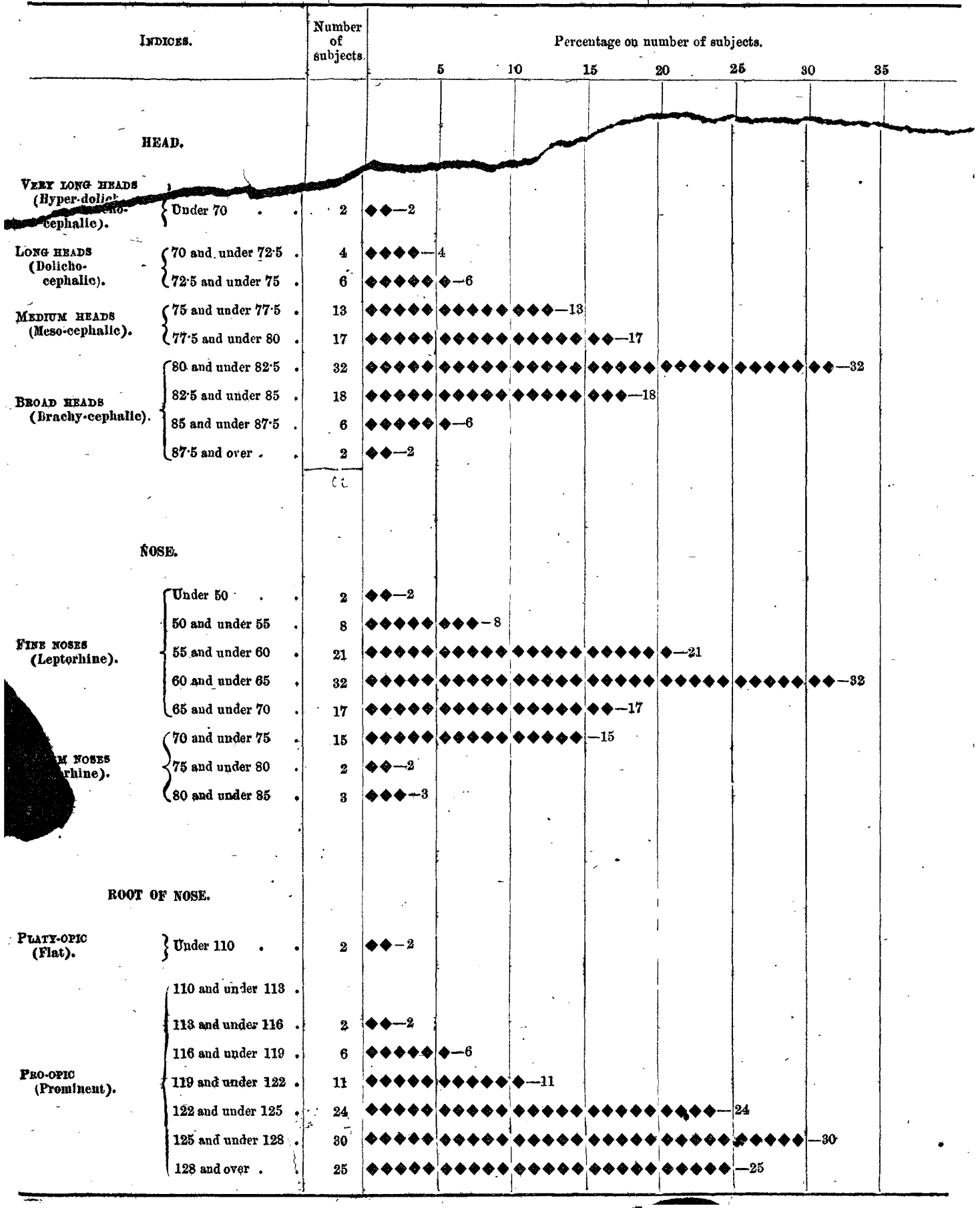
## Anthropometric Data.

# SERIATIONS.

## Turko-Iranian Type.

### Type Specimen: JAT.

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.) | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.) | | RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. (Orbito-Nasal Index.) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 79·8 | Average | 63·1 | Average | 125·0 |
| Maximum | 92 | Maximum | 84 | Maximum | 143 |
| Minimum | 70 | Minimum | 42 | Minimum | 104 |
| Range | 22 | Range | 42 | Range | 39 |


Indices.
Number of subjects.
Percentage on number of subjects.
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
HEAD.
Very long heads (Hyper-dolicho-cephalic).
Under 70 . . 2 ◆◆—2
Long heads (Dolicho-cephalic).
70 and under 72·5 . 4 ◆◆◆◆—4
72·5 and under 75 . 6 ◆◆◆◆◆◆—6
Medium heads (Meso-cephalic).
75 and under 77·5 . 13 ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—13
77·5 and under 80 . 17 ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—17
Broad heads (Brachy-cephalic).
80 and under 82·5 . 32 ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—32
82·5 and under 85 . 18 ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—18
85 and under 87·5 . 6 ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—6
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NOSE.
Fine noses (Leptorhine).
Under 50 . 2 ◆◆—2
50 and under 55 . 8 ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—8
55 and under 60 . 21 ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—21
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70 and under 75 . 15 ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ —15
75 and under 80 . 2 ◆◆—2
80 and under 85 . 3 ◆◆◆—3
ROOT OF NOSE.
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Under 110 . . 2 ◆◆—2
110 and under 113 .
113 and under 116 . 2 ◆◆—2
116 and under 119 . 6 ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—6
Pro-opic (Prominent).
119 and under 122 . 11 ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—11
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# SERIATIONS.

## Turko-Iranian Type.

**Type Specimen: BALOCH.**

***Consisting of Marri, Bugti and Rind, etc., from the country round Sibi.***

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.) | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.) | | RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. (Orbito-Nasal Index.) | | STATURE. | C.M. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 80·4 | Average | 72·5 | Average | 118·4 | Average | 167·8 |
| Maximum | 90 | Maximum | 94 | Maximum | 128 | Maximum | 185·0 |
| Minimum | 70 | Minimum | 57 | Minimum | 111 | Minimum | 150·6 |
| Range | 20 | Range | 37 | Range | 17 | Range | 34·4 |

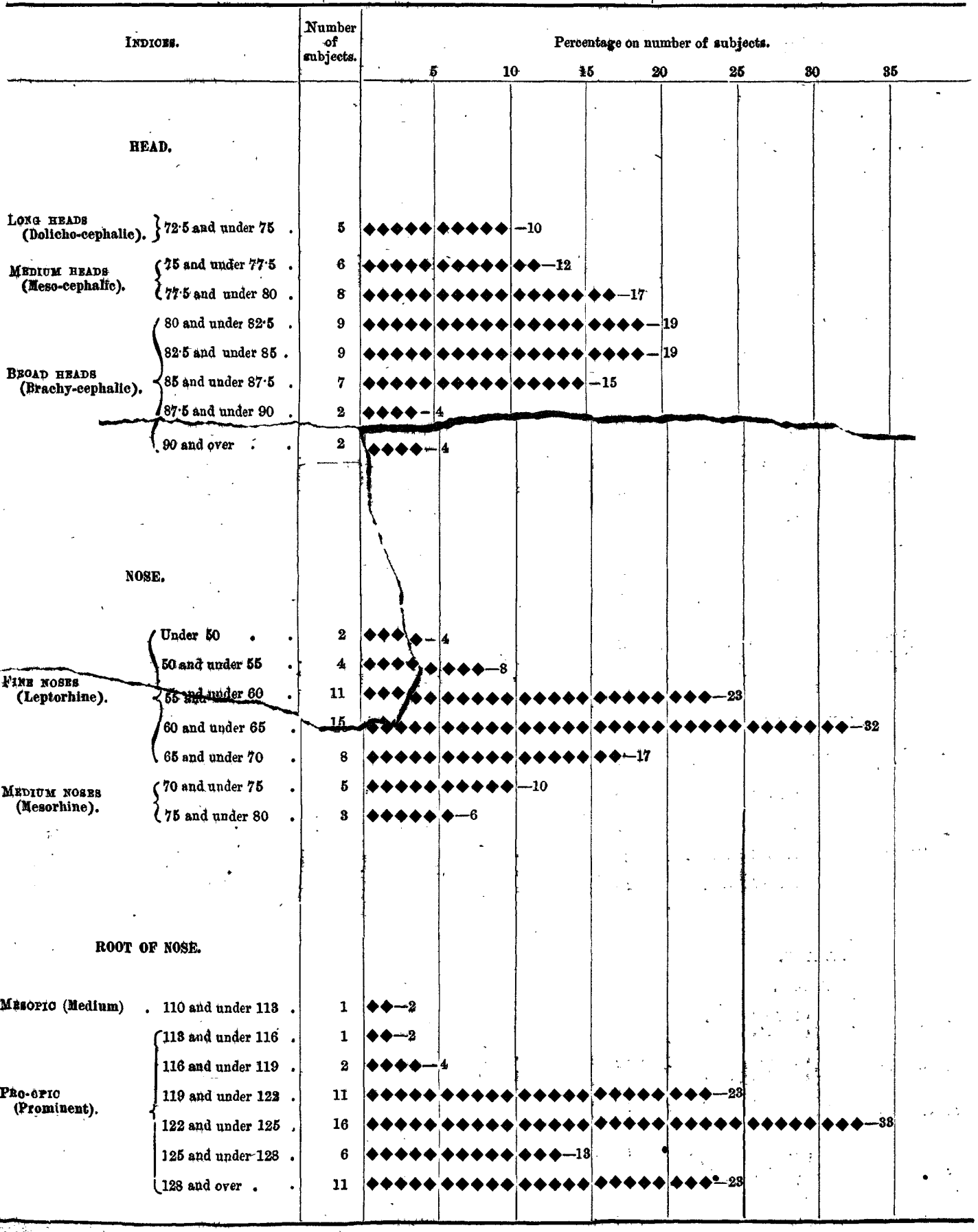
| Indices. | | Number of subjects. | Percentage on number of subjects. (5 10 15 20 25 30 35) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **HEAD.** | | | |
| Long heads (Dolicho-cephalic). | 70 and under 72·5 | 4 | ◆—1 |
| | 72·5 and under 75 | 12 | ◆◆◆◆—4 |
| Medium heads (Meso-cephalic). | 75 and under 77·5 | 38 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆—14 |
| | 77·5 and under 80 | 62 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—23 |
| Broad heads (Brachy-cephalic). | 80 and under 82·5 | 70 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—26 |
| | 82·5 and under 85 | 59 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—22 |
| | 85 and under 87·5 | 21 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—8 |
| | 87·5 and under 90 | 5 | ◆◆—2 |
| **NOSE.** | | | |
| Fine noses (Leptorhine). | Under 60 | 5 | ◆◆—2 |
| | 60 and under 65 | 41 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆—15 |
| | 65 and under 70 | 57 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—21 |
| Medium noses (Mesorhine). | 70 and under 75 | 76 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—28 |
| | 75 and under 80 | 58 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—21 |
| | 80 and under 85 | 23 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆—9 |
| Broad noses (Platyrhine). | 85 and over | 11 | ◆◆◆◆—4 |
| **ROOT OF NOSE.** | | | |
| Mesopic (Medium). | 110 and under 113 | 12 | ◆◆◆◆◆—5 |
| Hyperopic (Prominent). | 113 and under 116 | 56 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—21 |
| | 116 and under 119 | 93 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆—34 |
| | 119 and under 122 | 74 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—27 |
| | 122 and over | 86 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—13 |
| **STATURE.** | | | |
| | **Centimetres.** | | |
| Short | Under 160 (5′ 3″) | 29 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—11 |
| Below mean | 160 and under 165 (5′ 3″–5′ 5″) | 50 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—18 |
| Above mean | 165 and under 170 (5′ 5″–5′ 7″) | 94 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆—35 |
| Tall | 170 and under 175 (5′ 7″–5′ 9″) | 64 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆—24 |
| | 175 and over (5′ 9″) | 34 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—12 |

# SERIATIONS.

## Turko-Iranian Type.

Type Specimen: MIR JATS.

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.) | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.) | | RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. (Orbito-Nasal Index.) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 81·2 | Average | 61·7 | Average | 124·6 |
| Maximum | 96 | Maximum | 75 | Maximum | 137 |
| Minimum | 73 | Minimum | 40 | Minimum | 111 |
| Range | 23 | Range | 35 | Range | 26 |


INDICES.
Number of subjects.
Percentage on number of subjects.
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
HEAD.
LONG HEADS (Dolicho-cephalic).
72·5 and under 75 . 5 —10
MEDIUM HEADS (Meso-cephalic).
75 and under 77·5 . 6 —12
77·5 and under 80 . 8 —17
BROAD HEADS (Brachy-cephalic).
80 and under 82·5 . 9 —19
82·5 and under 85 . 9 —19
85 and under 87·5 . 7 —15
87·5 and under 90 . 2 —4
90 and over . 2 —4
NOSE.
FINE NOSES (Leptorhine).
Under 50 . 2 —4
50 and under 55 . 4 —8
55 and under 60 . 11 —23
60 and under 65 . 15 —32
65 and under 70 . 8 —17
MEDIUM NOSES (Mesorhine).
70 and under 75 . 5 —10
75 and under 80 . 3 —6
ROOT OF NOSE.
MESOPIC (Medium)
110 and under 113 . 1 —2
PRO-OPIC (Prominent).
113 and under 116 . 1 —2
116 and under 119 . 2 —4
119 and under 122 . 11 —23
122 and under 125 . 16 —33
125 and under 128 . 6 —13
128 and over . 11 —23

# SERIATIONS.

## Turko-Iranian Type.

### Type Specimen: DEHWĀR.

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.) | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.) | | RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. (Orbito-Nasal Index.) | | STATURE. | C.M. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 81·7 | Average | 74·3 | Average | 118 | Average | 164·2 |
| Maximum | 91 | Maximum | 98 | Maximum | 130 | Maximum | 180·8 |
| Minimum | 72 | Minimum | 60 | Minimum | 109 | Minimum | 148·8 |
| Range | 19 | Range | 38 | Range | 21 | Range | 32 |

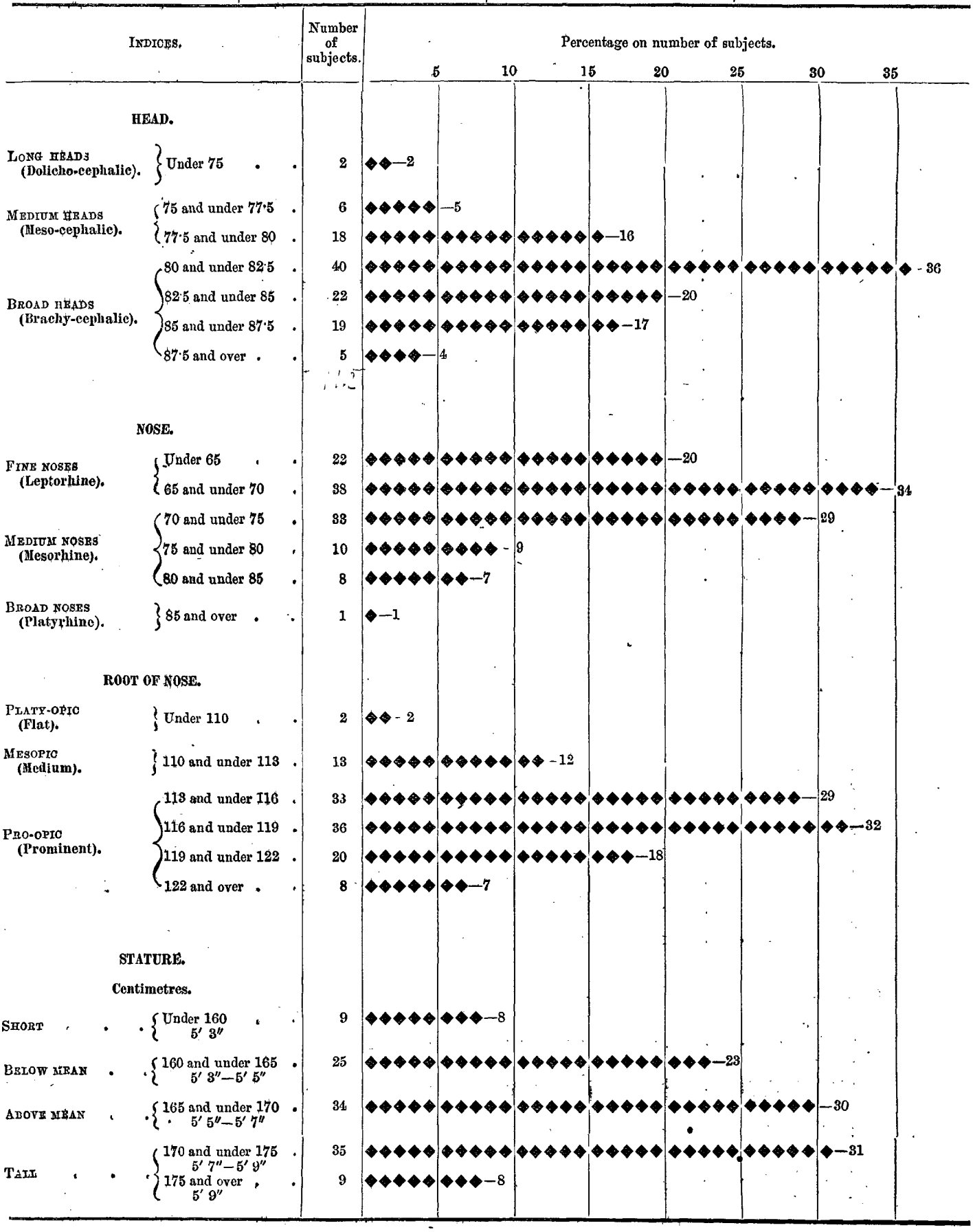
| INDICES. | | Number of subjects. | Percentage on number of subjects. (5 10 15 20 25 30 35) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **HEAD.** | | | |
| LONG HEADS (Dolicho-cephalic). | Under 75 | 8 | ◆◆◆◆—4 |
| MEDIUM HEADS (Meso-cephalic). | 75 and under 77·5 | 22 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—11 |
| | 77·5 and under 80 | 30 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ —15 |
| BROAD HEADS (Brachy-cephalic). | 80 and under 82·5 | 50 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ —25 |
| | 82·5 and under 85 | 54 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—27 |
| | 85 and under 87·5 | 26 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—13 |
| | 87·5 and under 90 | 8 | ◆◆◆◆—4 |
| | 90 and over | 2 | ◆—1 |
| **NOSE.** | | | |
| FINE NOSES (Leptorhine). | Under 65 | 22 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—11 |
| | 65 and under 70 | 32 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—16 |
| MEDIUM NOSES (Mesorhine). | 70 and under 75 | 50 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ —25 |
| | 75 and under 80 | 44 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—22 |
| | 80 and under 85 | 40 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ —20 |
| BROAD NOSES (Platyrhine). | 85 and over | 12 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—6 |
| **ROOT OF NOSE.** | | | |
| PLATY-OPIC (Flat). | Under 110 | 2 | ◆—1 |
| MESOPIC (Medium). | 110 and under 113 | 16 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—8 |
| PRO-OPIC (Prominent). | 113 and under 116 | 36 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—18 |
| | 116 and under 119 | 70 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ —35 |
| | 119 and under 122 | 56 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—28 |
| | 122 and over | 20 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ —10 |
| **STATURE.** | | | |
| | Centimetres. | | |
| SHORT | Under 160 (5′ 3″) | 34 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—17 |
| BELOW MEAN | 160 and under 165 (5′ 3″—5′ 5″) | 76 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—38 |
| ABOVE MEAN | 165 and under 170 (5′ 5″—5′ 7″) | 62 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—31 |
| TALL | 170 and over (5′ 7″) | 28 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆—14 |

# SERIATIONS.

## Turko-Iranian Type.

### Type Specimen : KĀKAR.

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.) | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.) | | RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. (Orbito-Nasal Index.) | | STATURE. | C.M. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 81·9 | Average | 69·6 | Average | 116·6 | Average | 168·3 |
| Maximum | 90 | Maximum | 88 | Maximum | 124 | Maximum | 188·2 |
| Minimum | 74 | Minimum | 60 | Minimum | 107 | Minimum | 157·0 |
| Range | 16 | Range | 28 | Range | 17 | Range | 31·2 |


INDICES.
Number of subjects.
Percentage on number of subjects.
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
HEAD.
LONG HEADS (Dolicho-cephalic).
Under 75 . . 2 —2
MEDIUM HEADS (Meso-cephalic).
75 and under 77·5 . 6 —5
77·5 and under 80 . 18 —16
BROAD HEADS (Brachy-cephalic).
80 and under 82·5 . 40 —36
82·5 and under 85 . 22 —20
85 and under 87·5 . 19 —17
87·5 and over . . 5 —4
NOSE.
FINE NOSES (Leptorhine).
Under 65 . . 22 —20
65 and under 70 . 38 —34
MEDIUM NOSES (Mesorhine).
70 and under 75 . 33 —29
75 and under 80 . 10 —9
80 and under 85 . 8 —7
BROAD NOSES (Platyrhine).
85 and over . . 1 —1
ROOT OF NOSE.
PLATY-OPIC (Flat).
Under 110 . . 2 —2
MESOPIC (Medium).
110 and under 113 . 13 —12
PRO-OPIC (Prominent).
113 and under 116 . 33 —29
116 and under 119 . 36 —32
119 and under 122 . 20 —18
122 and over . . 8 —7
STATURE.
Centimetres.
SHORT
Under 160 (5′ 3″) 9 —8
BELOW MEAN
160 and under 165 (5′ 3″—5′ 5″) 25 —23
ABOVE MEAN
165 and under 170 (5′ 5″—5′ 7″) 34 —30
TALL
170 and under 175 (5′ 7″—5′ 9″) 35 —31
175 and over (5′ 9″) 9 —8

# SERIATIONS.

## Turko-Iranian Type.

### Type Specimen: MED.

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.) | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.) | | RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. (Orbito-Nasal Index.) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 82·0 | Average | 68·1 | Average | 127·3 |
| Maximum | 92 | Maximum | 92 | Maximum | 140 |
| Minimum | 72 | Minimum | 53 | Minimum | 113 |
| Range | 20 | Range | 39 | Range | 27 |

| INDICES. | | Number of subjects. | Percentage on number of subjects. (5 10 15 20 25 30 35) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **HEAD.** | | | |
| LONG HEADS (Dolicho-cephalic). | 70 and under 72·5 | 1 | ◆–1 |
| | 72·5 and under 75 | 1 | ◆—1 |
| MEDIUM HEADS (Meso-cephalic). | 75 and under 77·5 | 5 | ◆◆◆◆◆◆– 6 |
| | 77·5 and under 80 | 13 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—16 |
| BROAD HEADS (Brachy-cephalic). | 80 and under 82·5 | 25 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆ – 32 |
| | 82·5 and under 85 | 18 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆ – 23 |
| | 85 and under 87·5 | 10 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆ – 13 |
| | 87·5 and over | 6 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆ – 8 |
| | | 79 | |
| **NOSE.** | | | |
| FINE NOSES (Leptorhine). | 50 and under 55 | 6 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆ – 7 |
| | 55 and under 60 | 3 | ◆◆◆◆ – 4 |
| | 60 and under 65 | 11 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆ – 14 |
| | 65 and under 70 | 24 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ – 30 |
| MEDIUM NOSES (Mesorhine). | 70 and under 75 | 19 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆ – 24 |
| | 75 and under 80 | 12 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ – 15 |
| | 80 and under 85 | 2 | ◆◆◆ – 3 |
| BROAD NOSES (Platyrhine). | 85 and over | 2 | ◆◆◆ – 3 |
| **ROOT OF NOSE.** | | | |
| MESOPHIC (Medium). | 110 and under 113 | 1 | ◆◆ – 2 |
| PRO-OPIC (Prominent) | 113 and under 116 | | |
| | 116 and under 119 | 1 | ◆◆ — 2 |
| | 119 and under 122 | 8 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆ – 14 |
| | 122 and under 125 | 8 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆ – 14 |
| | 125 and under 128 | 14 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ – 25 |
| | 128 and under 131 | 10 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆ – 17 |
| | 131 and under 134 | 9 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆ – 16 |
| | 134 and under 137 | 4 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆ – 7 |
| | 137 and over | 2 | ◆◆◆ – 3 |

# SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS.

## Turko-Iranian Type.

**WESTERN PUNJAB, NORTH-WESTERN FRONTIER PROVINCE AND BALUCHISTAN. (In order of Cephalic index.)**

| Number of subjects. | Names of Tribes or Castes. | Language or Dialect. | Locality. | DIMENSIONS OF HEAD. Length (Glabello-occipital). Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Breadth (Extreme). Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. Cephalic Index. Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | DIMENSIONS OF NOSE. Height. Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Breadth. Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. Nasal Index. Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | STATURE. Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. Average Dimensions. External orbital breadth (average). | Bi-orbito nasal arc (average). | Orbito-Nasal Index. Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | **WESTERN PUNJAB & N.-W. F. PROVINCE.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | Nāgar | Burusharki | Nāgar | 190·7 | 198 | 180 | 143·8 | 151 | 142 | 75·4 | 79 | 72 | 58·4 | 64 | 52 | 37·0 | 40 | 35 | 63·3 | 69 | 55 | 1648 | 1690 | 1606 | 103·9 | 116·8 | 113·3 | 124 | 108 |
| 80 | Pathān | Western Punjābi | North-Western Punjab. | 185·2 | 203 | 165 | 141·7 | 152 | 133 | 76·5 | 87 | 69 | 50·0 | 59 | 45 | 34·2 | 40 | 30 | 68·4 | 80 | 56 | 1687 | 1866 | 1562 | 115·9 | 135·9 | 117·1 | 131 | 108 |
| 6 | Kāfir | Ashkun | Kāfirstan | 194·6 | 199 | 191 | 149·6 | 160 | 143 | 76·9 | 82 | 73 | 54·1 | 58 | 52 | 37·3 | 39 | 36 | 68·9 | 72 | 64 | 1671 | 1738 | 1560 | 107·0 | 124·3 | 116·1 | 118 | 113 |
| 9 | Hunza | Burusharki | Hunza | 192·8 | 200 | 181 | 152·0 | 165 | 144 | 78·8 | 84 | 76 | 53·2 | 62 | 50 | 38·5 | 40 | 37 | 72·3 | 78 | 65 | 1708 | 1800 | 1648 | 109·0 | 123·7 | 113·4 | 119 | 109 |
| 60 | Baloch (mixed) | Western Punjābi | Western Punjab | 179·2 | 197 | 155 | 143·5 | 152 | 133 | 80·0 | 95 | 72 | 49·4 | 58 | 45 | 34·3 | 40 | 30 | 69·4 | 87 | 57 | 1662 | 1803 | 1524 | 113·8 | 134·2 | 117·9 | 129 | 110 |
| 200 | Hazārā | Persian | Afghānistan | 179·6 | 202 | 160 | 152·8 | 168 | 140 | 85·0 | 99 | 74 | 46·3 | 56 | 37 | 37·3 | 45 | 31 | 80·5 | 111 | 63 | 1684 | 1806 | 1525 | 114·0 | 126·8 | 111·2 | 120 | 103 |
| | | | | **BALUCHISTAN.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 58* | Lori | Brāhui and Gypsy (Mōkāki). | Quetta and Saruna. | 177·6 | 192 | 158 | 139·5 | 152 | 130 | 78·5 | 90 | 71 | 56·4 | 66 | 44 | 35·1 | 44 | 26 | 62·2 | 85 | 48 | ... | ... | ... | 98·7 | 119·5 | 121·0 | 133 | 105 |
| 100* | Makhiāni (Pathān) | Pashtō | Harnai, Thal Chotiali. | 181·0 | 200 | 163 | 142·1 | 159 | 130 | 78·5 | 87 | 65 | 57·4 | 64 | 46 | 34·0 | 43 | 29 | 59·2 | 78 | 48 | ... | ... | ... | 99·3 | 124·0 | 124·8 | 134 | 113 |
| 59* | Wanechi (Pathān) | Do. | Bābīhān, Thal Chotiali. | 178·1 | 195 | 161 | 141·2 | 155 | 126 | 79·2 | 89 | 70 | 56·9 | 66 | 48 | 33·7 | 45 | 28 | 59·2 | 87 | 47 | ... | ... | ... | 99·2 | 121·8 | 122·7 | 133 | 114 |
| 76* | Dehwār | Dehwāri | Mastung | 179·4 | 200 | 165 | 142·2 | 155 | 130 | 79·2 | 88 | 68 | 54·9 | 68 | 45 | 34·1 | 40 | 28 | 62·1 | 80 | 47 | ... | ... | ... | 98·3 | 119·2 | 121·2 | 133 | 107 |
| 100* | Jat | Jadgāli | Sibi | 177·8 | 196 | 160 | 141·9 | 155 | 130 | 79·8 | 92 | 70 | 56·1 | 64 | 44 | 35·4 | 46 | 25 | 63·1 | 84 | 42 | ... | ... | ... | 98·0 | 122·5 | 125·0 | 143 | 104 |
| 100 | Pani (Pathān) | Pashtō | Do. | 183·9 | 198 | 168 | 147·4 | 158 | 139 | 80·1 | 90 | 75 | 50·9 | 58 | 43 | 37·2 | 43 | 32 | 73·0 | 90 | 55 | 1677 | 1852 | 1560 | 112·0 | 132·0 | 117·8 | 126 | 111 |
| 271 | Balōch | Balōchi | Marri and Bugti Hills and Kacchi. | 181·8 | 205 | 161 | 146·2 | 159 | 131 | 80·4 | 90 | 70 | 52·4 | 61 | 45 | 38·0 | 46 | 32 | 72·5 | 94 | 57 | 1678 | 1850 | 1506 | 112·8 | 133·6 | 118·4 | 128 | 111 |
| 24* | Dehwārs | Dehwārī | Kalāt | 178·5 | 183 | 168 | 144·4 | 160 | 133 | 80·8 | 88 | 73 | 59·5 | 70 | 53 | 34·7 | 40 | 30 | 58·3 | 67 | 48 | ... | ... | ... | 100·0 | 122·2 | 122·2 | 133 | 113 |
| 100 | Achakzāi (Pathān) | Pashtō | Chaman, Quetta-Pishin, | 187·7 | 210 | 175 | 152·4 | 171 | 140 | 81·1 | 91 | 74 | 55·3 | 63 | 48 | 37·8 | 47 | 31 | 68·3 | 90 | 55 | 1722 | 1862 | 1602 | 116·4 | 136·4 | 117·1 | 125 | 111 |
| 48* | Mir Jats | Jatki | Sibi | 180·1 | 200 | 162 | 146·4 | 158 | 135 | 81·2 | 96 | 73 | 57·3 | 86 | 48 | 35·4 | 45 | 30 | 61·7 | 75 | 40 | ... | ... | ... | 99·6 | 124·2 | 124·6 | 137 | 111 |
| 198 | Brāhui | Brāhui | Sarawán Country | 182·0 | 197 | 166 | 148·4 | 165 | 135 | 81·5 | 92 | 72 | 51·3 | 65 | 41 | 36·4 | 45 | 30 | 70·9 | 98 | 55 | 1659 | 1794 | 1526 | 110·9 | 130·9 | 118·0 | 128 | 110 |
| 200 | Dēhwār | Dēhwāri | Mastung | 179·4 | 198 | 165 | 146·6 | 159 | 131 | 81·7 | 91 | 72 | 48·4 | 59 | 42 | 36·0 | 45 | 30 | 74·3 | 98 | 60 | 1642 | 1808 | 1488 | 107·6 | 127·0 | 118·0 | 130 | 109 |
| 112 | Kākar (Pathān) | Pashtō | Quetta and Zhob | 184·7 | 202 | 170 | 151·4 | 169 | 140 | 81·9 | 90 | 74 | 53·4 | 61 | 46 | 37·2 | 44 | 32 | 69·6 | 88 | 60 | 1683 | 1882 | 1570 | 114·9 | 134·0 | 116·6 | 124 | 107 |
| 79* | Med | Makrāni Balochi | Pāsni, Gwadur, Chābār, and Ormāra. | 181·4 | 200 | 170 | 148·9 | 160 | 136 | 82·0 | 92 | 72 | 55·9 | 68 | 44 | 38·1 | 46 | 30 | 68·1 | 92 | 53 | ... | ... | ... | 117·3 | 149·4 | 127·3 | 140 | 113 |
| 77* | Mengal (Brāhui) | Brāhui | Saruna | 179·5 | 190 | 161 | 148·7 | 162 | 130 | 82·8 | 93 | 70 | 57·8 | 68 | 41 | 34·4 | 43 | 30 | 59·5 | 83 | 50 | ... | ... | ... | 108·0 | 130·3 | 120·6 | 135 | 103 |
| 100 | Tārin (Pathān) | Pashtō | Pishin | 182·1 | 199 | 165 | 150·9 | 170 | 138 | 82·8 | 93 | 74 | 54·1 | 62 | 45 | 36·7 | 49 | 30 | 67·8 | 86 | 54 | 1683 | 1928 | 1533 | 114·7 | 133·6 | 116·4 | 127 | 111 |
| 13 | Ghulām (Slaves) | Balōchi | Baluchistan | 179·0 | 188 | 170 | 150·2 | 159 | 141 | 83·9 | 88 | 75 | 51·2 | 56 | 46 | 39·3 | 46 | 35 | 76·7 | 92 | 66 | 1642 | 1706 | 1526 | 109·3 | 126·6 | 115·8 | 123 | 110 |
| 33* | Chhutta | Jadgāli | Hinidān, Levy Tracts. | 176·1 | 190 | 162 | 150·2 | 162 | 140 | 85·2 | 95 | 80 | 60·0 | 70 | 50 | 35·2 | 40 | 30 | 58·6 | 71 | 50 | ... | ... | ... | 111·2 | 138·3 | 124·3 | 134 | 111 |
| 35* | Bandija | Do. | Kīla do. | 174·6 | 190 | 162 | 152·0 | 162 | 144 | 87·0 | 94 | 81 | 59·4 | 70 | 54 | 35·0 | 42 | 28 | 58·9 | 71 | 47 | ... | ... | ... | 115·1 | 141·2 | 122·6 | 139 | 110 |

* Mr. B. A. Gupte, F.Z.S.

# SERIATIONS.

## Indo-Aryan Type.

### Type Specimen : RĀJPUT.

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.) | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.) | | RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. (Orbito-Nasal Index.) | | STATURE. | C. M. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 72·4 | Average | 71·6 | Average | 117·9 | Average | 174·8 |
| Maximum | 81 | Maximum | 91 | Maximum | 129 | Maximum | 192·4 |
| Minimum | 64 | Minimum | 53 | Minimum | 107 | Minimum | 165·4 |
| Range | 17 | Range | 38 | Range | 22 | Range | 27 |

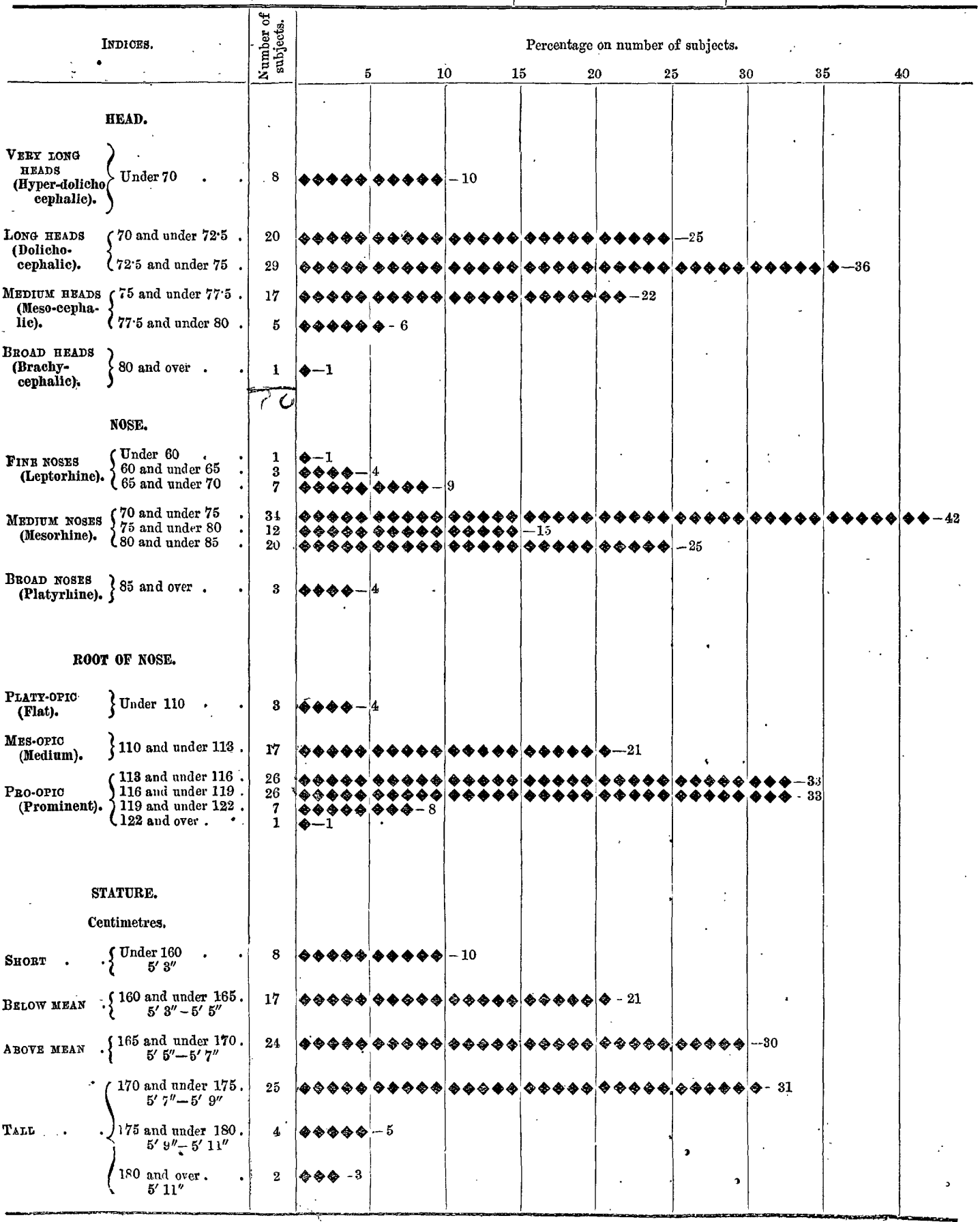
| Indices. | | Number of subjects. | Percentage on number of subjects. (5 10 15 20 25 30 35) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **HEAD.** | | | |
| Very long heads (Hyper-dolicho-cephalic). | Under 70 | 71 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—17 |
| Long heads (Dolicho-cephalic). | 70 and under 72·5 | 151 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—36 |
| | 72·5 and under 75 | 108 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—26 |
| Medium heads Meso-cephalic). | 75 and under 77·5 | 65 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ —15 |
| | 77·5 and under 80. | 19 | ◆◆◆◆◆ —5 |
| Broad heads (Brachy-cephalic). | 80 and over | 6 | ◆—1 |
| **NOSE.** | | | |
| Fine noses (Leptorhine). | Under 60 | 11 | ◆◆◆—3 |
| | 60 and under 65 | 39 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆—9 |
| | 65 and under 70 | 98 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—23 |
| Medium noses (Mesorhine). | 70 and under 75 | 136 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—32 |
| | 75 and under 80 | 79 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆—19 |
| | 80 and under 85 | 44 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—11 |
| Broad noses (Platyrhine). | 85 and over | 13 | ◆◆◆—3 |
| **ROOT OF NOSE.** | | | |
| Platy-opic (Flat). | Under 110 | 2 | ◆—1 |
| Mes-opic (Medium). | 110 and under 113 | 26 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—6 |
| Pro-opic (Prominent). | 113 and under 116 | 90 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—22 |
| | 116 and under 119 | 144 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆—34 |
| | 119 and under 122 | 102 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆—24 |
| | 122 and over | 56 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—13 |
| **STATURE.** Centimetres. | | | |
| Above mean. | 165 and under 170 5′ 5″—5′ 7″ | 58 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆—14 |
| Tall. | 170 and under 175 5′ 7″—5′ 9″ | 159 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆— 38 |
| | 175 and under 180 5′ 9″—5′ 11″ | 156 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆— 37 |
| | 180 and over, 5′ 11″ and over. | 47 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—11 |

# SERIATIONS.

## Indo-Aryan Type.

### Type Specimen: CHUHRA.

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.) | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.) | | RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. (Orbito-Nasal Index.) | | STATURE. | C. M. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 73·4 | Average | 75·2 | Average | 115·3 | Average | 166·6 |
| Maximum | 82 | Maximum | 94 | Maximum | 123 | Maximum | 180·3 |
| Minimum | 68 | Minimum | 60 | Minimum | 108 | Minimum | 152·4 |
| Range | 14 | Range | 34 | Range | 15 | Range | 27·9 |


INDICES.
Number of subjects.
Percentage on number of subjects.
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
HEAD.
VERY LONG HEADS (Hyper-dolichocephalic). Under 70 . . 8 —10
LONG HEADS (Dolichocephalic). 70 and under 72·5 . 20 —25
72·5 and under 75 . 29 —36
MEDIUM HEADS (Meso-cephalic). 75 and under 77·5 . 17 —22
77·5 and under 80 . 5 - 6
BROAD HEADS (Brachycephalic). 80 and over . . 1 —1
NOSE.
FINE NOSES (Leptorhine). Under 60 . . 1 —1
60 and under 65 . 3 —4
65 and under 70 . 7 —9
MEDIUM NOSES (Mesorhine). 70 and under 75 . 34 —42
75 and under 80 . 12 —15
80 and under 85 . 20 —25
BROAD NOSES (Platyrhine). 85 and over . . 3 —4
ROOT OF NOSE.
PLATY-OPIC (Flat). Under 110 . . 3 —4
MES-OPIC (Medium). 110 and under 113 . 17 —21
PRO-OPIC (Prominent). 113 and under 116 . 26 —33
116 and under 119 . 26 - 33
119 and under 122 . 7 —8
122 and over . . 1 —1
STATURE.
Centimetres.
SHORT . Under 160 / 5′ 3″ . . 8 —10
BELOW MEAN 160 and under 165 / 5′ 3″–5′ 5″ . 17 - 21
ABOVE MEAN 165 and under 170 / 5′ 5″–5′ 7″ . 24 —30
TALL . 170 and under 175 / 5′ 7″–5′ 9″ . 25 - 31
175 and under 180 / 5′ 9″–5′ 11″ . 4 —5
180 and over / 5′ 11″ . . 2 —3

# SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS.

## Indo-Aryan Type.

### PUNJAB AND RĀJPUTĀNĀ. (In order of Cephalic Index.)

| Number of subjects. | Name of Tribe or Caste. | Language or Dialect. | Locality. | Dimensions of Head. | | | | | | Proportions of Head. | | | Dimensions of Nose. | | | | | | Proportions of Nose. | | | Stature. | | | Relative Prominence of Root of Nose. | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Length (Glabello-occipital). | | | Breadth (Extreme). | | | Cephalic Index. | | | Height. | | | Breadth. | | | Nasal Index. | | | | | | External orbital breadth (Average). | Bi-orbito nasal arc (Average). | Orbito-Nasal Index. | | |
| | | | | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | | | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. |
| 19 | Māchhi . . | Panjābī . | Punjab . | 188·4 | 196 | 182 | 136·3 | 147 | 127 | 72·3 | 76 | 68 | 49·8 | 53 | 46 | 34·9 | 41 | 31 | 70·0 | 82 | 62 | 1699 | 1823 | 1600 | 112·1 | 131·0 | 116·8 | 125 | 110 |
| 120 | Rājput . . | Rājasthāni . | Rājputāna . | 192·5 | 213 | 180 | 139·4 | 151 | 127 | 72·4 | 81 | 64 | 51·2 | 61 | 43 | 36·7 | 44 | 31 | 71·6 | 91 | 53 | 1748 | 1924 | 1654 | 108·5 | 128·0 | 117·9 | 129 | 107 |
| 13 | Gujar . . | Panjābī . | Punjab . | 192·6 | 205 | 185 | 139·6 | 148 | 133 | 72·4 | 78 | 68 | 50·3 | 55 | 47 | 33·7 | 39 | 31 | 66·9 | 78 | 60 | 1703 | 1778 | 1650 | 112·7 | 130·6 | 115·8 | 123 | 111 |
| 27 | Arora . . | Ditto . | Ditto . | 190·7 | 206 | 177 | 138·6 | 149 | 130 | 72·6 | 81 | 67 | 49·7 | 54 | 47 | 35·4 | 42 | 30 | 71·2 | 81 | 60 | 1658 | 1803 | 1574 | 111·5 | 129·5 | 116·1 | 121 | 110 |
| 80 | Sikh (Jat) . | Ditto . | Ditto . | 190·2 | 203 | 172 | 138·4 | 152 | 127 | 72·7 | 81 | 66 | 50·1 | 61 | 45 | 34·5 | 41 | 30 | 68·8 | 85 | 56 | 1716 | 1905 | 1625 | 113·6 | 132·5 | 116·6 | 125 | 110 |
| 100 | Meo . . . | Rājasthāni . | Rājputāna . | 189·5 | 204 | 178 | 138·4 | 147 | 126 | 73·0 | 81 | 67 | 50·4 | 60 | 43 | 38·1 | 46 | 32 | 75·5 | 92 | 59 | 1690 | 1852 | 1536 | 106·4 | 121·2 | 113·9 | 123 | 107 |
| 100 | Mina Jemindār . | Ditto . | Ditto . | 192·4 | 207 | 174 | 140·6 | 155 | 132 | 73·0 | 83 | 67 | 51·2 | 59 | 41 | 38·1 | 44 | 32 | 74·4 | 91 | 61 | 1713 | 1850 | 1606 | 108·0 | 124·4 | 115·1 | 123 | 107 |
| 100 | Mina Chaukidār . | Rājasthāni . | Ditto . | 189·9 | 207 | 176 | 139·1 | 150 | 130 | 73·2 | 81 | 61 | 51·0 | 59 | 44 | 37·8 | 44 | 32 | 74·2 | 96 | 61 | 1703 | 1820 | 1570 | 108·5 | 125·4 | 115·5 | 125 | 107 |
| 80 | Chuhra . . | Panjābī . | Punjāb . | 186·7 | 200 | 171 | 137·1 | 152 | 127 | 73·4 | 82 | 68 | 48·0 | 56 | 45 | 36·1 | 45 | 31 | 75·2 | 94 | 60 | 1666 | 1803 | 1524 | 112·2 | 129·4 | 115·3 | 123 | 108 |
| 60 | Khatri . . | Ditto . | Ditto . | 185·7 | 200 | 172 | 137·5 | 150 | 128 | 74·0 | 86 | 66 | 48·8 | 58 | 44 | 35·7 | 42 | 30 | 73·1 | 95 | 59 | 1662 | 1803 | 1574 | 111·9 | 126·6 | 113·1 | 122 | 106 |
| 33 | Awān . . . | Ditto . | Ditto . | 188·8 | 201 | 175 | 140·5 | 147 | 130 | 74·4 | 80 | 70 | 50·7 | 57 | 44 | 34·9 | 39 | 30 | 68·8 | 79 | 55 | 1703 | 1828 | 1600 | 113·0 | 131·3 | 110·1 | 125 | 110 |

# SERIATIONS.

## Scytho-Dravidian Type.

**Type Specimen: NĀGAR BRAHMAN.**

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.) | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.) | | RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. (Orbito-Nasal Index.) | | STATURE. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | C. | |
| Average | 79·7 | Average | 73·1 | Average | 116·7 | Average | 164·3 |
| Maximum | 90 | Maximum | 90 | Maximum | 124 | Maximum | 178·8 |
| Minimum | 71 | Minimum | 57 | Minimum | 108 | Minimum | 151·3 |
| Range | 19 | Range | 33 | Range | 16 | Range | 27·5 |

| Indices. | | Number of subjects. | Percentage on number of subjects. (5 10 15 20 25 30 35) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **HEAD.** | | | |
| Long heads (Dolicho-cephalic). | 70 and under 72·5 | 4 | ◆◆◆◆—4 |
| | 72·5 and under 75 | 11 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—11 |
| Medium heads (Meso-cephalic). | 75 and under 77·5 | 13 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—13 |
| | 77·5 and under 80 | 26 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—26 |
| Broad heads (Brachy-cephalic). | 80 and under 82·5 | 22 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—22 |
| | 82·5 and under 85 | 10 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ —10 |
| | 85 and under 87·5 | 11 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—11 |
| | 87·5 and over | 3 | ◆◆◆—3 |
| **NOSE.** | | | |
| Fine noses (Leptorhine). | under 65 | 13 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—13 |
| | 65 and under 70 | 20 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ —20 |
| Medium noses (Mesorhine). | 70 and under 75 | 25 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ —25 |
| | 75 and under 80 | 16 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—16 |
| | 80 and under 85 | 20 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ —20 |
| Broad noses (Platyrhine). | 85 and over | 6 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—6 |
| **ROOT OF NOSE.** | | | |
| Platy-opic (Flat). | 107 and under 110 | 2 | ◆◆—2 |
| Mes-opic (Medium). | 110 and under 113 | 9 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆—9 |
| Pro-opic (Prominent). | 113 and under 116 | 29 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆— 29 |
| | 116 and under 119 | 34 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆—34 |
| | 119 and under 122 | 21 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—21 |
| | 122 and over | 5 | ◆◆◆◆◆ —5 |
| **STATURE.** | | | |
| | Centimetres. | | |
| Short | Under 155 (5′ 1″) | 3 | ◆◆◆—3 |
| | 155 and under 160 (5′ 1″—5′ 3″) | 23 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—23 |
| Below mean | 160 and under 165 (5′ 3″—5′ 5″) | 33 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—33 |
| Above mean | 165 and under 170 (5′ 5″—5′ 7″) | 22 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—22 |
| Tall | 170 and under 175 (5′ 7″—5′ 9″) | 16 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—16 |
| | 175 and over (5′ 9″) | 3 | ◆◆◆—3 |

# SERIATIONS.

## Scytho-Dravidian Type.

Type Specimen: PRABHU.

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.) | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.) | | RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. (Orbito-Nasal Index.) | | STATURE. | C. M. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average . . . | 79·9 | Average . . . | 75·8 | Average . . . | 113·4 | Average . . . | 162·7 |
| Maximum . . . | 89 | Maximum . . . | 93 | Maximum . . . | 121 | Maximum . . . | 181·4 |
| Minimum . . . | 70 | Minimum . . . | 60 | Minimum . . . | 106 | Minimum . . . | 150·4 |
| Range . . . . | 19 | Range . . . . | 33 | Range . . . . | 15 | Range . . . . | 31 |

| INDICES. | | Number of subjects. | Percentage on number of subjects. (5 10 15 20 25 30 35) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **HEAD.** | | | |
| LONG HEADS (Dolicho-cephalic). | 70 and under 72·5 | 3 | ◆◆◆—3 |
| | 72·5 and under 75 | 8 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—8 |
| MEDIUM HEADS (Meso-cephalic). | 75 and under 77·5 | 13 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—13 |
| | 77·5 and under 80 | 24 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆—24 |
| BROAD HEADS (Brachy-cephalic). | 80 and under 82·5 | 25 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆—25 |
| | 82·5 and under 85 | 17 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—17 |
| | 85 and under 87·5 | 8 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—8 |
| | 87·5 and over | 2 | ◆◆—2 |
| **NOSE.** | | | |
| FINE NOSES (Leptorhine). | 60 and under 65 | 6 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—6 |
| | 65 and under 70 | 13 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—13 |
| MEDIUM NOSES (Mesorhine). | 70 and under 75 | 29 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆—29 |
| | 75 and under 80 | 23 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—23 |
| | 80 and under 85 | 17 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—17 |
| BROAD NOSES (Platyrhine). | 85 and under 90 | 7 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—7 |
| | 90 and over | 5 | ◆◆◆◆◆ —5 |
| **ROOT OF NOSE.** | | | |
| PLATY-OPIC (Flat). | Under 107 | 1 | ◆—1 |
| | 107 and under 110 | 14 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆—14 |
| MES-OPIC (Medium). | 110 and under 113 | 30 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆—30 |
| PRO-OPIC (Prominent). | 113 and under 116 | 35 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆—35 |
| | 116 and under 119 | 15 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆—15 |
| | 119 and under 122 | 5 | ◆◆◆◆◆—5 |
| **STATURE.** | | | |
| | Centimetres. | | |
| SHORT | Under 155 (5′ 1″) | 9 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆—9 |
| | 155 and under 160 (5′ 1″—5′ 3″) | 27 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—27 |
| BELOW MEAN | 160 and under 165 (5′ 3″—5′ 5″) | 21 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—21 |
| ABOVE MEAN | 165 and under 170 (5′ 5″—5′ 7″) | 33 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—33 |
| TALL | 170 and under 175 (5′ 7″—5′ 9″) | 8 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—8 |
| | 175 and over (5′ 9″) | 2 | ◆◆—2 |

# SERIATIONS.

## Scytho-Dravidian Type.

**Type Specimen : COORG.**

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.) | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.) | | RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. (Orbito-Nasal Index.) | | STATURE. | C. M. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 79·9 | Average | 72·0 | Average | 120 | Average | 168·7 |
| Maximum | 89 | Maximum | 86 | Maximum | 130 | Maximum | 182·0 |
| Minimum | 74 | Minimum | 61 | Minimum | 108 | Minimum | 158·0 |
| Range | 15 | Range | 25 | Range | 22 | Range | 24·0 |

| Indices. | | Number of subjects. | Percentage on number of subjects. (5 10 15 20 25 30 35) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **HEAD.** | | | |
| Long heads (Dolicho-cephalic). | 72·5 and under 75 | 3 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆ —9 |
| Medium heads (Meso-cephalic). | 75 and under 77·5 | 6 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆ —19 |
| | 77·5 and under 80 | 9 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆ —28 |
| Broad heads (Brachy-cephalic). | 80 and under 82·5 | 6 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆ —19 |
| | 82·5 and under 85 | 5 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆ —16 |
| | 85 and over | 3 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆ —9 |
| **NOSE.** | | | |
| Fine noses (Leptorhine). | 60 and under 65 | 2 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆ —6 |
| | 65 and under 70 | 10 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆ —31 |
| Medium noses (Mesorhine). | 70 and under 75 | 11 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ —35 |
| | 75 and under 80 | 6 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆ —19 |
| | 80 and under 85 | 2 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆ —6 |
| Broad noses (Platyrhine). | 85 and over | 1 | ◆◆◆ —3 |
| **ROOT OF NOSE.** | | | |
| Platy-opic (Flat). | 107 and under 110 | 2 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆ —6 |
| Mes-opic (Medium). | 110 and under 113 | 1 | ◆◆◆ —3 |
| Pro-opic (Prominent). | 113 and under 116 | 4 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆ —13 |
| | 116 and under 119 | 7 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆ —22 |
| | 119 and under 122 | 5 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆ —16 |
| | 122 and under 125 | 7 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆ —22 |
| | 125 and under 128 | 4 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆ —12 |
| | 128 and over | 2 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆ —6 |
| **STATURE.** | | | |
| | Centimetres. | | |
| Short | Under 160 (5′ 3″) | 2 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆ —6 |
| Below mean | 160 and under 165 (5′ 3″—5′ 5″) | 7 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆ —22 |
| Above mean | 165 and under 170 (5′ 5″—5′ 7″) | 10 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆ —31 |
| | 170 and under 175 (5′ 7″—5′ 9″) | 5 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆ —16 |
| Tall | 175 and under 180 (5′ 9″—5′ 11″) | 7 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆ —22 |
| | 180 and over (5′ 11″) | 1 | ◆◆◆ —3 |

# SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS.

## Scytho-Dravidian Type.

**BOMBAY AND COORG. (In order of Cephalic Index.)**

| Number of subjects. | Name of Tribe or Caste. | Language or Dialect. | Locality. | Dimensions of Head. | | | | | | Proportions of Head. | | | Dimensions of Nose. | | | | | | Proportions of Nose. | | | Stature. | | | Relative Prominence of Root of Nose. | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Length (Glabello-occipital). | | | Breadth (Extreme). | | | Cephalic Index. | | | Height. | | | Breadth. | | | Nasal Index. | | | | | | External bi-orbital breadth (Average). | Bi-orbito nasal arc (Average). | Orbito-Nasal Index. | | |
| | | | | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | | | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. |
| 100 | Deshasth Brahman | Mārāthi | Poona, Satara, Ahmednagar | 185·4 | 198 | 170 | 142·7 | 157 | 131 | 76·9 | 88 | 68 | 48·9 | 56 | 42 | 38·8 | 44 | 34 | 79·3 | 98 | 69 | 1642 | 1750 | 1486 | 116·6 | 135·6 | 116·2 | 127 | 105 |
| 100 | Mahār | Mārāthi | Poona | 181·6 | 195 | 165 | 140·0 | 152 | 129 | 77·0 | 88 | 69 | 47·2 | 53 | 41 | 38·7 | 46 | 33 | 81·9 | 96 | 70 | 1634 | 1792 | 1490 | 113·9 | 130·6 | 114·6 | 125 | 108 |
| 100 | Kokanasth Brahman (Chitpāvan) | Mārāthi | Bombay and Poona | 186·4 | 202 | 170 | 144·2 | 155 | 122 | 77·3 | 85 | 70 | 49·3 | 57 | 41 | 37·8 | 43 | 31 | 76·6 | 93 | 60 | 1655 | 1813 | 1512 | 116·0 | 134·2 | 115·6 | 124 | 103 |
| 100 | Kunbi | Mārāthi | Poona | 180·1 | 197 | 165 | 139·4 | 156 | 130 | 77·4 | 92 | 69 | 47·9 | 54 | 40 | 37·9 | 42 | 33 | 79·2 | 93 | 67 | 1600 | 1776 | 1420 | 113·2 | 129·5 | 114·5 | 124 | 104 |
| 100 | Koli (Sōn) | Koli Dialect | Thana | 185·0 | 201 | 171 | 143·5 | 159 | 134 | 77·5 | 85 | 71 | 49·6 | 57 | 42 | 37·9 | 47 | 31 | 76·4 | 93 | 62 | 1601 | 1760 | 1482 | 114·5 | 129·5 | 113·1 | 122 | 104 |
| 100 | Mārāthā | Mārāthi | Poona | 181·3 | 195 | 166 | 142·1 | 158 | 127 | 78·3 | 89 | 69 | 47·8 | 57 | 38 | 38·3 | 48 | 33 | 80·1 | 108 | 66 | 1632 | 1770 | 1476 | 114·9 | 133·1 | 115·8 | 132 | 107 |
| 100 | Shenvi Brahman | Mārāthi | Bombay city | 186·2 | 201 | 170 | 147·1 | 160 | 132 | 79·0 | 92 | 71 | 50·3 | 59 | 42 | 37·6 | 43 | 33 | 74·7 | 95 | 63 | 1648 | 1774 | 1481 | 112·9 | 129·5 | 114·7 | 124 | 104 |
| 127 | Vāniā | Gujerathi | Ahmedabad | 183·0 | 202 | 170 | 145·2 | 156 | 135 | 79·3 | 88 | 70 | 49·9 | 59 | 35 | 37·8 | 49 | 31 | 75·7 | 109 | 61 | 1612 | 1732 | 1489 | 112·1 | 131·5 | 116·2 | 128 | 108 |
| 100 | Nāgar Brahman | Gujerathi | Ahmedabad | 184·4 | 202 | 151 | 147·1 | 166 | 132 | 79·7 | 90 | 71 | 50·7 | 61 | 44 | 37·1 | 44 | 31 | 73·1 | 90 | 57 | 1643 | 1788 | 1513 | 114·1 | 133·2 | 116·7 | 124 | 108 |
| 100 | Prabhu | Mārāthi | Sātara, Poona, Bombay (city) Thana | 184·2 | 198 | 170 | 147·2 | 158 | 131 | 79·9 | 89 | 70 | 50·1 | 58 | 44 | 38·0 | 45 | 32 | 75·8 | 93 | 60 | 1627 | 1814 | 1504 | 113·0 | 128·2 | 113·4 | 121 | 106 |
| 32 | Coorg* | Kodagu | Coorg | 184·0 | 195 | 168 | 147·0 | 154 | 138 | 79·9 | 89 | 74 | 51·5 | 57 | 46 | 37·0 | 40 | 32 | 72·0 | 86 | 61 | 1687 | 1820 | 1580 | 110·0 | 132·0 | 120·0 | 130 | 108 |
| | **Dravidian Forest Nomads in Scytho-Dravidian Tract.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Kātkari | Kātkari | Thana | 178·8 | 199 | 160 | 133·0 | 143 | 126 | 74·3 | 82 | 68 | 44·0 | 52 | 37 | 38·7 | 45 | 31 | 88·0 | 111 | 70 | 1584 | 1690 | 1438 | 107·8 | 121·2 | 112·4 | 121 | 104 |

* T. H. Holland, A.R.C.S., F.G.S.

# SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS.

## Scytho-Dravidian Type.

**MADRAS (DECCAN). (In order of Cephalic Index.)**

[E. THURSTON, ESQUIRE.]

| Number of subjects. | Name of Tribe or Caste. | Language or Dialect. | Locality. | Dimensions of Head. | | | | | | Proportions of Head. | | | Dimensions of Nose. | | | | | | Proportions of Nose. | | | Stature. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Length (Glabello-occipital). | | | Breadth (Extreme). | | | Cephalic Index. | | | Height. | | | Breadth. | | | Nasal Index. | | | | | |
| | | | | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. |
| 40 | Mādiga | Telugu | Bellary | 183 | 200 | 172 | 140 | 154 | 130 | 76·5 | 83·3 | 68·0 | 46 | 51 | 40 | 35 | 39 | 32 | 77·5 | 90·1 | 66·7 | 1629 | 1734 | 1522 |
| 25 | Brahman (Deshasth). | Canarese | Bellary | 187 | 202 | 180 | 144 | 152 | 132 | 77·0 | 83·4 | 71·0 | 48 | 54 | 44 | 36 | 42 | 32 | 75·8 | 87·2 | 66·0 | 1634 | 1750 | 1514 |
| 30 | Māla | Telugu | Bellary | 184 | 198 | 168 | 142 | 148 | 134 | 77·1 | 85·9 | 70·3 | 48 | 52 | 44 | 36 | 41 | 34 | 76·2 | 93·2 | 66·7 | 1639 | 1750 | 1538 |
| 25 | Sadaru Lingāyat | Canarese | Bellary | 182 | 200 | 170 | 141 | 152 | 134 | 77·7 | 87·0 | 65·0 | 48 | 53 | 42 | 35 | 40 | 32 | 73·4 | 88·9 | 60·4 | 1658 | 1745 | 1522 |
| 25 | Komati | Canarese | Bellary | 182 | 194 | 170 | 143 | 152 | 133 | 77·9 | 88·2 | 72·2 | 47 | 53 | 43 | 36 | 43 | 32 | 77·8 | 100·0 | 65·3 | 1610 | 1683 | 1532 |
| 40 | Bīdar | Telugu | Bellary | 184 | 200 | 168 | 143 | 152 | 132 | 78·1 | 85·3 | 70·8 | 46 | 48 | 43 | 36 | 40 | 34 | 79·4 | 91·0 | 65·2 | 1654 | 1766 | 1560 |
| 30 | Linga Banjigaru | Canarese | Bellary | 182 | 194 | 166 | 142 | 150 | 134 | 78·3 | 87·9 | 73·7 | 47 | 52 | 43 | 35 | 38 | 31 | 74·6 | 86·4 | 61·5 | 1656 | 1730 | 1578 |
| 30 | Padma Sālē | Telugu | Bellary | 178 | 190 | 165 | 141 | 151 | 132 | 78·7 | 86·2 | 72·8 | 47 | 53 | 41 | 35 | 38 | 32 | 73·2 | 83·7 | 61·5 | 1599 | 1714 | 1538 |
| 50 | Kuruba | Canarese | Bellary | 181 | 196 | 170 | 142 | 154 | 134 | 78·9 | 88·4 | 72·9 | 47 | 52 | 41 | 35 | 42 | 30 | 74·9 | 92·2 | 63·3 | 1627 | 1754 | 1474 |
| 30 | Jangam (Lingāyat) | Canarese | Bellary | 181 | 196 | 166 | 143 | 152 | 132 | 79·1 | 86·8 | 70·4 | 47 | 52 | 42 | 35 | 38 | 31 | 74·5 | 88·1 | 64·7 | 1651 | 1736 | 1576 |
| 30 | Rangāri | Mahrāthi | Bellary | 181 | 198 | 168 | 145 | 154 | 138 | 79·8 | 92·2 | 70·7 | 49 | 52 | 46 | 36 | 41 | 33 | 73·6 | 84·1 | 63·5 | 1613 | 1684 | 1544 |
| 30 | Togātā | Telugu | Bellary | 177 | 190 | 162 | 142 | 148 | 136 | 80·0 | 88·1 | 73·7 | 47 | 50 | 42 | 36 | 46 | 33 | 77·5 | 93·9 | 68·8 | 1605 | 1689 | 1514 |
| 20 | Gānīga | Canarese | Bellary | 180 | 191 | 166 | 144 | 152 | 140 | 80·5 | 86·7 | 74·5 | 48 | 53 | 44 | 35 | 38 | 32 | 73·7 | 84·4 | 62·7 | 1643 | 1724 | 1550 |
| 20 | Dēvānga | Canarese | Bellary | 180 | 196 | 170 | 145 | 155 | 136 | 80·8 | 87·1 | 74·7 | 47 | 52 | 43 | 35 | 38 | 32 | 74·6 | 80·9 | 65·3 | 1618 | 1686 | 1546 |
| 30 | Suka Sālē | Mahrāthi | Bellary | 177 | 188 | 166 | 145 | 150 | 134 | 81·8 | 88·2 | 76·1 | 47 | 51 | 43 | 35 | 40 | 32 | 74·8 | 86·1 | 62·3 | 1611 | 1700 | 1478 |
| 30 | Sukun Sālē | Mahrāthi | Bellary | 176 | 190 | 160 | 144 | 154 | 136 | 82·2 | 90·0 | 73·9 | 47 | 52 | 41 | 35 | 38 | 31 | 74·8 | 84·4 | 61·5 | 1603 | 1676 | 1525 |

# SERIATIONS.

## Dravidian Type: S. India.

### Type Specimen: VELLĀLĀ (Good Sudra).

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.) | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.) | | STATURE. | C. M. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 74·1 | Average | 73·1 | Average | 162·4 |
| Maximum | 81·1 | Maximum | 91·5 | Maximum | 172·8 |
| Minimum | 67·9 | Minimum | 60·8 | Minimum | 153·2 |
| Range | 13·2 | Range | 30·7 | Range | 19·6 |

| Indices. | | Number of subjects. | Percentage on number of subjects. (5 10 15 20 25 30 35) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **HEAD.** | | | |
| Very long heads (Hyper-dolicho-cephalic). | Under 70 | 2 | ◆◆◆◆◆—5 |
| Long heads (Dolicho-cephalic). | 70 and under 72·5 | 12 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆—30 |
| | 72·5 and under 75 | 13 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—32 |
| Medium heads (Meso-cephalic). | 75 and under 77·5 | 9 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—23 |
| | 77·5 and under 80 | 2 | ◆◆◆◆◆—5 |
| Broad heads (Brachy-cephalic). | 80 and under 82·5 | 2 | ◆◆◆◆◆—5 |
| **NOSE.** | | | |
| Fine noses (Leptorhine). | Under 70 | 14 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆— |
| Medium noses (Mesorhine). | 70 and under 75 | 10 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆—25 |
| | 75 and under 80 | 12 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆—30 |
| Broad noses (Platyrhine). | 85 and under 90 | 3 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—8 |
| | 90 and under 95 | 1 | ◆◆—2 |
| **STATURE.** | | | |
| | Centimetres. | | |
| Short | Under 155 (5′ 1″) | 3 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—7 |
| | 155 and under 160 (5′ 1″—5′ 3″) | 11 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—28 |
| Below mean | 160 and under 165 (5′ 3″—5′ 5″) | 12 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆—30 |
| Above mean | 165 and under 170 (5′ 5″—5′ 7″) | 11 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—28 |
| Tall | 170 and over (5′ 7″) | 3 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—7 |

# SERIATIONS.

## Dravidian Type: S. India.

**Type Specimen: MUKKUVAN.**

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.) | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.) | | STATURE. | C. M. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 75·1 | Average | 81·0 | Average | 163·1 |
| Maximum | 83·5 | Maximum | 104·8 | Maximum | 177·8 |
| Minimum | 68·6 | Minimum | 62·5 | Minimum | 150·8 |
| Range | 14·9 | Range | 42·3 | Range | 27· |

| Indices. | | Number of subjects. | Percentage on number of subjects. (5 10 15 20 25 0 35) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **HEAD.** | | | |
| Very long heads (Hyper-dolicho-cephalic). | Under 70 | 1 | ◆◆◆–3 |
| Long heads (Dolicho-cephalic). | 70 and under 72·5 | 7 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆–18 |
| | 72·5 and under 75 | 10 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆–25 |
| Medium heads (Meso-cephalic). | 75 and under 77·5 | 12 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆–30 |
| | 77·5 and under 80 | 8 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆–20 |
| Broad heads (Brachy-cephalic). | 80 and under 82·5 | 1 | ◆◆–2 |
| | 82·5 and under 85 | 1 | ◆◆–2 |
| **NOSE.** | | | |
| Fine noses (Leptorhine). | Under 70 | 3 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆–7 |
| Medium noses (Mesorhine). | 70 and under 75 | 6 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆–15 |
| | 75 and under 80 | 9 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆–23 |
| | 80 and under 85 | 11 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆–28 |
| Broad noses (Platyrhine). | 85 and under 90 | 6 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆–15 |
| | 90 and under 95 | 2 | ◆◆◆◆◆–5 |
| | 95 and under 100 | 1 | ◆◆–2 |
| | 100 and over | 2 | ◆◆◆◆◆–5 |
| **STATURE.** Centimetres. | | | |
| Short | Under 155 (5′ 1″) | 2 | ◆◆◆◆◆–5 |
| | 155 and under 160 (5′ 1″–5′ 3″) | 9 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆–23 |
| Below mean | 160 and under 165 (5′ 3″–5′ 5″) | 12 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆–30 |
| Above mean | 165 and under 170 (5′ 5″–5′ 7″) | 14 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆–35 |
| Tall | 170 and over (5′ 7″) | 3 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆–7 |

# SERIATIONS.

## Dravidian Type: Rajputana.

### Type Specimen: BHIL.

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.) | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.) | | STATURE. | C. M. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 76·5 | Average | 84·1 | Average | 162·9 |
| Maximum | 84 | Maximum | 105 | Maximum | 176·4 |
| Minimum | 68 | Minimum | 63 | Minimum | 147·6 |
| Range | 16 | Range | 42 | Range | 28·8 |

| Indices. | | Number of subjects. | Percentage on number of subjects. (5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **HEAD.** | | | |
| Very long heads (Hyper-dolicho-cephalic). | under 70 | 3 | ◆◆—2 |
| Long heads (Dolicho-cephalic). | 70 and under 72·5 | 20 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ —10 |
| | 72·5 and under 75 | 56 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆— 28 |
| Medium heads (Meso-cephalic). | 75 and under 77·5 | 48 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆— 24 |
| | 77·5 and under 80 | 37 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆— 18 |
| Broad heads (Brachy-cephalic). | 80 and under 82·5 | 28 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆— 14 |
| | 82·5 and under 85 | 8 | ◆◆◆◆— 4 |
| | | 200 | |
| **NOSE.** | | | |
| Fine noses (Leptorhine). | Under 70 | 5 | ◆◆◆—3 |
| Medium noses (Mesorhine). | 70 and under 75 | 9 | ◆◆◆◆— 4 |
| | 75 and under 80 | 42 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—21 |
| | 80 and under 85 | 53 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—26 |
| Broad noses (Platyrhine). | 85 and under 90 | 43 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—22 |
| | 90 and under 95 | 29 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆— 14 |
| | 95 and under 100 | 16 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆— 8 |
| | 100 and over | 3 | ◆◆—2 |
| **STATURE.** Centimetres. | | | |
| Short | Under 155 (5′ 1″) | 17 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆— 8 |
| | 155 and under 160 (5′ 1″—5′ 3″) | 33 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—17 |
| Below mean | 160 and under 165 (5′ 3″—5′ 5″) | 84 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—42 |
| Above mean | 165 and under 170 (5′ 5″—5′ 7″) | 43 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—22 |
| Tall | 170 and over (5′ 7″) | 23 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—11 |

# SERIATIONS.

## Dravidian Type: Chota Nagpur.

**Type Specimen: SANTĀL.**

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.) | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.) | | STATURE. | C. M. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 76·1 | Average | 88·8 | Average | 161·4 |
| Maximum | 88 | Maximum | 110 | Maximum | 177·0 |
| Minimum | 69 | Minimum | 74 | Minimum | 151·0 |
| Range | 19 | Range | 36 | Range | 26·0 |

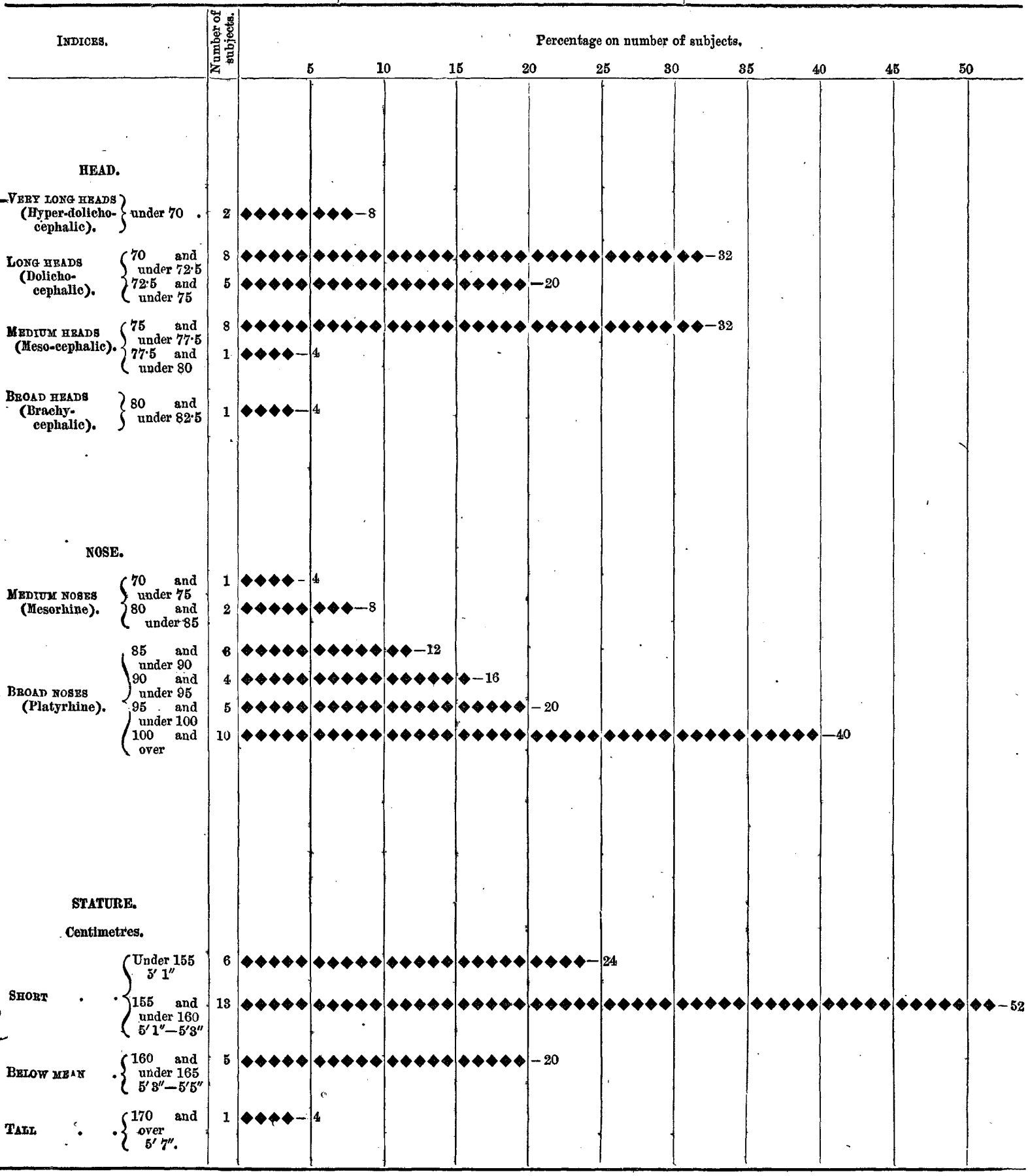
| Indices. | | Number of subjects. | Percentage on number of subjects. (5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **HEAD.** | | | |
| Very long heads (Hyper-dolicho-cephalic). | Under 70 | 1 | ◆—1 |
| Long heads (Dolicho-cephalic). | 70 and under 72·5 | 11 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—11 |
| | 72·5 and under 75 | 25 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆—25 |
| Medium heads (Meso-cephalic). | 75 and under 77·5 | 28 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—28 |
| | 77·5 and under 80 | 21 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—21 |
| Broad heads (Brachy-cephalic). | 80 and under 82·5 | 8 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—8 |
| | 82·5 and under 85 | 5 | ◆◆◆◆◆—5 |
| | 85 and over | 1 | ◆—1 |
| **NOSE.** | | | |
| Medium noses (Mesorhine). | 70 and under 75 | 1 | ◆—1 |
| | 75 and under 80 | 10 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆—10 |
| | 80 and under 85 | 20 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆—20 |
| Broad noses (Platyrhine). | 85 and under 90 | 26 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—26 |
| | 90 and under 95 | 16 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—16 |
| | 95 and under 100 | 15 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆—15 |
| | 100 and over | 12 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—12 |
| **STATURE.** Centimetres. | | | |
| Short | Under 155 (5′ 1″) | 12 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—12 |
| | 155 and under 160 (5′ 1″—5′ 3″) | 25 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆—25 |
| Below mean | 160 and under 165 (5′ 3″—5′ 5″) | 43 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—43 |
| Above mean | 165 and under 170 (5′ 5″—5′ 7″) | 17 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—17 |
| Tall | 170 and over (5′ 7″) | 3 | ◆◆◆—3 |

# SERIATIONS.

## Dravidian Type: S. India.

### Type Specimen: PANIYAN (Jungle Tribe).

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.) | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.) | | STATURE. | C. M. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 74·0 | Average | 95·1 | Average | 157·4 |
| Maximum | 81·1 | Maximum | 108·6 | Maximum | 171·6 |
| Minimum | 68·4 | Minimum | 72·9 | Minimum | 152·0 |
| Range | 12·7 | Range | 35·7 | Range | 19·6 |


INDICES.
Number of subjects.
Percentage on number of subjects.
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
45
50
HEAD.
VERY LONG HEADS (Hyper-dolicho-cephalic). under 70 . 2 —8
LONG HEADS (Dolicho-cephalic). 70 and under 72·5 8 —32
72·5 and under 75 5 —20
MEDIUM HEADS (Meso-cephalic). 75 and under 77·5 8 —32
77·5 and under 80 1 —4
BROAD HEADS (Brachy-cephalic). 80 and under 82·5 1 —4
NOSE.
MEDIUM NOSES (Mesorhine). 70 and under 75 1 —4
80 and under 85 2 —8
BROAD NOSES (Platyrhine). 85 and under 90 6 —12
90 and under 95 4 —16
95 and under 100 5 —20
100 and over 10 —40
STATURE.
Centimetres.
SHORT Under 155 5′ 1″ 6 —24
155 and under 160 5′ 1″—5′ 3″ 13 —52
BELOW MEAN 160 and under 165 5′ 3″—5′ 5″ 5 —20
TALL 170 and over 5′ 7″. 1 —4

# SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS.

## Dravidian Type.

**MADRAS, CHOTA NAGPUR, MEWAR AND CEYLON. (In order of Nasal Index.)**

| Number of subjects. | Tribe or Caste. | Language or Dialect. | Locality. | Dimensions of Head. | | | | | | Proportions of Head. | | | Dimensions of Nose. | | | | | | Proportions of Nose. | | | Stature. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Length (Glabello-occipital). | | | Breadth (Extreme). | | | Cephalic Index. | | | Height. | | | Breadth. | | | Nasal Index. | | | | | |
| | | | | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. |
| 40 | Lambādi | Gujerathi | Mysore | 184 | 197 | 166 | 139 | 148 | 128 | 75·4 | 83·5 | 68·7 | 49 | 55 | 43 | 34 | 39 | 29 | 69·1 | 83·7 | 59·2 | 1645 | 1768 | 1520 |
| ... | Kannādiyan (Lingayat). | Canarese | Chingleput | 184 | 200 | 166 | 140 | 156 | 128 | 76·5 | 90·4 | 69·0 | 47 | 53 | 40 | 34 | 38 | 29 | 71·5 | 88·9 | 60·0 | 1631 | 1724 | 1504 |
| 30 | Syrian Christians, Southern. | Malayālam | Travancore | 189 | 202 | 179 | 141 | 150 | 130 | 74·8 | 81·8 | 69·3 | 49 | 53 | 42 | 35 | 40 | 30 | 71·6 | 88·9 | 60·0 | 1648 | 1724 | 1560 |
| 40 | Syrian Christians, Northern. | Malayālam | Travancore | 187 | 200 | 172 | 143 | 152 | 130 | 76·3 | 82·8 | 72·6 | 49 | 52 | 43 | 35 | 40 | 31 | 72·3 | 87·0 | 62·3 | 1653 | 1780 | 1540 |
| 40 | Muhammadan: Sheik. | Hindustāni: Tāmil | Madras City | 183 | 200 | 167 | 138 | 145 | 128 | 75·6 | 81·6 | 71·5 | 48 | 54 | 44 | 35 | 40 | 30 | 72·4 | 87·0 | 60·0 | 1646 | 1748 | 1538 |
| 40 | Muhammadan: Pathān. | Hindustāni: Tāmil | Madras City | 185 | 196 | 172 | 142 | 152 | 133 | 76·2 | 83·1 | 71·1 | 48 | 53 | 42 | 35 | 42 | 30 | 73·0 | 88·1 | 57·7 | 1644 | 1776 | 1556 |
| 40 | Vellāla | Tāmil | Madras City | 186 | 196 | 177 | 138 | 146 | 131 | 74·1 | 81·1 | 67·9 | 47 | 51 | 42 | 34 | 43 | 30 | 73·1 | 91·5 | 60·8 | 1624 | 1728 | 1532 |
| 40 | Muhammadan: Saiyad. | Hindustāni: Tāmil | Madras City | 185 | 196 | 172 | 140 | 150 | 131 | 75·6 | 84·9 | 68·2 | 48 | 56 | 43 | 36 | 42 | 32 | 74·0 | 91·3 | 61·2 | 1644 | 1853 | 1538 |
| 40 | Agamudaiyan | Tāmil | Chingleput | 188 | 200 | 178 | 139 | 146 | 128 | 74·0 | 80·9 | 66·7 | 48 | 53 | 43 | 35 | 43 | 30 | 74·2 | 88·9 | 60·0 | 1658 | 1756 | 1536 |
| 40 | Tiyan | Malayālam | Malabar | 189 | 203 | 178 | 137 | 149 | 126 | 73·0 | 78·7 | 68·5 | 47 | 52 | 42 | 35 | 40 | 31 | 75·0 | 85·7 | 61·5 | 1641 | 1716 | 1552 |
| 40 | Mappila (Moplah). | Hindustāni: Malayālam | Malabar | 189 | 200 | 180 | 137 | 146 | 130 | 72·8 | 78·5 | 68·0 | 48 | 53 | 42 | 36 | 40 | 32 | 75·1 | 88·1 | 64·0 | 1648 | 1744 | 1450 |
| 40 | Badaga | Canarese | Nilgiri Hills | 189 | 202 | 180 | 136 | 145 | 128 | 71·7 | 77·5 | 66·1 | 46 | 51 | 41 | 34 | 39 | 32 | 75·6 | 88·4 | 62·7 | 1641 | 1802 | 1540 |
| 25 | Brahman: Dēshāstha. | Canarese | Bellary | 187 | 202 | 180 | 144 | 152 | 132 | 77·0 | 83·4 | 71·0 | 48 | 54 | 44 | 36 | 42 | 32 | 75·8 | 87·2 | 66·0 | 1634 | 1750 | 1514 |
| 25 | Brahman: Pattar. | Malayālam | Malabar | 188 | 203 | 172 | 140 | 151 | 131 | 74·5 | 81·4 | 69·1 | 47 | 51 | 42 | 36 | 41 | 32 | 76·5 | 95·3 | 64·7 | 1643 | 1759 | 1534 |
| 40 | Brahman: Tamil (poorer classes). | Tāmil | Madras City | 186 | 199 | 173 | 142 | 152 | 127 | 76·5 | 84·0 | 69·0 | 47 | 55 | 41 | 36 | 39 | 30 | 76·7 | 95·1 | 60·0 | 1625 | 1746 | 1530 |
| 175 | Nāyar | Malayālam | Malabar | 192 | 206 | 170 | 141 | 155 | 129 | 73·2 | 86·4 | 65·0 | 47 | 55 | 40 | 36 | 44 | 29 | 76·7 | 102·3 | 56·9 | 1651 | 1808 | 1511 |
| 60 | Cheruman | Malayālam | Malabar | 184 | 319 | 171 | 135 | 144 | 123 | 73·4 | 81·9 | 67·7 | 45 | 51 | 40 | 35 | 40 | 29 | 77·2 | 88·9 | 63·3 | 1566 | 1674 | 1458 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25 | Kota | Canarese | Nilgiri Hills | 192 | 202 | 183 | 142 | 151 | 134 | 74·1 | 79·1 | 69·9 | 45 | 50 | 41 | 35 | 4 | 31 | 77·2 | 92·9 | 64·0 | 1629 | 1742 | 1553 |
| 40 | Palli | Tāmil | Chingleput | 186 | 204 | 174 | 138 | 144 | 126 | 74·2 | 78·6 | 69·1 | 46 | 50 | 41 | 35 | 41 | 32 | 77·3 | 90·5 | 68·3 | 1625 | 1716 | 1498 |
| 50 | Malaiāli | Tāmil | Shevaroy Hills | 183 | 193 | 170 | 137 | 144 | 130 | 74·4 | 82·8 | 61·0 | 46 | 52 | 39 | 35 | 41 | 30 | 77·8 | 100·0 | 63·8 | 1639 | 1732 | 1532 |
| 40 | Palli | Tāmil | Madras City | 186 | 196 | 174 | 136 | 146 | 121 | 73·0 | 80·0 | 64·4 | 46 | 51 | 41 | 36 | 41 | 31 | 77·9 | 95·1 | 60·8 | 1625 | 1694 | 1510 |
| ... | Chakkiliyan | ... | ... | 186 | 193 | 176 | 139 | 152 | 130 | 74·7 | 80·9 | 70·4 | 46 | 52 | 40 | 36 | 41 | 32 | 78·2 | 97·6 | 64·0 | 1622 | 1745 | 1503 |
| 100 | Shānān Karukupattayar | Tāmil | Tinnevelly | 189 | 198 | 176 | 145 | 154 | 134 | 76·6 | 85·4 | 70·4 | 47 | 52 | 41 | 37 | 43 | 33 | 79·3 | 104·9 | 68·0 | 1701 | 1828 | 1586 |
| 25 | Pulaiyan | Malayālam | Travancore | 183 | 193 | 170 | 139 | 150 | 130 | 76·3 | 83·0 | 72·3 | 44 | 50 | 40 | 35 | 40 | 30 | 79·3 | 92·7 | 68·0 | 1530 | 1626 | 1434 |
| 30 | Shānān Nattāti | Tāmil | Tinnevelly | 189 | 198 | 178 | 144 | 156 | 137 | 76·8 | 83·2 | 70·8 | 46 | 52 | 41 | 37 | 40 | 33 | 79·8 | 93·0 | 70·8 | 1701 | 1808 | 1622 |
| 40 | Parāyan(Paríah) | Tāmil | Madras City | 186 | 197 | 170 | 137 | 145 | 130 | 73·6 | 78·3 | 64·8 | 45 | 51 | 41 | 36 | 45 | 31 | 80·0 | 91·8 | 66·0 | 1621 | 1714 | 1494 |
| 40 | Irula | Tāmil | Chingleput | 184 | 196 | 170 | 135 | 144 | 128 | 73·1 | 78·6 | 68·4 | 45 | 50 | 40 | 36 | 41 | 32 | 80·9 | 90·5 | 70·0 | 1599 | 1668 | 1502 |
| 40 | Mukkuvan | Malayālam | Malabar | 190 | 204 | 176 | 142 | 152 | 134 | 75·1 | 83·5 | 68·6 | 47 | 51 | 42 | 38 | 44 | 32 | 81·0 | 104·8 | 62·5 | 1631 | 1778 | 1508 |
| 25 | Kānikar | Malayālam | Travancore | 185 | 194 | 178 | 136 | 142 | 130 | 73·4 | 78·9 | 69·1 | 44 | 47 | 39 | 37 | 43 | 34 | 84·6 | 105·0 | 72·3 | 1552 | 1703 | 1502 |
| 25 | Irula | Tāmil | Coimbatore | 180 | 191 | 170 | 137 | 143 | 131 | 75·8 | 80·9 | 70·8 | 44 | 48 | 41 | 37 | 43 | 32 | 84·9 | 100·0 | 72·3 | 1598 | 1680 | 1520 |
| 25 | Mālā Vēdar | Malayālam | Travancore | 185 | 196 | 174 | 136 | 146 | 130 | 73·4 | 80·9 | 69·8 | 43 | 47 | 38 | 36 | 40 | 32 | 84·9 | 102·6 | 71·1 | 1542 | 1638 | 1408 |
| 23 | Mālāsar | Tāmil | Coimbatore | 182 | 192 | 173 | 135 | 144 | 124 | 74·5 | 80·0 | 70·0 | 43 | 48 | 40 | 38 | 42 | 34 | 87·2 | 102·4 | 75·4 | 1612 | 1705 | 1528 |
| 22 | Yeruva | Canarese | Coorg | 182 | 193 | 164 | 134 | 140 | 125 | 73·6 | 82·0 | 67·0 | 45 | 51 | 37 | 40 | 45 | 37 | 89·6 | 103·0 | 81·0 | 1587 | 1680 | 1500 |
| 25 | Kādia | Tāmil | Anaimalai Hills | 184 | 194 | 172 | 134 | 138 | 125 | 72·9 | 80·0 | 69·1 | 43 | 48 | 38 | 39 | 45 | 32 | 89·8 | 115·4 | 72·9 | 1577 | 1694 | 1486 |
| 25 | Paniyan | Malayālam | Malabar | 183 | 193 | 175 | 136 | 149 | 130 | 74·0 | 81·1 | 68·4 | 43 | 48 | 33 | 38 | 42 | 32 | 95·1 | 108·6 | 72·9 | 1574 | 1716 | 1520 |
| | | | **CEYLON AND SOUTHERN INDIA.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 22 | Moormen | ... | Ceylon and Southern India | 182 | 193 | 169 | 144 | 155 | 131 | 79·1 | 90·0 | 70·0 | 48 | 52 | 42 | 39 | 42 | 31 | 80·7 | 95·0 | 62·0 | 1625 | 1752 | 1510 |
| | | | **RAJPUTANA.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 200 | Bhil | Bhil | Mewar (Rajputana) | 181·3 | 198 | 166 | 138·7 | 149 | 130 | 76·5 | 84 | 68 | 44·8 | 52 | 37 | 37·7 | 45 | 30 | 84·1 | 105 | 63 | 1629 | 1764 | 1476 |
| | | | **CHOTA NAGPORE AND WESTERN BENGAL.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 20 | Dom | Bihāri | Lohārdaga | 184·7 | 194 | 173 | 140·4 | 148 | 130 | 76·0 | 84 | 69 | 48·9 | 55 | 43 | 38·7 | 41 | 36 | 79·1 | 91 | 72 | 1626 | 1720 | 1540 |
| 100 | Kurmi | Karmali: Bengali | Mānbhum | 185·6 | 202 | 167 | 140·5 | 151 | 128 | 75·7 | 83 | 66 | 47·2 | 53 | 38 | 39·0 | 47 | 35 | 82·6 | 98 | 69 | 1608 | 1720 | 1500 |
| 20 | Bauri | Bengali | Western Bengal | 185·0 | 195 | 174 | 138·9 | 144 | 129 | 75·0 | 81 | 71 | 46·1 | 51 | 40 | 38·8 | 44 | 31 | 84·1 | 98 | 66 | 1603 | 1716 | 1500 |
| 9 | Tānti | Bihāri | Lohārdaga | 184·3 | 190 | 180 | 140·6 | 146 | 134 | 76·2 | 81 | 73 | 45·5 | 48 | 43 | 38·8 | 44 | 36 | 85·2 | 94 | 78 | 1562 | 1670 | 1490 |
| 2 | Birhor | Khāria | Rānchi | 185·5 | 186 | 185 | 142·0 | 148 | 136 | 76·5 | 80 | 74 | 47·5 | 49 | 46 | 40·5 | 41 | 40 | 85·2 | 87 | 84 | 1643 | 1680 | 1606 |
| 29 | Chik | Bihāri | Lohārdaga | 187·6 | 197 | 179 | 138·5 | 148 | 131 | 73·8 | 80 | 69 | 46·2 | 51 | 40 | 39·7 | 46 | 36 | 85·9 | 103 | 78 | 1589 | 1734 | 1460 |

# SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS.

## Dravidian Type.

### CHOTA NAGPORE AND WESTERN BENGAL—*continued.*

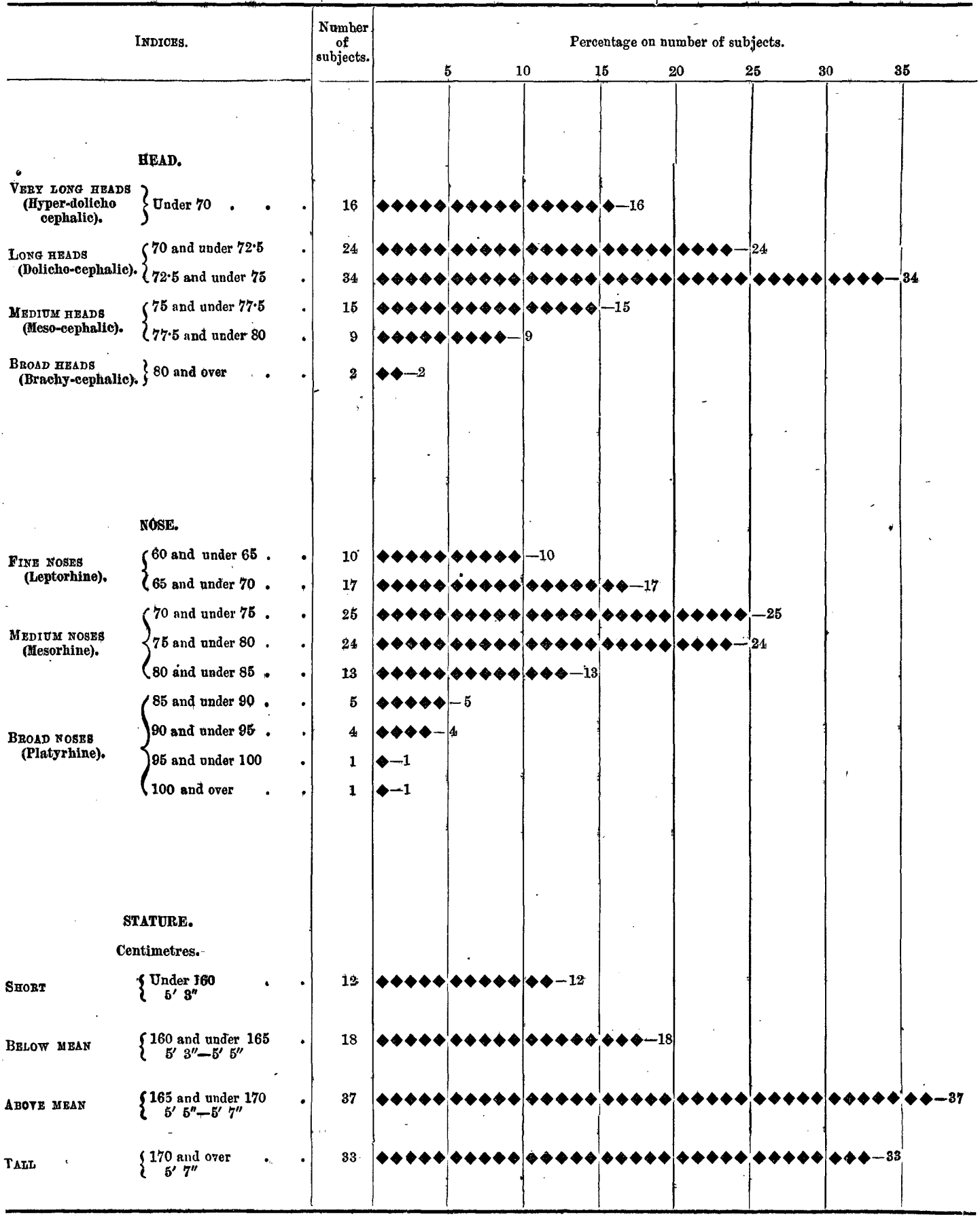
| Number of subjects. | TRIBE OR CASTE. | Language or Dialect. | Locality. | DIMENSIONS OF HEAD. | | | | | | PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. | | | DIMENSIONS OF NOSE. | | | | | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. | | | STATURE. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | LENGTH (Glabello-occipital). | | | BREADTH (EXTREME). | | | CEPHALIC INDEX. | | | HEIGHT. | | | BREADTH. | | | NASAL INDEX. | | | | | |
| | | | | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. |
| 100 | Oraon | Kurukh | Lohārdaga | 184·6 | 198 | 165 | 139·3 | 158 | 131 | 75·4 | 87 | 67 | 46·2 | 53 | 38 | 39·8 | 47 | 34 | 86·1 | 113 | 70 | 1621 | 1744 | 1480 |
| 100 | Bhumij | Bhumij: Bengali | Mānbhum | 185·9 | 203 | 162 | 139·6 | 150 | 130 | 75·0 | 84 | 67 | 46·7 | 53 | 40 | 40·4 | 47 | 35 | 86·5 | 113 | 72 | 1592 | 1782 | 1460 |
| 73 | Lohar | Bihāri | Lohārdaga | 186·1 | 202 | 173 | 140·3 | 151 | 131 | 75·3 | 84 | 70 | 45·9 | 55 | 39 | 39·8 | 49 | 33 | 86·7 | 113 | 64 | 1621 | 1730 | 1488 |
| 4 | Chero | Bihāri | Lohārdaga | 190·7 | 195 | 186 | 138·2 | 143 | 136 | 72·4 | 74 | 70 | 43·5 | 50 | 39 | 38·0 | 39 | 37 | 87·3 | 95 | 76 | 1584 | 1680 | 1500 |
| 8 | Binjhiā | Bihāri | Lohārdaga | 182·7 | 186 | 174 | 137·3 | 140 | 130 | 75·1 | 81 | 70 | 43·3 | 45 | 40 | 38·2 | 42 | 35 | 88·2 | 98 | 80 | 1594 | 1646 | 1510 |
| 78 | Khariā | Khariā | Lohārdaga | 184·4 | 198 | 170 | 137·4 | 150 | 130 | 74·5 | 86 | 69 | 45·3 | 51 | 33 | 40·1 | 45 | 35 | 88·5 | 118 | 77 | 1601 | 1700 | 1480 |
| 100 | Bhuiyā | Bihāri | Lohārdaga | 183·0 | 197 | 167 | 139·1 | 148 | 128 | 76·0 | 85 | 67 | 44·6 | 51 | 37 | 39·6 | 45 | 35 | 88·7 | 113 | 69 | 1577 | 1700 | 1470 |
| 100 | Santāl | Santāli | Santāl Parganās | 184·8 | 201 | 171 | 140·7 | 153 | 131 | 76·1 | 88 | 69 | 45·7 | 53 | 40 | 40·6 | 48 | 35 | 88·8 | 110 | 74 | 1614 | 1770 | 1510 |
| 100 | Kharwār | Bihāri | Lohārdaga | 185·7 | 200 | 173 | 140·2 | 150 | 130 | 75·5 | 87 | 68 | 45·0 | 52 | 39 | 40·4 | 47 | 31 | 89·7 | 113 | 69 | 1605 | 1700 | 1466 |
| 100 | Mundā | Mundāri | Lohārdaga | 185·9 | 200 | 169 | 138·6 | 150 | 130 | 74·5 | 81 | 69 | 44·7 | 50 | 36 | 40·2 | 50 | 33 | 89·9 | 112 | 74 | 1589 | 1718 | 1446 |
| 21 | Korwā | Korwāri | Lohārdaga | 185·2 | 194 | 172 | 137·8 | 145 | 130 | 74·4 | 81 | 69 | 44·0 | 48 | 41 | 40·7 | 48 | 36 | 92·5 | 109 | 79 | 1595 | 1680 | 1480 |
| 100 | Māl Pāhāria | Pengali | Santāl Parganās | 183·4 | 200 | 169 | 139·1 | 147 | 129 | 75·8 | 82 | 71 | 44·1 | 55 | 36 | 41·0 | 48 | 35 | 92·9 | 110 | 71 | 1577 | 1726 | 1450 |
| 100 | Māle | Mālto | Santāl Parganās | 183·6 | 198 | 166 | 137·5 | 149 | 127 | 74·8 | 82 | 69 | 43·9 | 49 | 38 | 41·5 | 49 | 35 | 94·5 | 113 | 77 | 1577 | 1708 | 1470 |
| 2 | Asur | Asur or Agaria | Lohārdaga | 187·0 | 193 | 181 | 138·5 | 141 | 136 | 74·0 | 75 | 73 | 42·5 | 47 | 38 | 40·5 | 42 | 39 | 95·9 | 103 | 89 | 1630 | 1656 | 1604 |

# SERIATIONS.

## Aryo-Dravidian Type.

**Type Specimen: BRĀHMAN OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.**

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. Cephalic Index. | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. Nasal Index. | | STATURE. | C. M. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 73·1 | Average | 74·6 | Average | 165·9 |
| Maximum | 84 | Maximum | 100 | Maximum | 187·9 |
| Minimum | 66 | Minimum | 60 | Minimum | 142·2 |
| Range | 18 | Range | 40 | Range | 45·7 |

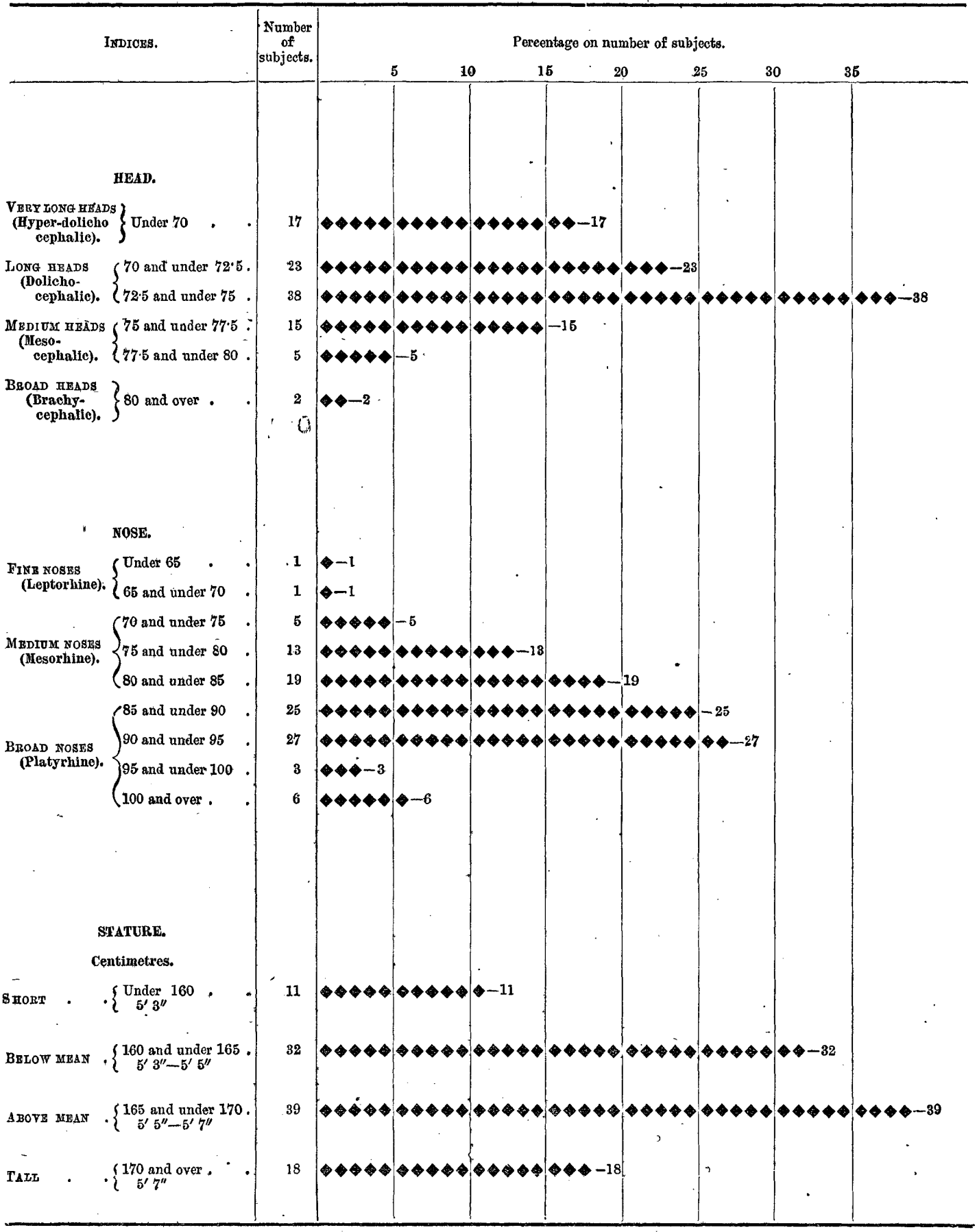

Indices.
Number of subjects.
Percentage on number of subjects.
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
HEAD.
Very long heads (Hyper-dolicho cephalic). Under 70 . . . 16 —16
Long heads (Dolicho-cephalic). 70 and under 72·5 . 24 —24
72·5 and under 75 . 34 —34
Medium heads (Meso-cephalic). 75 and under 77·5 . 15 —15
77·5 and under 80 . 9 —9
Broad heads (Brachy-cephalic). 80 and over . . 2 —2
NOSE.
Fine noses (Leptorhine). 60 and under 65 . . 10 —10
65 and under 70 . . 17 —17
Medium noses (Mesorhine). 70 and under 75 . . 25 —25
75 and under 80 . . 24 —24
80 and under 85 . . 13 —13
Broad noses (Platyrhine). 85 and under 90 . . 5 —5
90 and under 95 . . 4 —4
95 and under 100 . 1 —1
100 and over . . 1 —1
STATURE.
Centimetres.
Short Under 160 / 5′ 3″ . . 12 —12
Below mean 160 and under 165 / 5′ 3″—5′ 5″ . 18 —18
Above mean 165 and under 170 / 5′ 5″—5′ 7″ . 37 —37
Tall 170 and over / 5′ 7″ . . 33 —33

# SERIATIONS.

## Aryo-Dravidian Type.

### Type Specimen: CHĀMAR OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. Cephalic Index. | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. Nasal Index. | | STATURE. | C.M. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 72·8 | Average | 86·0 | Average | 163·0 |
| Maximum | 81 | Maximum | 109 | Maximum | 176·5 |
| Minimum | 67 | Minimum | 64 | Minimum | 152·4 |
| Range | 14 | Range | 45 | Range | 24·1 |


Indices.
Number of subjects.
Percentage on number of subjects.
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
HEAD.
Very long heads (Hyper-dolicho cephalic). Under 70 . . 17 —17
Long heads (Dolicho-cephalic). 70 and under 72·5 . 23 —23
72·5 and under 75 . 38 —38
Medium heads (Meso-cephalic). 75 and under 77·5 . 15 —15
77·5 and under 80 . 5 —5
Broad heads (Brachy-cephalic). 80 and over . . 2 —2
NOSE.
Fine noses (Leptorhine). Under 65 . . 1 —1
65 and under 70 . 1 —1
Medium noses (Mesorhine). 70 and under 75 . 5 —5
75 and under 80 . 13 —13
80 and under 85 . 19 —19
Broad noses (Platyrhine). 85 and under 90 . 25 —25
90 and under 95 . 27 —27
95 and under 100 . 3 —3
100 and over . . 6 —6
STATURE.
Centimetres.
Short . . Under 160 . . 11 —11
5′ 3″
Below mean . 160 and under 165 . 32 —32
5′ 3″—5′ 5″
Above mean . 165 and under 170 . 39 —39
5′ 5″—5′ 7″
Tall . . 170 and over . . 18 —18
5′ 7″

# SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS.

## Aryo-Dravidian Type.

### United Provinces, Behar and Ceylon. (In order of Nasal Index.)

| Number of subjects. | Name of Tribe or Caste. | Language or Dialect. | Locality. | Dimensions of Head. Length Glabello-occipital. Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Breadth Extreme. Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Proportions of Head. Cephalic Index. Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Dimensions of Nose. Height. Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Breadth. Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Proportions of Nose. Nasal Index. Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Stature. Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Relative Prominence of Root of Nose. External orbital breadth (average). | Bi-orbito nasal arc (average). | Orbito Nasal Index. Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 26 | Bhuinhār | Eastern Hindi | United Provinces | 187·2 | 198 | 178 | 137·4 | 144 | 128 | 73·3 | 77 | 67 | 47·2 | 52 | 40 | 34·5 | 41 | 31 | 73·0 | 91 | 61 | 1660 | 1727 | 1574 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 67 | Brāhman | Bihāri | Behar | 187·8 | 202 | 171 | 140·8 | 156 | 130 | 74·9 | 84 | 69 | 49·3 | 56 | 40 | 36·1 | 43 | 31 | 73·2 | 93 | 63 | 1651 | 1790 | 1544 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 59 | Bābhan | Do. | Do. | 187·8 | 201 | 176 | 144·1 | 161 | 130 | 76·7 | 90 | 70 | 50·5 | 58 | 42 | 37·4 | 43 | 33 | 74·0 | 90 | 62 | 1662 | 1760 | 1540 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 100 | Brāhman | Eastern Hindi | United Provinces | 187·5 | 202 | 170 | 137·2 | 152 | 127 | 73·1 | 84 | 66 | 46·5 | 53 | 35 | 34·7 | 41 | 28 | 74·6 | 100 | 60 | 1659 | 1879 | 1422 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 100 | Kāyasth | Western Hindi | Do. | 186·4 | 200 | 174 | 135·4 | 154 | 124 | 72·6 | 80 | 64 | 46·6 | 52 | 32 | 34·9 | 44 | 30 | 74·8 | 102 | 58 | 1648 | 1792 | 1498 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 100 | Goālā | Bihāri | Behar | 185·4 | 202 | 171 | 141·4 | 160 | 128 | 76·2 | 87 | 65 | 48·5 | 56 | 41 | 37·2 | 45 | 29 | 76·7 | 100 | 58 | 1642 | 1780 | 1502 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 100 | Chhatri | Eastern Hindi | United Provinces | 188·3 | 203 | 172 | 137·6 | 152 | 123 | 73·0 | 84 | 65 | 45·8 | 53 | 38 | 35·6 | 43 | 29 | 77·7 | 97 | 58 | 1661 | 1803 | 1498 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 103 | Kanjar | Western Hindi | Do. | 181·8 | 195 | 165 | 135·9 | 149 | 120 | 74·7 | 82 | 65 | 43·7 | 54 | 32 | 34·1 | 40 | 28 | 78·0 | 106 | 59 | 1636 | 1778 | 1498 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 15 | Khatri | Eastern Hindi | Do. | 188·0 | 195 | 175 | 135·2 | 141 | 130 | 71·9 | 79 | 68 | 45·7 | 53 | 40 | 35·7 | 39 | 33 | 78·1 | 93 | 64 | 1623 | 1727 | 1524 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 71 | Kurmi | Bihāri | Behar | 186·9 | 202 | 167 | 141·5 | 152 | 133 | 75·7 | 83 | 69 | 47·6 | 56 | 40 | 37·4 | 42 | 30 | 78·5 | 98 | 60 | 1630 | 1764 | 1520 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 100 | Kurmi | Eastern Hindi | United Provinces | 184·0 | 200 | 170 | 134·9 | 147 | 125 | 73·3 | 81 | 66 | 43·9 | 52 | 39 | 34·8 | 41 | 30 | 79·2 | 98 | 60 | 1642 | 1966 | 1349 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 65 | Thāru | Do. | Do. | 184·0 | 205 | 166 | 136·0 | 145 | 128 | 73·9 | 83 | 67 | 45·4 | 59 | 40 | 36·1 | 46 | 31 | 79·5 | 102 | 61 | 1614 | 1752 | 1524 | 114·0 | 130·0 | 114·0 | 119·0 | 109·0 |
| 80 | Bania | Do. | Do. | 187·2 | 200 | 175 | 133·5 | 150 | 124 | 71·3 | 84 | 66 | 44·7 | 54 | 35 | 35·6 | 41 | 30 | 79·6 | 106 | 65 | 1642 | 1816 | 1473 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 56 | Kahār | Bihārī | Behar | 186·1 | 203 | 173 | 141·7 | 154 | 132 | 76·1 | 83 | 70 | 48·0 | 56 | 40 | 38·3 | 45 | 30 | 79·7 | 103 | 63 | 1624 | 1760 | 1510 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 33 | Barhi | Western Hindi | United Provinces | 185·4 | 197 | 175 | 133·3 | 140 | 125 | 71·8 | 78 | 66 | 42·9 | 48 | 37 | 34·7 | 42 | 31 | 80·8 | 105 | 67 | 1637 | 1727 | 1574 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 100 | Goālā | Eastern Hindi | Do. | 185·2 | 202 | 170 | 135·2 | 145 | 125 | 73·0 | 85 | 65 | 43·1 | 52 | 35 | 34·9 | 42 | 29 | 80·9 | 108 | 60 | 1628 | 1752 | 1447 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 100 | Kewat | Do. | Do. | 184·3 | 198 | 170 | 134·0 | 145 | 124 | 72·7 | 80 | 65 | 43·2 | 52 | 32 | 35·2 | 42 | 29 | 81·4 | 100 | 62 | 1626 | 1752 | 1498 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 100 | Bhar | Do. | Do. | 185·5 | 197 | 170 | 136·4 | 147 | 120 | 73·5 | 81 | 62 | 44·4 | 55 | 33 | 36·4 | 46 | 30 | 81·9 | 109 | 60 | 1612 | 1790 | 1473 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 100 | Māghya Dom | Bihārī | Behar | 186·3 | 203 | 171 | 142·1 | 154 | 132 | 76·2 | 87 | 70 | 48·0 | 55 | 40 | 39·5 | 48 | 32 | 82·2 | 98 | 62 | 1648 | 1770 | 1496 | 112·6 | 128·7 | 114·2 | 125·0 | 103·0 |
| 13 | Bind | Do. | Do. | 184·6 | 192 | 176 | 136·7 | 146 | 125 | 74·0 | 81 | 66 | 45·0 | 52 | 38 | 37·0 | 40 | 35 | 82·2 | 100 | 71 | 1612 | 1686 | 1534 | 111·9 | 125·9 | 112·5 | 122·0 | 107·0 |
| 32 | Kol | Eastern Hindi | United Provinces | 183·1 | 195 | 170 | 132·6 | 140 | 120 | 72·4 | 81 | 68 | 44·0 | 49 | 41 | 36·2 | 40 | 30 | 82·2 | 93 | 64 | 1650 | 1779 | 1549 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 100 | Dosādh | Bihārī | Behar | 184·8 | 201 | 168 | 141·8 | 155 | 130 | 76·8 | 85 | 70 | 46·8 | 56 | 40 | 38·6 | 44 | 33 | 82·4 | 100 | 64 | 1620 | 1728 | 1494 | 114·5 | 132·1 | 115·3 | 126·0 | 105·0 |
| 45 | Lohār | Western Hindi | United Provinces | 184·9 | 200 | 170 | 134·7 | 145 | 120 | 72·8 | 82 | 68 | 43·4 | 52 | 35 | 35·8 | 43 | 29 | 82·4 | 114 | 60 | 1636 | 1826 | 1498 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 100 | Guria | Eastern Hindi | Do. | 184·7 | 207 | 169 | 133·8 | 147 | 123 | 72·4 | 80 | 65 | 42·1 | 52 | 33 | 34·8 | 41 | 28 | 82·6 | 103 | 60 | 1627 | 1752 | 1473 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 56 | Sinhalese | Sinhalese | Ceylon | 183·4 | 202 | 171 | 143·9 | 155 | 133 | 78·4 | 87 | 69 | 47·7 | 52 | 41 | 39·2 | 46 | 34 | 82·6 | 100 | 68 | 1625 | 1730 | 1499 | 99·5 | 112·3 | 112·8 | 118·0 | 106·0 |
| 62 | Chamār | Bihārī | Behar | 184·4 | 198 | 168 | 140·3 | 154 | 128 | 76·0 | 88 | 68 | 46·0 | 52 | 39 | 38·1 | 44 | 32 | 82·8 | 95 | 65 | 1612 | 1840 | 1480 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 100 | Kāchi | Western Hindi | United Provinces | 184·6 | 198 | 172 | 133·2 | 149 | 122 | 72·1 | 81 | 66 | 41·7 | 50 | 33 | 34·6 | 42 | 29 | 82·9 | 117 | 60 | 1642 | 1821 | 1485 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 100 | Dom | Eastern Hindi | Do. | 182·7 | 204 | 170 | 136·8 | 148 | 124 | 74·8 | 84 | 64 | 45·4 | 55 | 37 | 37·7 | 45 | 32 | 83·0 | 122 | 62 | 1655 | 1778 | 1524 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 100 | Lodha | Western Hindi | Do. | 185·2 | 201 | 170 | 134·5 | 145 | 123 | 72·6 | 81 | 65 | 41·6 | 49 | 34 | 34·7 | 42 | 30 | 83·4 | 109 | 65 | 1628 | 1778 | 1536 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 100 | Koiri | Do. | Do. | 185·2 | 197 | 170 | 133·6 | 145 | 120 | 72·1 | 81 | 67 | 42·7 | 51 | 35 | 35·7 | 43 | 30 | 83·6 | 111 | 60 | 1628 | 1752 | 1511 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 100 | Pāsi | Eastern Hindi | Do. | 185·0 | 206 | 169 | 134·4 | 146 | 126 | 72·6 | 80 | 67 | 41·2 | 52 | 33 | 35·2 | 42 | 27 | 85·4 | 115 | 66 | 1639 | 1778 | 1524 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 100 | Chamār | Do. | Do. | 185·1 | 196 | 166 | 134·9 | 147 | 123 | 72·8 | 81 | 67 | 41·0 | 50 | 34 | 35·3 | 41 | 30 | 86·0 | 109 | 64 | 1630 | 1765 | 1524 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 18 | Musāhar | Do. | Do. | 181·7 | 197 | 170 | 134·8 | 145 | 130 | 74·1 | 79 | 69 | 42·5 | 47 | 37 | 36·6 | 43 | 32 | 86·1 | 103 | 73 | 1598 | 1701 | 1498 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 77 | Musāhar | Bihārī | Behar | 183·0 | 200 | 171 | 138·6 | 150 | 130 | 75·7 | 84 | 67 | 45·5 | 52 | 38 | 40·4 | 49 | 34 | 88·7 | 113 | 72 | 1591 | 1696 | 1500 | 108·3 | 121·8 | 112·4 | 121·0 | 105·0 |

# SERIATIONS.

## Mongolo-Dravidian Type.

### Type Specimen: KOCHH.

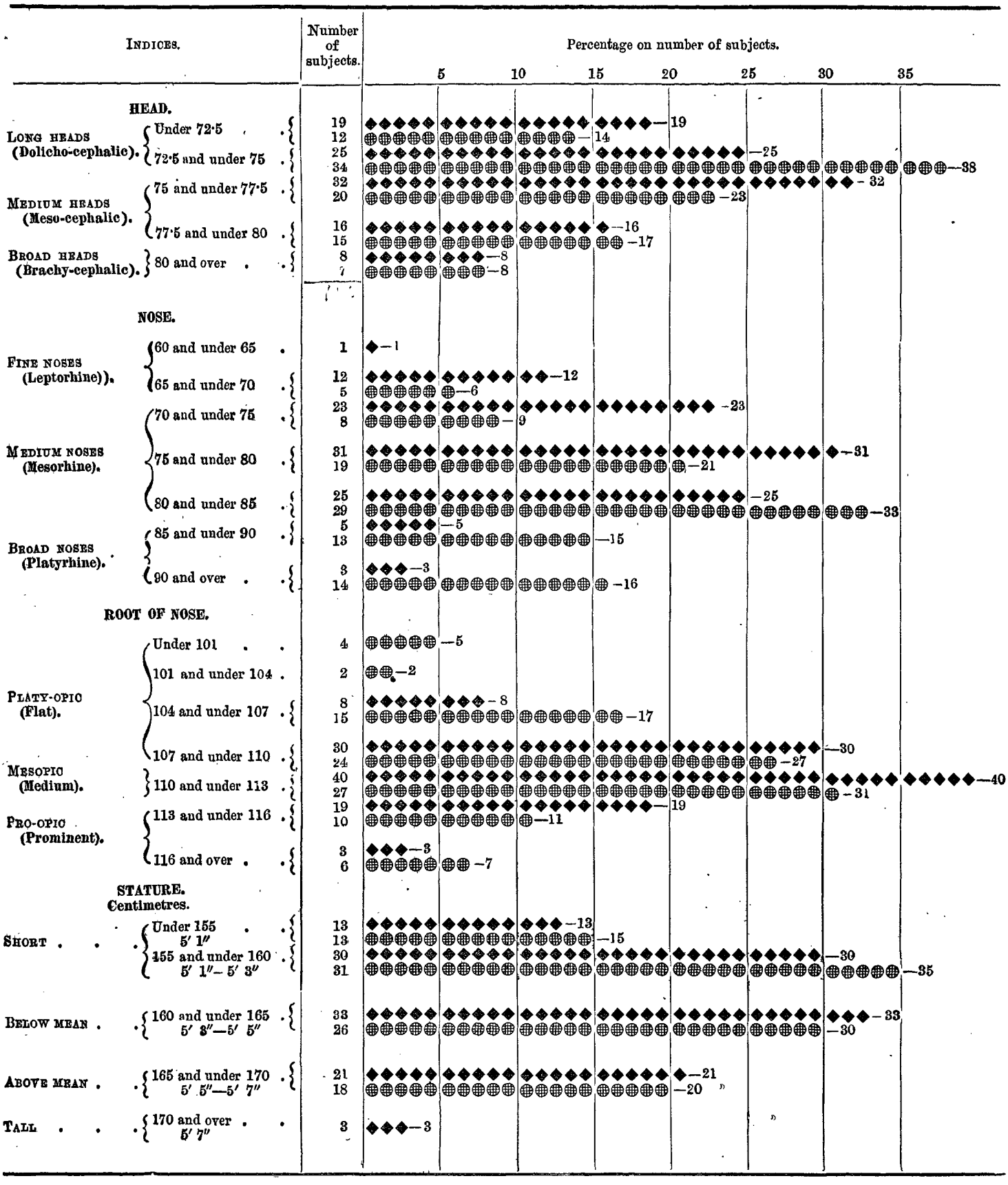
| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. Cephalic Index. | Risley. | Waddell. |
|---|---|---|
| Average | 75·2 | 76·7 |
| Maximum | 84 | 87 |
| Minimum | 68 | 71 |
| Range | 16 | 16 |

| PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. Nasal Index. | Risley. | Waddell. |
|---|---|---|
| Average | 76·6 | 80·0 |
| Maximum | 92 | 109 |
| Minimum | 61 | 67 |
| Range | 31 | 42 |

| RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. Orbito-Nasal Index. | Risley. | Waddell. |
|---|---|---|
| Average | 110·8 | 110·0 |
| Maximum | 121 | 121 |
| Minimum | 104 | 93 |
| Range | 17 | 28 |

| STATURE. | Risley. | Waddell. |
|---|---|---|
| Average | 160·7 | 159·1 |
| Maximum | 174·6 | 169·5 |
| Minimum | 144·0 | 150·2 |
| Range | 30·6 | 19·3 |

RISLEY ◆◆◆◆◆
WADDELL ◍◍◍◍◍



# SERIATIONS.

## Mongolo-Dravidian Type.

Type Specimen: BRAHMAN OF EAST BENGAL.

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. Cephalic Index. | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. Nasal Index. | | STATURE. | C. M. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 79·0 | Average | 70·3 | Average | 165·3 |
| Maximum | 88 | Maximum | 85 | Maximum | 179·2 |
| Minimum | 70 | Minimum | 56 | Minimum | 147·4 |
| Range | 18 | Range | 29 | Range | 31·8 |

| INDICES. | | Number of subjects. | Percentage on number of subjects. (5 10 15 20 25 30 35) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **HEAD.** | | | |
| LONG HEADS (Dolicho-cephalic). | 70 and under 72·5 | 1 | ◆—1 |
| | 72·5 and under 75 | 8 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—12 |
| MEDIUM HEADS (Meso-cephalic). | 75 and under 77·5 | 14 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—21 |
| | 77·5 and under 80 | 21 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—31 |
| BROAD HEADS (Brachy-cephalic). | 80 and under 82·5 | 12 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—18 |
| | 82·5 and under 85 | 9 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—13 |
| | 85 and over | 3 | ◆◆◆◆—4 |
| **NOSE.** | | | |
| FINE NOSES (Leptorhine). | Under 60 | 4 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—6 |
| | 60 and under 65 | 8 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—12 |
| | 65 and under 70 | 19 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—28 |
| MEDIUM NOSES (Mesorhine). | 70 and under 75 | 20 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆—29 |
| | 75 and under 80 | 14 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—21 |
| | 80 and under 85 | 2 | ◆◆◆—3 |
| BROAD NOSES (Platyrhine). | 85 and over | 1 | ◆—1 |
| **STATURE.** | | | |
| | **Centimetres.** | | |
| SHORT | Under 155 (5′ 1″) | 2 | ◆◆◆—3 |
| | 155 and under 160 (5′ 1″—5′ 3″) | 8 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—12 |
| BELOW MEAN | 160 and under 165 (5′ 3″—5′ 5″) | 22 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—32 |
| ABOVE MEAN | 165 and under 170 (5′ 5″—5′ 7″) | 22 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—32 |
| TALL | 170 and under 175 (5′ 7″—5′ 9″) | 12 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆—18 |
| | 175 and over (5′ 9″) | 2 | ◆◆◆—3 |

# SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS.

## Mongolo-Dravidian Type.

### Bengal and Orissa. (In order of Cephalic index.)

| Number of subjects. | Names of Tribe or Caste. | Language or Dialect. | Locality. | Dimensions of Head. | | | | | | Proportions of Head. | | | Dimensions of Nose. | | | | | | Proportions of Nose. | | | Stature. | | | Relative Prominence of Root of Nose. | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Length (Glabello-occipital). | | | Breadth (Extreme). | | | Cephalic Index. | | | Height. | | | Breadth. | | | Nasal Index. | | | | | | External orbital breadth (average). | Bi-orbito nasal arc (average). | Orbito-Nasal Index. | | |
| | | | | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | | | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | **Bengal.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 100 | Kochh (Rājbansi) | Rājbansi | N.-E. Bengal | 186·2 | 202 | 166 | 140·2 | 153 | 127 | 75·2 | 84 | 68 | 48·9 | 57 | 44 | 37·5 | 45 | 32 | 76·6 | 92 | 61 | 1607 | 1746 | 1440 | 103·7 | 115·0 | 110·8 | 121 | 104 |
| 88* | Kochh (Rājbansi) | Do. | Do. | 181·0 | 202 | 165 | 139·0 | 152 | 131 | 76·7 | 87 | 71 | 45·0 | 52 | 37 | 36·0 | 49 | 30 | 80·0 | 109 | 67 | 1591 | 1695 | 1502 | 100·0 | 110·0 | 110·0 | 121 | 93 |
| 99 | Bāgdi | Bengāli | Bengal | 182·7 | 201 | 172 | 139·5 | 153 | 130 | 76·3 | 83 | 68 | 46·7 | 55 | 39 | 37·6 | 45 | 30 | 80·5 | 100 | 62 | 1603 | 1722 | 1434 | 106·0 | 119·0 | 112·2 | 118 | 106 |
| 12 | Māl | Do. | Western Bengal | 183·0 | 191 | 166 | 141·3 | 146 | 135 | 77·2 | 88 | 71 | 47·2 | 50 | 42 | 40·0 | 46 | 33 | 84·7 | 100 | 70 | 1622 | 1730 | 1520 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 41 | Goālā | Do. | Eastern Bengal | 183·8 | 198 | 170 | 142·1 | 153 | 131 | 77·3 | 86 | 71 | 49·0 | 58 | 43 | 36·4 | 40 | 31 | 74·2 | 87 | 62 | 1646 | 1746 | 1500 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 100 | Kaibarta | Do. | Do. | 182·3 | 198 | 166 | 141·1 | 152 | 129 | 77·3 | 87 | 70 | 48·0 | 55 | 37 | 36·6 | 43 | 32 | 76·2 | 103 | 63 | 1629 | 1770 | 1490 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 48 | Sadgop | Do. | Bengal, 24-Parganas | 182·6 | 201 | 168 | 142·1 | 150 | 132 | 77·6 | 87 | 72 | 49·6 | 55 | 42 | 36·7 | 49 | 30 | 73·9 | 98 | 55 | 1633 | 1780 | 1510 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 27 | Muchi | Do. | Eastern Bengal | 182·9 | 198 | 170 | 142·0 | 151 | 133 | 77·6 | 86 | 72 | 49·1 | 54 | 42 | 36·8 | 43 | 32 | 74·9 | 88 | 63 | 1641 | 1742 | 1536 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 100 | Pod | Do. | Bengal, 24-Parganas | 183·2 | 198 | 172 | 142·4 | 155 | 130 | 77·7 | 85 | 70 | 49·1 | 56 | 41 | 37·4 | 43 | 32 | 76·1 | 91 | 63 | 1625 | 1850 | 1490 | 99·6 | 111·1 | 111·5 | 118 | 104 |
| 185 | Muhammadan | Do. | Eastern Bengal | 182·8 | 199 | 168 | 142·7 | 156 | 131 | 78·0 | 89 | 70 | 49·4 | 58 | 40 | 38·3 | 45 | 32 | 77·5 | 96 | 64 | 1634 | 1760 | 1500 | 113·2 | 128·6 | 113·6 | 121 | 106 |
| 67 | Chandāl | Do. | Do. | 183·2 | 201 | 166 | 143·1 | 151 | 131 | 78·1 | 89 | 70 | 49·6 | 56 | 43 | 36·7 | 42 | 30 | 73·9 | 89 | 62 | 1619 | 1734 | 1472 | 112·3 | 128·1 | 114·0 | 121 | 106 |
| 100 | Kāyastha | Do. | Bengal | 182·4 | 195 | 169 | 142·8 | 155 | 129 | 78·2 | 88 | 70 | 50·2 | 58 | 42 | 35·3 | 41 | 29 | 70·3 | 89 | 56 | 1636 | 1810 | 1544 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 32 | Brahman | Do. | Western Bengal | 182·2 | 195 | 171 | 142·6 | 151 | 135 | 78·2 | 87 | 72 | 48·5 | 54 | 40 | 34·9 | 40 | 29 | 71·9 | 100 | 58 | 1670 | 1734 | 1550 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 68 | Brahman | Do. | Eastern Bengal | 181·5 | 195 | 170 | 143·4 | 151 | 134 | 79·0 | 88 | 70 | 49·9 | 59 | 36 | 35·1 | 42 | 28 | 70·3 | 85 | 56 | 1653 | 1792 | 1474 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 20 | Rājbansi Māgh | Māgh | Chittagong | 178·6 | 192 | 166 | 148·4 | 157 | 140 | 83·0 | 94 | 74 | 51·0 | 57 | 43 | 38·2 | 46 | 33 | 74·9 | 88 | 65 | 1645 | 1750 | 1542 | 106·6 | 118·3 | 110·9 | 115 | 105 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | **Orissa.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 43 | Karan | Oriya | Puri | 186·1 | 197 | 174 | 142·0 | 152 | 130 | 76·2 | 84 | 68 | 47·7 | 55 | 39 | 38·8 | 44 | 32 | 81·3 | 100 | 66 | 1638 | 1792 | 1486 | 109·8 | 127·7 | 116·3 | 126 | 102 |
| 26 | Niarī | Do. | Cuttack | 185·0 | 193 | 170 | 141·5 | 151 | 131 | 76·4 | 87 | 70 | 46·8 | 53 | 39 | 37·7 | 42 | 32 | 80·5 | 100 | 70 | 1611 | 1756 | 1469 | 107·9 | 122·8 | 113·8 | 120 | 107 |
| 45 | Teli | Do. | Puri | 184·0 | 196 | 166 | 140·8 | 150 | 129 | 76·5 | 83 | 71 | 47·1 | 56 | 39 | 36·5 | 42 | 31 | 77·4 | 95 | 65 | 1619 | 1794 | 1500 | 107·8 | 124·8 | 115·7 | 123 | 108 |
| 59 | Chāsā | Do. | Cuttack | 183·9 | 196 | 169 | 141·9 | 151 | 129 | 77·1 | 84 | 70 | 47·5 | 53 | 41 | 37·7 | 42 | 33 | 79·3 | 93 | 67 | 1615 | 1752 | 1450 | 108·2 | 123·5 | 111·4 | 121 | 109 |
| 52 | Shāshan Brahman | Do. | Puri | 182·9 | 195 | 171 | 141·2 | 155 | 128 | 77·1 | 90 | 67 | 48·4 | 57 | 41 | 37·2 | 47 | 32 | 76·8 | 93 | 59 | 1635 | 1748 | 1498 | 109·2 | 127·4 | 116·6 | 123 | 110 |
| 38 | Kewat | Do. | Cuttack | 183·4 | 198 | 173 | 141·9 | 157 | 131 | 77·3 | 86 | 71 | 47·0 | 59 | 40 | 38·7 | 45 | 34 | 82·3 | 98 | 66 | 1611 | 1716 | 1500 | 108·3 | 123·7 | 114·2 | 121 | 109 |
| 40 | Khandāit | Do. | Do. | 183·6 | 197 | 171 | 142·0 | 153 | 133 | 77·3 | 84 | 69 | 48·0 | 55 | 40 | 37·8 | 44 | 33 | 78·7 | 98 | 67 | 1645 | 1728 | 1529 | 109·5 | 126·9 | 115·8 | 123 | 108 |
| 40 | Bauri | Do. | Do. | 180·4 | 193 | 165 | 139·6 | 149 | 130 | 77·3 | 86 | 70 | 45·5 | 56 | 38 | 38·3 | 44 | 33 | 85·1 | 113 | 68 | 1585 | 1686 | 1476 | 110·3 | 124·2 | 112·6 | 117 | 104 |
| 40 | Mastān Brahman | Do. | Puri | 183·8 | 197 | 169 | 142·7 | 154 | 132 | 77·6 | 86 | 69 | 47·9 | 55 | 40 | 38·0 | 48 | 31 | 79·3 | 100 | 63 | 1642 | 1755 | 1468 | 110·6 | 129·5 | 171·0 | 120 | 112 |
| 40 | Pān | Do. | Cuttack | 182·2 | 193 | 161 | 141·5 | 154 | 130 | 77·6 | 90 | 68 | 46·6 | 54 | 39 | 38·3 | 45 | 33 | 82·1 | 100 | 66 | 1607 | 1748 | 1462 | 110·0 | 124·1 | 112·8 | 119 | 107 |
| 41 | Gaura | Do. | Do. | 182·8 | 198 | 166 | 142·1 | 151 | 130 | 77·7 | 90 | 70 | 48·4 | 55 | 42 | 37·2 | 43 | 27 | 76·8 | 96 | 60 | 1627 | 1748 | 1510 | 110·3 | 126·0 | 114·2 | 122 | 108 |
| 41 | Pandā Brahman | Do. | Puri | 183·3 | 195 | 171 | 142·7 | 152 | 132 | 77·8 | 88 | 70 | 47·9 | 55 | 41 | 37·1 | 44 | 32 | 77·4 | 100 | 66 | 1642 | 1750 | 1558 | 109·5 | 126·9 | 115·8 | 124 | 107 |
| 41 | Kandra | Do. | Cuttack | 182·6 | 198 | 168 | 143·3 | 157 | 133 | 78·4 | 88 | 69 | 47·6 | 54 | 40 | 37·9 | 42 | 33 | 79·6 | 100 | 70 | 1625 | 1722 | 1506 | 111·7 | 127·8 | 114·4 | 121 | 110 |
| 40 | Guria | Do. | Puri | 182·9 | 204 | 163 | 143·5 | 167 | 135 | 78·4 | 93 | 69 | 47·0 | 55 | 41 | 37·3 | 45 | 31 | 79·3 | 93 | 63 | 1606 | 1724 | 1476 | 108·9 | 125·6 | 115·3 | 122 | 107 |

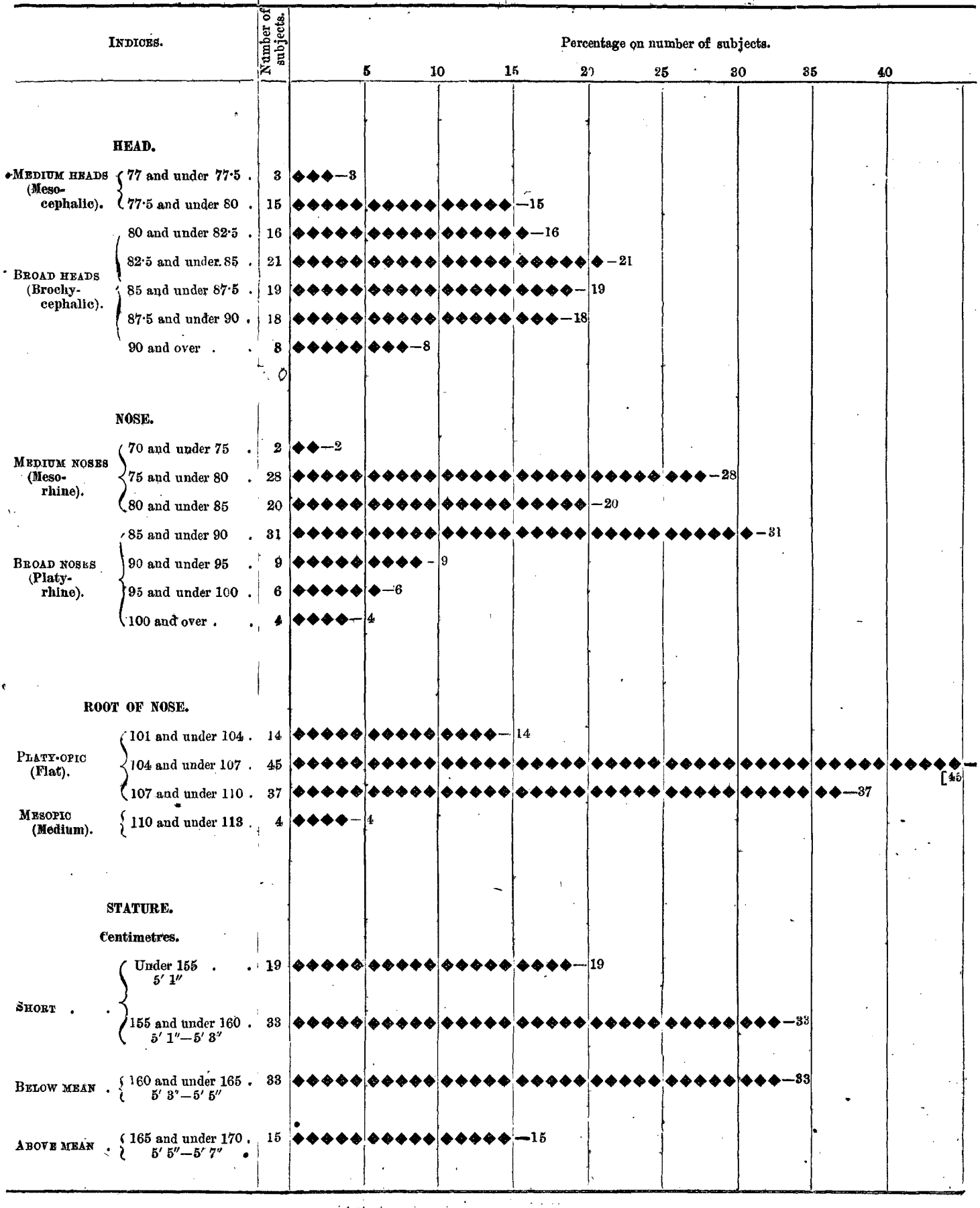
* Lt.-Colonel Waddell.

# SERIATIONS.

## Mongoloid-Type.

**Type Specimen: CHAKMA.**

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. Cephalic Index. | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. Nasal Index. | | RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. Orbito-Nasal Index. | | STATURE. | C. M. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 84·3 | Average | 84·5 | Average | 106·4 | Average | 159·5 |
| Maximum | 96 | Maximum | 105 | Maximum | 112 | Maximum | 169·6 |
| Minimum | 77 | Minimum | 70 | Minimum | 102 | Minimum | 149·0 |
| Range | 19 | Range | 35 | Range | 10 | Range | 20·6 |

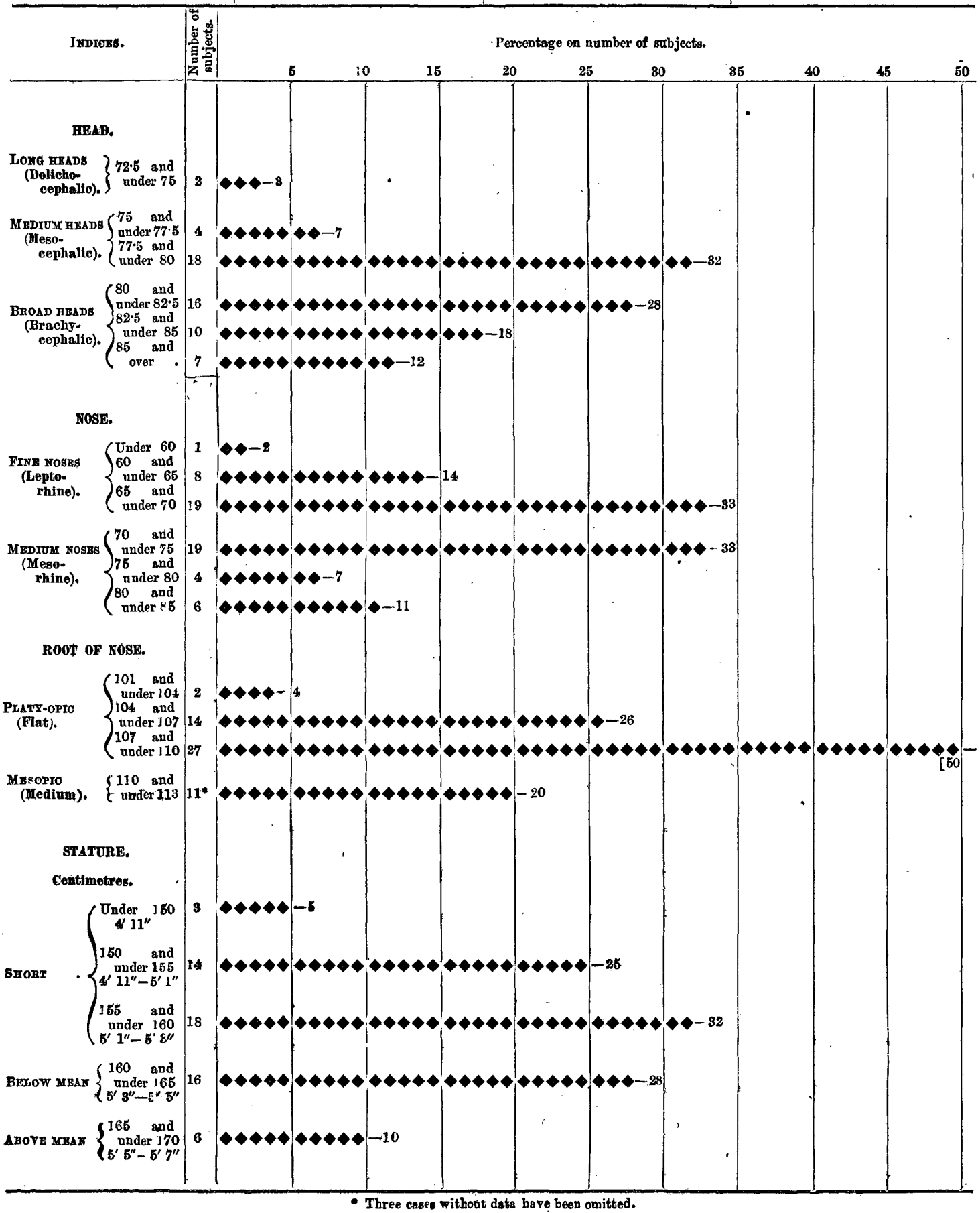

INDICES.
Number of subjects.
Percentage on number of subjects.
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
HEAD.
MEDIUM HEADS (Meso-cephalic).
77 and under 77·5 . 3
77·5 and under 80 . 15
BROAD HEADS (Brachy-cephalic).
80 and under 82·5 . 16
82·5 and under 85 . 21
85 and under 87·5 . 19
87·5 and under 90 . 18
90 and over . . 8
NOSE.
MEDIUM NOSES (Meso-rhine).
70 and under 75 . 2
75 and under 80 . 28
80 and under 85 20
BROAD NOSES (Platy-rhine).
85 and under 90 . 31
90 and under 95 . 9
95 and under 100 . 6
100 and over . . 4
ROOT OF NOSE.
PLATY-OPIC (Flat).
101 and under 104 . 14
104 and under 107 . 45
107 and under 110 . 37
MESOPIC (Medium).
110 and under 113 . 4
STATURE.
Centimetres.
SHORT .
Under 155 5′ 1″ . . 19
155 and under 160 5′ 1″—5′ 3″ . 33
BELOW MEAN .
160 and under 165 5′ 3″—5′ 5″ . 33
ABOVE MEAN .
165 and under 170 5′ 5″—5′ 7″ . 15

# SERIATIONS.

## Mongoloid Type.

### Type Specimen: LEPCHA.

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. Cephalic Index. | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. Nasal Index. | | RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. Orbito-Nasal Index. | | STATURE. | C. M. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 79·9 | Average | 67·2 | Average | 108·1 | Average | 157·0 |
| Maximum | 90 | Maximum | 83 | Maximum | 113 | Maximum | 169·0 |
| Minimum | 73 | Minimum | 59 | Minimum | 103 | Minimum | 149·0 |
| Range | 17 | Range | 24 | Range | 10 | Range | 20·0 |




* Three cases without data have been omitted.

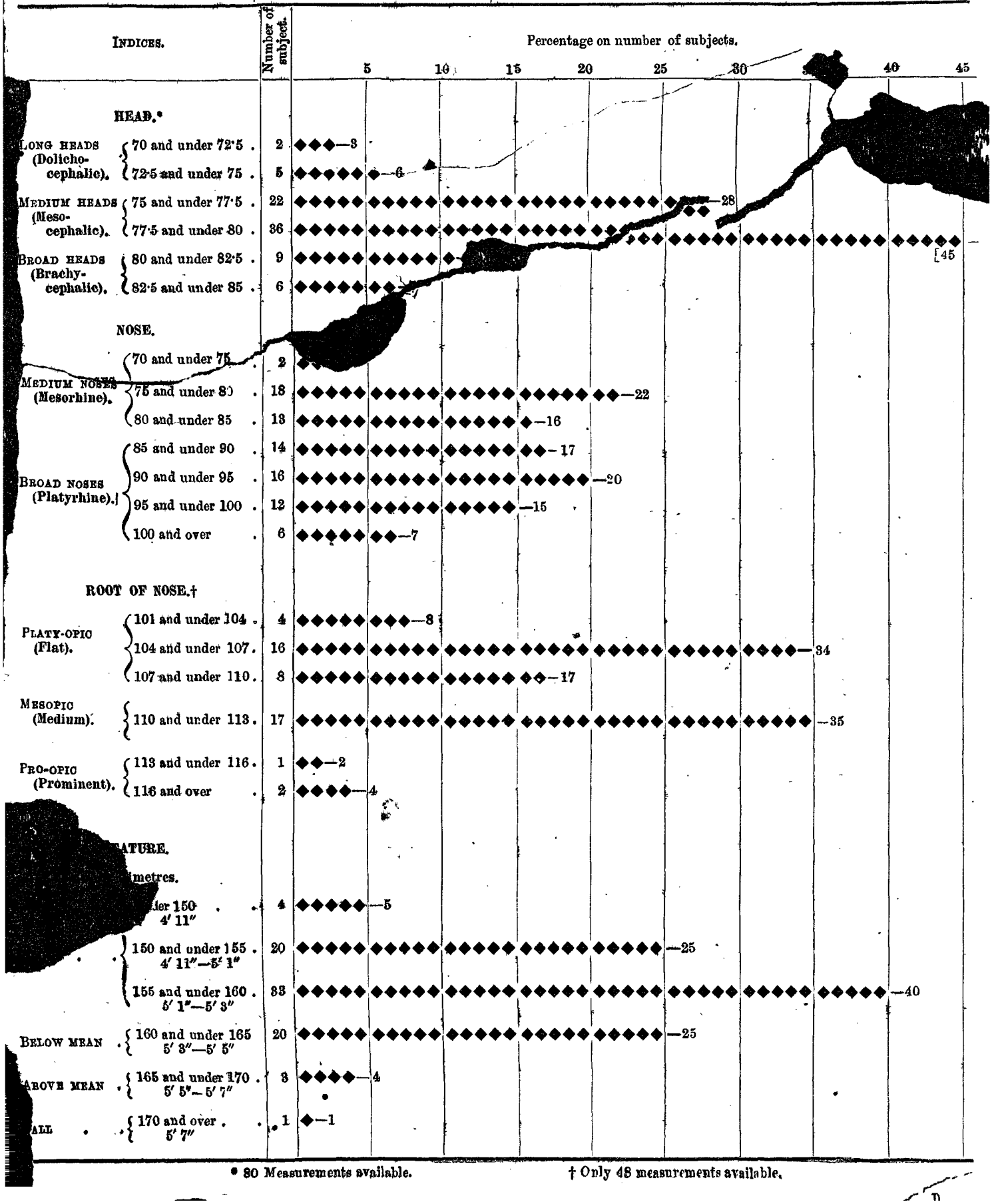
# SERIATIONS.

## Mongoloid Type.

**Type Specimen: KASIA.**

**LT.-COL. WADDELL.**

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.) | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.) | | RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. Orbito-Nasal Index. | | STATURE. | c. m. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 78·6 | Average | 86·3 | Average | 108·4 | Average | 156·9 |
| Maximum | 84 | Maximum | 108 | Maximum | 119 | Maximum | 170·0 |
| Minimum | 72 | Minimum | 73 | Minimum | 101 | Minimum | 141·7 |
| Range | 12 | Range | 35 | Range | 18 | Range | 28·3 |




* 80 Measurements available.

† Only 48 measurements available.

# SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS.

## Mongoloid Type.

EASTERN HIMALAYA, CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS, AND ASSAM. (In order of orbito-n[illegible]ex—Risley.)

| Number of subjects. | Name of Tribe or Caste. | Language or Dialect. | Locality. | DIMENSIONS OF HEAD. Length (Glabello-occipital). Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Breadth (Extreme). Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. Cephalic Index. Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | DIMENSIONS OF NOSE. Height. Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Breadth. Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. Nasal Index. Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | STATURE. Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. External orbital breadth. (Average.) | Bi-orbital nasal arc. (Average.) | Orbito-Nasal Index. Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17 | Kuki | Rāngkhol | Rangamati | 187·2 | 200 | 179 | 142·8 | 156 | 136 | 76·2 | 81 | 71 | 46·7 | 52 | 43 | 39·7 | 43 | 34 | 85·0 | 93 | 74 | 1566 | 1650 | 1506 | 99·5 | 105·7 | 106·2 | 110 | 102 |
| 11 | Kuki* | Rāngkhol | Rangamati | 187·0 | 195 | 176 | 143·0 | 151 | 137 | 76·4 | 82 | 74 | 45 | 49 | 41 | 41 | 45 | 38 | 91·1 | 100 | 84 | 1587 | 1670 | 1508 | 110·0 | 121·0 | 110·0 | 113 | 105 |
| 100 | Chakma | Tipurā | Rangamati | 177·9 | 195 | 162 | 150·0 | 161 | 134 | 84·3 | 96 | 77 | 47·2 | 53 | 41 | 39·9 | 46 | 30 | 84·5 | 105 | 70 | 1595 | 1696 | 1490 | 101·3 | 107·8 | 106·4 | 112 | 102 |
| 8 | Chakma* | Tipurā | Chittagong | 181·0 | 186 | 177 | 144·0 | 156 | 135 | 79·5 | 87 | 74 | 44 | 49 | 39 | [illegible] | 45 | 38 | 90·9 | 102 | 80 | 1597 | 1639 | 1546 | 103·0 | 117·0 | 113·5 | 121 | 107 |
| 17 | Ao* | Āo | Nāgā Hills | 179·0 | 187 | 170 | 141·0 | 153 | 137 | 80·4 | 85 | 76 | 44 | 49 | 37 | 36 | 41 | 31 | 81·8 | 100 | 70 | 1566 | 1648 | 1504 | 104·0 | 111·0 | 106·7 | 112 | 101 |
| 50 | Limbu | Limbu | Nepal | 181·4 | 193 | 170 | 153·1 | 167 | 140 | 84·3 | 94 | 76 | 50·2 | 57 | 37 | 37·2 | 43 | 30 | 74·1 | 111 | 64 | 1603 | 1734 | 1450 | 109·1 | 116·7 | 106·9 | 113 | 104 |
| 30 | Magh | Magh | Rangamati | 182·1 | 198 | 170 | 148·5 | 161 | 136 | 81·5 | 95 | 73 | 47·5 | [illegible] | 38 | 39·4 | 48 | 34 | 82·9 | 102 | 68 | 1599 | 1710 | 1522 | 101·0 | 108·0 | 106·9 | 113 | 102 |
| 52 | Khambu | Kirānti (Khambu) | Nepal | 182·4 | 194 | 169 | 147·8 | 160 | 130 | 81·0 | 93 | 75 | [illegible] | [illegible] | 45 | 38·3 | 42 | 35 | 76·6 | 91 | 63 | 1571 | 1656 | 1416 | 107·2 | 115·0 | 107·1 | 113 | 103 |
| 11 | Kirānti* | Kirānti | Ilam (E. Nepal) | 176·0 | 182 | 171 | 145·0 | 153 | 138 | 82·3 | 88 | 77 | [illegible] | 44 | 39 | 36 | 40 | 35 | 85·7 | 98 | 82 | 1586 | 1606 | 1512 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 7 | Khāmti (Tai)* | Khāmti | Dibrugarh (Assam) Bor-khamli | 187·0 | 196 | 180 | 148·9 | 151 | 144 | 79·1 | 83 | 75 | 47 | 51 | 44 | 38 | 41 | 36 | 80·8 | 91 | 75 | 1641 | 1695 | 1575 | 105·0 | 113·0 | 107·6 | 110 | 105 |
| 58 | Tiprā | Tipurā | Rangamati | 181·4 | 193 | 167 | 146·1 | 160 | 136 | 80·5 | 92 | 74 | 47·1 | 59 | 40 | 39·9 | 45 | 35 | 84·7 | 105 | 68 | 1611 | 1712 | 1486 | 100·0 | 107·6 | 107·6 | 112 | 103 |
| 18 | Ar-leng (Mikir)* | Mikir | Kāmrup (Assam) | 181·0 | 193 | 172 | 141·0 | 151 | 138 | 77·9 | 82 | 74 | 47 | 58 | 42 | 40 | 47 | 34 | 85·1 | 102 | 67 | 1633 | 1703 | 1558 | 103·0 | 111·0 | 107·7 | 114 | 104 |
| 57 | Lepcha | Lepcha | Sikkim | 185·0 | 195 | 174 | 146·7 | 161 | 136 | 79·9 | 90 | 73 | 51·6 | 60 | 42 | 34·7 | 41 | 33 | 67·2 | 83 | 59 | 1570 | 1690 | 1490 | 106·4 | 115·1 | 108·1 | 113 | 103 |
| 36 | Lepcha (Rong)* | Rangor Lepcha | [illegible] | 180·0 | 193 | 167 | 145·0 | 157 | 133 | 80·5 | 88 | 73 | 46 | 51 | 40 | 36 | 42 | 32 | 78·2 | 91 | 67 | 1584 | 1684 | 1449 | 102·0 | 108·0 | 105·8 | 119 | 92 |
| 81 | Kasia* | Kāsi | [illegible] | 183·0 | 193 | 171 | 144·0 | 151 | 133 | 78·6 | 84 | 72 | 44 | 52 | 36 | 38 | 45 | 33 | 86·3 | 108 | 73 | 1569 | 1700 | 1417 | 106·0 | 115·0 | 108·4 | 119 | 101 |
| 5 | Murung | Mrun (Ti | [illegible] | 185·4 | 189 | 182 | 142·0 | 152 | 135 | 76·5 | 82 | 73 | 49·0 | 51 | 47 | 37·6 | 40 | 36 | 76·7 | 81 | 73 | 1582 | 1636 | 1536 | 100·2 | 108·8 | 108·5 | 115 | 103 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 35 | Mangar . . | Māgar . | Nepal . . | 183·6 | 201 | 163 | 145·2 | 156 | 136 | 79·0 | 91 | 72 | 49·6 | 56 | 40 | 38·0 | 44 | 34 | 76·6 | 98 | 61 | 1587 | 1680 | 1508 | 106·4 | 115·7 | 108·7 | 116 | 103. |
| 7 | Dafla* . . | Daflā . | N. Lakhimpur (Assam) . . | 183·0 | 189 | 178 | 141·0 | 146 | 138 | 77·0 | 81 | 73 | 44 | 48 | 40 | 37 | 42 | 33 | 84·0 | 93 | 78 | 1606 | 1708 | 1532 | 103·0 | 112·0 | 108·7 | 114 | 104. |
| 65 | Murmi . . | Mūrmi . | Nepal and Darjeeling . . | 188·0 | 196 | 169 | 149·6 | 161 | 134 | 79·5 | 89 | 73 | 49·7 | 57 | 41 | 37·4 | 43 | 32 | 75·2 | 100 | 63 | 1669 | 1760 | 1490 | 111·5 | 121·5 | 108·9 | 113 | 105. |
| 9 | Bhotanese* . | Bhōtiā . | Pāto (E. Himalaya) . . | 183·0 | 188 | 176 | 147·0 | 157 | 140 | 80·3 | 87 | 75 | 48 | 54 | 41 | 37 | 41 | 36 | 77·0 | 88 | 73 | 1672 | 1747 | 1611 | 110·0 | 120·0 | 109·0 | 115 | 105. |
| 108 | Tibetans . . | Bhōtiā . | Eastern-Himalaya . . | 186·9 | 207 | 172 | 151·4 | 168 | 141 | 81·0 | 93 | 73 | 51·8 | 59 | 38 | 38·3 | 47 | 31 | 73·9 | 103 | 58 | 1633 | 1760 | 1520 | 119·8 | 130·8 | 109·1 | 120 | 103. |
| 8 | Tibetans* . | Bhōtiā . | Kong-bu (E. Himalaya) . | 182·0 | 189 | 173 | 148·0 | 161 | 143 | 81·3 | 86 | 78 | 45 | 49 | 42 | 37 | 41 | 36 | 82·2 | 91 | 76 | 1634 | 1748 | 1570 | 106·0 | 112·0 | 105·6 | 109 | 102 |
| 10 | Mech* . . | Mech . | Goalpāra (Assam) | 185·0 | 203 | 171 | 147·0 | 153 | 143 | 79·4 | 84 | 71 | 43 | 45 | 42 | 39 | 43 | 38 | 90·6 | 100 | 84 | 1643 | 1722 | 1582 | 104·0 | 114·0 | 109·6 | 114 | 104. |
| 33 | Bōdo (Kachāri)* | Bodo . | Kāmrup (Assam) | 181·0 | 195 | 171 | 142·0 | 152 | 135 | 78·4 | 84 | 73 | 42 | 50 | 35 | 37 | 49 | 33 | 88·0 | 118 | 72 | 1608 | 1734 | 1483 | 103·0 | 113·0 | 109·7 | 116 | 103. |
| 28 | Gurung . . | Gurung . | Darjeeling and Nepal . | 181·3 | 202 | 169 | 148·1 | 168 | 141 | 81·6 | 91 | 73 | 48·9 | 58 | 38 | 38·4 | 43 | 34 | 78·5 | 102 | 65 | 1698 | 1746 | 1476 | 117·0 | 128·6 | 109·9 | 114 | 105 |
| 7 | Abor* . . | Abor . | Dihong Valley . | 184·0 | 192 | 172 | 142·0 | 147 | 135 | 77·1 | 80 | 75 | 43 | 49 | 41 | 39 | 41 | 36 | 81·6 | 100 | 80 | 1579 | 1628 | 1490 | 108·0 | 119·0 | 110·1 | 115 | 107 |
| 13 | Newar . . | Néwār . | Nepal . . | 181·9 | 193 | 169 | 148·3 | 156 | 142 | 81·5 | 89 | 76 | 50·7 | 57 | 44 | 37·2 | 42 | 34 | 73·3 | 81 | 64 | 1614 | 1706 | 1470 | 108·6 | 119·7 | 110·2 | 116 | 104. |
| 25 | Mi-shing (Miri)* | Miri . . | Sibsāgar (Assam) | 178·0 | 199 | 169 | 144·0 | 153 | 139 | 80·8 | 87 | 73 | 44 | 51 | 40 | 37 | 41 | 34 | 84·0 | 100 | 75 | 1564 | 1700 | 1518 | 105·0 | 116·0 | 110·4 | 119 | 103. |
| 27 | Sin-teng (Jaintiā,) * . | Khāsī . | Jaintia Hills . | 192·0 | 199 | 176 | 140·0 | 149 | 134 | 72·9 | 80 | 69 | 45 | 52 | 39 | 37 | 42 | 32 | 82·2 | 100 | 68 | 1612 | 1713 | 1505 | 107·0 | 119·0 | 111·2 | 119 | 102 |
| 13 | Ching-pô (Singpho) * . . | Singpho . | Bisha (Assam) . | 185·0 | 192 | 173 | 140·0 | 146 | 137 | 75·6 | 81 | 74 | 47 | 56 | 40 | 38 | 42 | 29 | 80·8 | 95 | 60 | 1605 | 1695 | 1528 | 104·0 | 116·0 | 111·5 | 128 | 104 |
| 19 | Ahom * . . | Ahom . | Sibsāgar (Assam) | 176·0 | 185 | 161 | 145·0 | 154 | 137 | 82·3 | 91 | 75 | 44 | 49 | 38 | 36 | 41 | 33 | 81·8 | 90 | 73 | 1589 | 1720 | 1490 | 103·0 | 115·0 | 111·6 | 124 | 104 |
| 12 | Rabha (Datiyal Kachari) * . | Kachārī . | Kāmrup (Assam) | 182·0 | 197 | 170 | 142·0 | 149 | 135 | 78·0 | 82 | 74 | 43 | 49 | 37 | 39 | 44 | 36 | 90·6 | 105 | 73 | 1605 | 1695 | 1528 | 102·0 | 114·0 | 111·7 | 128 | 104 |
| 34 | Māndé (Gāro) * | Māndé . | Gāro Hills (Assam) . . | 183·0 | 193 | 174 | 139·0 | 150 | 134 | 75·9 | 80 | 71 | 41 | 47 | 36 | 39 | 43 | 35 | 95·1 | 117 | 83 | 1588 | 1679 | 1512 | 102·0 | 114·0 | 111·7 | 119 | 102 |
| 3 | Chutiya * . | Chutiyā . | Sibsāgar (Assam) | 182·0 | 183 | 182 | 143·0 | 145 | 142 | 78·5 | 79 | 78 | 44 | 48 | 38 | 36 | 38 | 35 | 81·8 | 95 | 76 | 1591 | 1607 | 1582 | 110·0 | 124·0 | 112·7 | 119 | 106 |
| 30 | Kanet† . . | Lahauli . | Lahoul . . | 189·0 | 199 | 179 | 147·0 | 155 | 138 | 77·5 | 82 | 72 | 53 | 59 | 47 | 35 | 39 | 32 | 66·4 | 76 | 57 | 1618 | 1750 | 1450 | 99·0 | 112·0 | 112·9 | 123 | 105 |
| 16 | Angā-mi * . | Angāmi . | Ta-bô-pi-si-mi . | 183·0 | 194 | 170 | 144·0 | 152 | 135 | 78·6 | 86 | 71 | 45 | 52 | 42 | 37 | 40 | 36 | 82·2 | 91 | 73 | 1639 | 1693 | 1539 | 103·0 | 117·0 | 113·5 | 120 | 105. |
| 4 | Kyon-Tsü ('Lhotā' 'Naga') * | Lhōtā . | Woka (Assam) . | 187·0 | 200 | 178 | 144·0 | 154 | 141 | 77·0 | 79 | 75 | 43 | 47 | 38 | 34 | 38 | 34 | 79·0 | 100 | 72 | 1620 | 1690 | 1580 | 103·0 | 118·0 | 114·5 | 117 | 108. |
| 60 | Kanet† . . | Kulu . | Kulu . . | 192·0 | 204 | 181 | 143·0 | 154 | 132 | 74·3 | 81 | 68 | 51 | 59 | 45 | 37 | 44 | 30 | 74·1 | 96 | 56 | 1654 | 1760 | 1560 | 101·0 | 117·0 | 115·5 | 129 | 107. |
| 6 | Kolita * . . | Kachāri . | Gauhati (Assam) | 181·0 | 187 | 170 | 139·0 | 148 | 134 | 76·7 | 80 | 74 | 43 | 47 | 38 | 36 | 40 | 31 | 83·7 | 97 | 66 | 1628 | 1666 | 1568 | 101·0 | 118·0 | 116·8 | 124 | 111 |

* Lt.-Col. Waddell, C.I.E.
† T. H. Holland, Esq., A.R.C.S., F.G.S.

# SERIATIONS.

## Negrito Type.

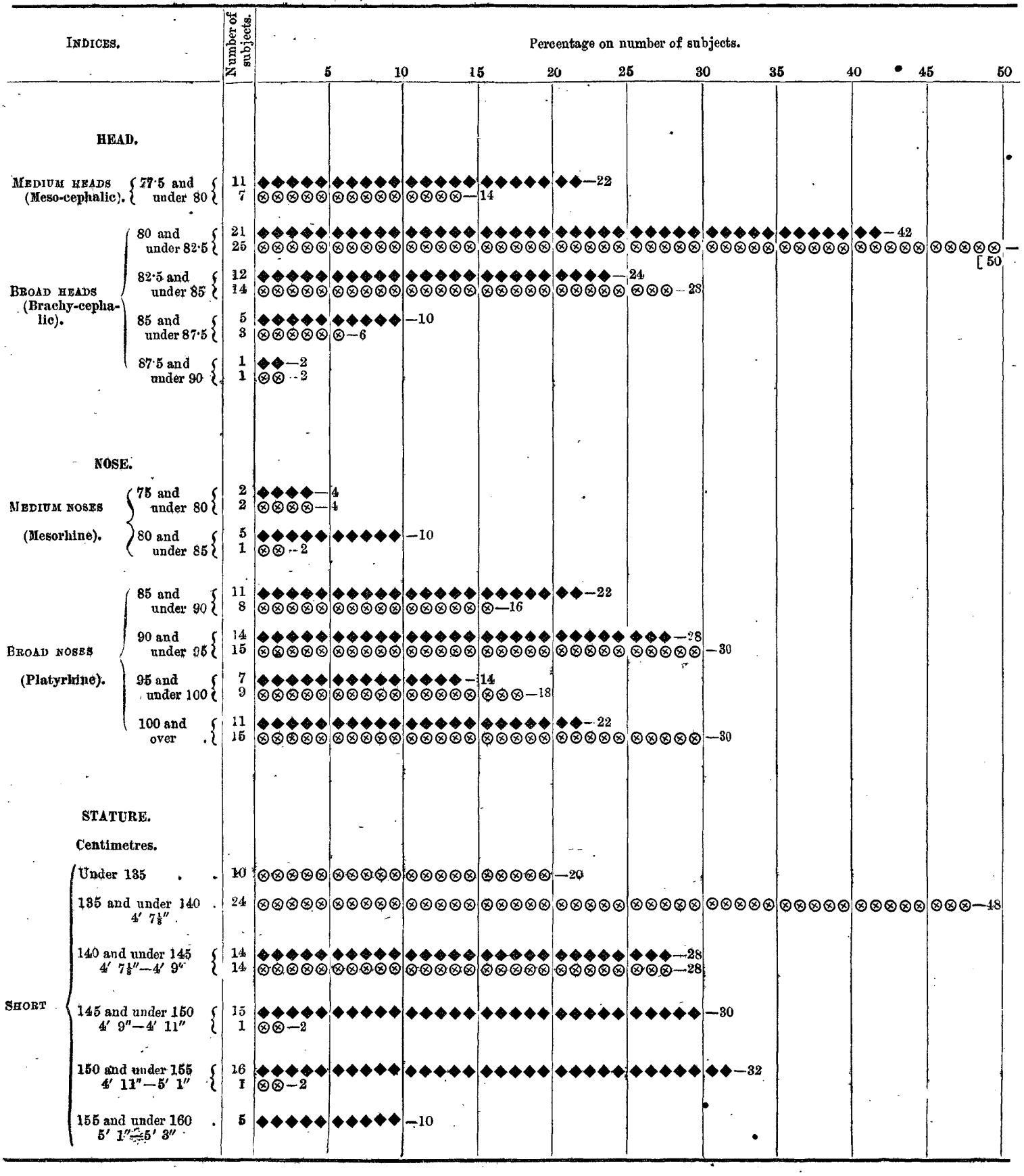
### NORTH ANDAMANS.

MALE ◆ AND FEMALE ⊗ SERIES.

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.) | Male. | Female. |
|---|---|---|
| Average | 82·0 | 81·9 |
| Maximum | 88 | 88 |
| Minimum | 78 | 78 |
| Range | 10 | 10 |

| PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.) | Male. | Female. |
|---|---|---|
| Average | 92·5 | 94·3 |
| Maximum | 115 | 113 |
| Minimum | 77 | 77 |
| Range | 38 | 36 |

| STATURE. | C. M. Male. | C. M. Female. |
|---|---|---|
| Average | 148·6 | 138·5 |
| Maximum | 156·8 | 150·0 |
| Minimum | 140·0 | 127·7 |
| Range | 16·8 | 22·3 |


INDICES.
Number of subjects.
Percentage on number of subjects.
5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50
HEAD.
MEDIUM HEADS (Meso-cephalic).
77·5 and under 80
11 ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—22
7 ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗— 14
BROAD HEADS (Brachy-cephalic).
80 and under 82·5
21 ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—42
25 ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗

# SERIATIONS.

## Negrito Type.

### SOUTH ANDAMANS.

MALE ◆ AND ⊗ FEMALE SERIES.

| PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.) | Male. | Female. |
|---|---|---|
| Average | 83·0 | 82·7 |
| Maximum | 90 | 87 |
| Minimum | 79 | 79 |
| Range | 11 | 8 |

| PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.) | Male. | Female. |
|---|---|---|
| Average | 88·2 | 89·4 |
| Maximum | 102 | 113 |
| Minimum | 74 | 70 |
| Range | 28 | 43 |

| STATURE. | C. M. Male. | C. M. Female. |
|---|---|---|
| Average | 148·2 | 140·2 |
| Maximum | 159·4 | 148·5 |
| Minimum | 138·0 | 129·1 |
| Range | 21·4 | 19·4 |

| Indices. | | Number of subjects. | Percentage on number of subjects. (5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **HEAD.** | | | |
| Medium heads (Meso-cephalic). | 77·5 and under 80 | 1 | ◆◆—2 |
| | | 4 | ⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗—8 |
| Broad heads (Brachy-cephalic) | 80 and under 82·5 | 20 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ —40 |
| | | 21 | ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗—42 |
| | 82·5 and under 85 | 22 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆— 44 |
| | | 18 | ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗—36 |
| | 85 and under 87·5 | 6 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆—12 |
| | | 7 | ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗— 14 |
| | 87·5 and over | 1 | ◆◆—2 |
| **NOSE.** | | | |
| Fine noses (Leptorhine). | 65 and under 70 | 1 | ⊗⊗—2 |
| Medium noses (Mesorhine). | 70 and under 75 | 1 | ◆◆—2 |
| | | 1 | ⊗⊗—2 |
| | 75 and under 80 | 3 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—6 |
| | | 7 | ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗— 14 |
| | 80 and under 85 | 15 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ —30 |
| | | 6 | ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗—12 |
| Broad noses (Platyrhine). | 85 and under 90 | 10 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ —20 |
| | | 8 | ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗—16 |
| | 90 and under 95 | 8 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—16 |
| | | 12 | ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗— 24 |
| | 95 and under 100 | 8 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆ 16 |
| | | 2 | ⊗⊗⊗⊗—4 |
| | 100 and over | 5 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ —10 |
| | | 13 | ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗—26 |
| **STATURE.** Centimetres. | | | |
| Short | Under 135 | 6 | ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗—12 |
| | 135 and under 140 (4′ 7½″) | 2 | ◆◆◆◆—4 |
| | | 16 | ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗—32 |
| | 140 and under 145 (4′ 7½″—4′ 9″) | 8 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—16 |
| | | 22 | ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗— 44 |
| | 145 and under 150 (4′ 9″—4′ 11″) | 25 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ [50 |
| | | 6 | ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗ ⊗⊗—12 |
| | 150 and under 155 (4′ 11″—5′ 1″) | 12 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆◆◆◆— 24 |
| | 155 and under 160 (5′ 1″—5′ 3″) | 3 | ◆◆◆◆◆ ◆—6 |

# SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS.

## Negrito Type.

### NORTH AND SOUTH ANDAMAN.

| Number of subjects. | Tribe or Caste. | Language or Dialect. | Locality. | DIMENSIONS OF HEAD. | | | | | | PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. | | | DIMENSIONS OF NOSE. | | | | | | PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. | | | STATURE. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Length (Glabello-occipital). | | | Breadth (Extreme). | | | Cephalic Index. | | | Height. | | | Breadth. | | | Nasal Index. | | | | | |
| | | | | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. | Average. | Maximum. | Minimum. |
| 50 | North Andaman Male. | | | 172·9 | 181 | 166 | 141·8 | 153 | 133 | 82·0 | 88 | 78 | 41·4 | 49 | 36 | 38·3 | 47 | 34 | 92·5 | 115 | 77 | 148·6 | 1568 | 1400 |
| 50 | North Andaman Female. | | | 165·2 | 177 | 151 | 135·3 | 143 | 128 | 81·9 | 88 | 78 | 36·9 | 44 | 32 | 34·8 | 38 | 30 | 94·3 | 113 | 77 | 138·5 | 1500 | 1277 |
| 50 | South Andaman Male. | | | 173·1 | 184 | 160 | 143·7 | 153 | 138 | 83·0 | 90 | 79 | 42·7 | 51 | 36 | 37·7 | 44 | 32 | 88·2 | 102 | 74 | 148·2 | 1594 | 1380 |
| 50 | South Andaman Female. | | | 166·0 | 177 | 154 | 137·4 | 146 | 130 | 82·7 | 87 | 79 | 38·7 | 47 | 31 | 34·6 | 43 | 30 | 89·4 | 113 | 70 | 140·2 | 1485 | 1291 |

# INDIVIDUAL MEASUREMENTS.

## Negrito Type.

### MALE ANDAMANES OF NORTH ANDAMAN.

CAPTAIN W. MOLESWORTH, I.M.S.

| Serial No. | NAME OF TRIBE OR CASTE. | Language or Dialect. | Locality. | Length Glabello-occipital. | Breadth Extreme. | Cephalic Index. | Height of Nose. | Breadth of Nose. | Nasal Index. | Stature. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Tá-Kéda (Áriauto) | Tá-Kéda | Amit-la-Ted . . . East Coast of Middle Andaman. | 17·5 | 15·3 | 87·4 | 4·7 | 4·0 | 85·1 | 151·5 |
| 2 | Cháriár (Áriauto) | Cháriár | Puma-tong . . . North-West Coast of North Andaman. | 16·9 | 14·2 | 84·0 | 4·9 | 4·1 | 83·6 | 156·0 |
| 3 | Cháriár (Áriauto) | Cháriár | Kota-pur . . . North-East Coast of North Andaman. | 18·1 | 14·6 | 80·6 | 4·1 | 3·8 | 92·6 | 151·6 |
| 4 | Tá-Kéda (Áriauto) | Tá-Kéda | Béret-pór-tauro . . Interview Island. | 17·0 | 15·0 | 88·2 | 4·1 | 4·7 | 114·6 | 154·1 |
| 5 | Téru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Árat . . . South-West of North Andaman. | 17·5 | 14·1 | 80·5 | 4·4 | 3·5 | 79·5 | 146·0 |
| 6 | Kédé (Áriauto) | Kédé | Luk-ter-Wot . . West Coast of Middle Andaman. | 17·8 | 14·2 | 79·7 | 4·2 | 4·2 | 100·0 | 144·0 |
| 7 | Kédé (Áriauto) | Kédé | Rao luntá . . . Interview Island. | 17·2 | 14·6 | 84·8 | 4·6 | 4·0 | 86·9 | 156·8 |
| 8 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Árat . . . South-West of North Andaman. | 17·7 | 14·4 | 81·3 | 4·7 | 4·0 | 85·1 | 148·4 |
| 9 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Tu Tro . . . North-West Corner of Middle Andaman. | 17·2 | 14·7 | 85·4 | 4·3 | 4·2 | 97·6 | 148·6 |
| 10 | Jéru (Ariauto) | Jéru | Taibi-Chiru . . . West Coast of North Andaman. | 17·8 | 15·1 | 84·8 | 4·4 | 3·9 | 88·6 | 150·1 |
| 11 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Arat . . . South-West Corner of North Andaman. | 16·7 | 13·5 | 80·8 | 4·1 | 3·8 | 92·6 | 140·0 |
| 12 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Bicha-Táng . . . Austin Strait, between North and Middle Andaman. | 18·0 | 14·2 | 78·8 | 4·4 | 4·1 | 93·1 | 152·4 |
| 13 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Taule-burin . . . Stewart's Sound. | 17·8 | 14·6 | 82·0 | 4·2 | 4·0 | 95·2 | 146·6 |
| 14 | Cháriár (Áriauto) | Cháriár | Taunmu-Két . . . West Coast of North Andaman. | 17·5 | 14·2 | 81·1 | 4·4 | 3·4 | 77·2 | 154·8 |
| 15 | Kédé (Éremtága) | Kédé | Pil-tong . . . Western side of Middle Andaman. | 18·0 | 14·2 | 78·8 | 3·8 | 3·5 | 92·1 | 152·7 |
| 16 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Toto-li-chir . . . Port Cornwallis. | 17·0 | 14·1 | 82·9 | 3·6 | 3·6 | 100·0 | 143·1 |
| 17 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Tao-kát . . . West side of North Andaman. | 17·7 | 14·1 | 79·6 | 4·4 | 3·7 | 84·0 | 149·7 |
| 18 | Kédé (Éremtága) | Kédé | Rao-lunta . . . Interview Island. | 17·1 | 14·8 | 86·5 | 4·3 | 3·8 | 88·3 | 147·5 |
| 19 | Kédé (Éremtága) | Kédé | Bé-trá-kodi . . . Stewart's Sound. | 16·8 | 13·7 | 81·5 | 3·9 | 3·9 | 100·0 | 141·6 |
| 20 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Toiché . . . . North-West of Middle Andaman. | 17·7 | 44·5 | 81·9 | 3·9 | 3·9 | 100·0 | 149·3 |
| 21 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Tao Burin . . . West Coast of North Andaman. | 17·5 | 13·8 | 78·8 | 4·2 | 3·7 | 88·0 | 145·7 |

# INDIVIDUAL MEASUREMENTS.

## Negrito Type.

### MALE ANDAMANES OF NORTH ANDAMAN—*contd.*

CAPTAIN W. MOLESWORTH, I.M.S.

| Serial No. | NAME OF TRIBE OR CASTE. | Language or Dialect. | Locality. | Length Glabello-occipital. | Breadth Extreme. | Cephalic Index. | Height of Nose. | Breadth of Nose. | Nasal Index. | Stature. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22 | Kédé (Éremtága) | Kédé | Bibut-Koi-i-to North-East of Middle Andaman. | 16·6 | 14·1 | 84·9 | 3·8 | 3·9 | 102·6 | 147·0 |
| 23 | Kédé (Éremtága) | Kédé | Poraij tot-chué Interior of Middle Andaman. | 17·4 | 14·1 | 81·0 | 3·9 | 3·7 | 94·8 | 155·4 |
| 24 | Kédé-(Áriauto) | Kédé | Beret-pur-taro West Coast of Middle Andaman. | 17·7 | 14·1 | 79·6 | 4·5 | 3·8 | 84·4 | 148·1 |
| 25 | Jéru (Áriaūto) | Jéru | Maurok-toi West Coast of North Andaman. | 17·6 | 13·7 | 77·8 | 3·9 | 3·5 | 89·7 | 154·0 |
| 26 | Kédé (Éremtága) | Kédé | Pil-tong North-West of Middle Andaman. | 17·8 | 14·3 | 80·3 | 3·9 | 3·5 | 89·7 | 153·3 |
| 27 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Tót-chó-kat Stewart's Sound. | 17·0 | 13·9 | 81·7 | 4·2 | 4·0 | 95·2 | 142·8 |
| 28 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Meré-terà-pong Stewart's Sound. | 17·4 | 14·2 | 81·0 | 4·3 | 3·5 | 81·3 | 144·9 |
| 29 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Chowálu-lar-chettu West Coast of North Andaman. | 16·8 | 14·2 | 84·5 | 4·1 | 3·9 | 95·1 | 155·3 |
| 30 | Kéda (Áriauto) | Kéda | Kiter-tot-chette East Coast of Middle Andaman. | 17·1 | 14·6 | 85·3 | 4·1 | 3·8 | 92·6 | 143·4 |
| 31 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Típ-lunta Stewart's Sound. | 17·3 | 14·2 | 82·0 | 4·1 | 4·0 | 97·5 | 144·0 |
| 32 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Árat, North of Middle Andaman. | 16·6 | 13·5 | 81·3 | 4·0 | 3·5 | 87·5 | 141·1 |
| 33 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Tip-tot-chettu East Coast of North Andaman. | 16·8 | 13·7 | 81·5 | 4·3 | 3·7 | 86·0 | 141·7 |
| 34 | Charü (Áriauto) | Charu | Kó-tu-par Cadell Bay. | 17·3 | 14·3 | 82·6 | 4·1 | 3·7 | 90·2 | 152·3 |
| 35 | Kéda (Áriauto) | Kéda | Kider-tot-chetta East Coast of Middle Andaman. | 17·3 | 14·0 | 80·9 | 4·2 | 4·2 | 100·0 | 143·4 |
| 36 | Cháriár (Áriauto) | Cháriár | Bòrko-pole East Coast of North Andaman. | 16·8 | 13·5 | 80·3 | 3·9 | 3·8 | 97·4 | 150·7 |
| 37 | Kédé (Áriauto) | Kédé | Choko-kaun Interview Island. | 16·8 | 14·0 | 83·3 | 3·6 | 3·8 | 105·5 | 145·2 |
| 38 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Kāutu-par East Coast of North Andaman. | 17·3 | 14·0 | 80·9 | 3·8 | 3·6 | 94·7 | 149·1 |
| 39 | Kédé (Áriauto) | Kédé | Karuge-tumiko West Coast of Middle Andaman. | 17·9 | 14·5 | 81·0 | 3·6 | 4·0 | 111·1 | 144·6 |
| 40 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Jire-pung Interior of North Andaman. | 17·4 | 13·9 | 79·8 | 3·8 | 3·5 | 92·1 | 152·0 |
| 41 | Jéru (Eremtága) | Jéru | Rao-buliu West part of North Andaman. | 17·3 | 14·6 | 84·3 | 4·2 | 3·8 | 90·4 | 150·0 |
| 42 | Kédé (Éremtága) | Kédé | Mutin-tera-chang North-East of Middle Andaman. | 17·3 | 13·6 | 8·3 | 4·5 | 3·6 | 80·0 | 152·8 |

# INDIVIDUAL MEASUREMENTS.

## Negrito Type.

### MALE ANDAMANES OF NORTH ANDAMANS—*concld.*

CAPTAIN W. MOLESWORTH, I.M.S.

| Serial No. | NAME OF TRIBE OR CASTE. | Language or Dialect. | Locality. | Length Glabello-occipital. | Breadth Extreme. | Cephalic Index. | Height of Nose. | Breadth of Nose. | Nasal Index. | Stature. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 43 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Tip-chetta . . . West Coast of North Andaman. | 16·8 | 14·3 | 85·1 | 3·9 | 4·2 | 107·6 | 146·3 |
| 44 | Jéru (Éremtaga) | Jéru | Chop-paulé . . . North Andaman. | 17·3 | 14·4 | 83·2 | 4·0 | 3·9 | 97·5 | 152·6 |
| 45 | Cháriár (Áriauto) | Cháriár | Taibi-chiru . . . West Coast of North Andaman. | 16·7 | 13·8 | 82·6 | 3·9 | 3·6 | 92·3 | 144·3 |
| 46 | Cháriár (Áriauto) | Cháriár | Kidér-tong . . . Stewart's Sound. | 17·1 | 14·2 | 82·9 | 4·1 | 3·7 | 90·2 | 155·1 |
| 47 | Jéru (Ariauto) | Jéru | Kaulo-toi . . . West Coast of North Andaman. | 17·0 | 13·3 | 78·3 | 4·1 | 3·7 | 90·2 | 151·0 |
| 48 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Chong-paulé . . . Stewart's Sound. | 17·0 | 14·0 | 82·3 | 4·1 | 4·5 | 109·7 | 145·7 |
| 49 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | E-chin-tau . . . West Coast of North Andaman. | 17·2 | 13·6 | 78·9 | 4·0 | 3·6 | 90·0 | 148·2 |
| 50 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Tip-lung-tau . . . North-East of Middle Andaman. | 17·7 | 14·6 | 82·4 | 4·5 | 4·0 | 88·8 | 143·0 |
| | GRAND TOTAL | | | 864·8 | 709·0 | ... | 207·0 | 191·8 | ... | 7427·8 |
| | AVERAGE | | | 172·9 | 141·8 | 82·0 | 41·4 | 38·3 | 92·5 | 1485·5 |
| | | | **FEMALE ANDAMANES OF NORTH ANDAMAN.** | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Chóma-lura-Chettu . . West Coast of North Andaman. | 17·0 | 13·9 | 81·7 | 3·5 | 3·2 | 91·4 | 137·7 |
| 2 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Chakali-Mit-Koieto . . Stewart's Sound. | 16·6 | 13·4 | 80·7 | 3·4 | 3·3 | 97·0 | 144·0 |
| 3 | Kédé (Áriauto) | Kédé | Réngo-tong-ta . . Interview Island. | 16·9 | 14·0 | 82·8 | 3·4 | 3·5 | 102·9 | 140·3 |
| 4 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Ta-bóronga . . . Port Cornwallis. | 17·1 | 13·8 | 80·7 | 3·3 | 3·6 | 109·0 | 139·8 |
| 5 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Meo-pólé . . . West Coast of North Andaman. | 16·0 | 14·1 | 88·1 | 3·8 | 3·7 | 97·3 | 140·6 |
| 6 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Burto-Chirel-totu . . Stewart's Sound. | 16·6 | 13·4 | 80·7 | 3·9 | 3·2 | 82·0 | 134·7 |
| 7 | Kéda (Áriauto) | Kéda | Kar-taura . . . North-West of Middle Andaman. | 16·6 | 13·6 | 81·9 | 3·8 | 3·5 | 92·1 | 135·0 |
| 8 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Tot-ché . . . Stewart's Sound. | 16·1 | 13·3 | 82·6 | 4·0 | 3·4 | 85·0 | 141·5 |
| 9 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Tubu . . . South-West of North Andaman. | 16·3 | 13·2 | 80·9 | 3·8 | 3·8 | 100·0 | 134·9 |
| 10 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Méo-pong . . . Stewart's Sound. | 16·7 | 13·1 | 78·4 | 3·5 | 3·4 | 97·1 | 139·8 |
| 11 | Kéda (Áriauto) | Kéda | Chat-lo-loich . . . North-East of Middle Andaman. | 16·9 | 13·9 | 82·2 | 3·4 | 3·4 | 100·0 | 141·3 |

# INDIVIDUAL MEASUREMENTS.

## Negrito Type.

### FEMALE ANDAMANES OF NORTH ANDAMAN—*contd.*

CAPTAIN W. MOLESWORTH, I.M.S.

| Serial No. | NAME OF TRIBE OR CASTE. | Language or Dialect. | Locality. | Length Glabello-occipital. | Breadth Extreme. | Cephalic Index. | Height of Nose. | Breadth of Nose. | Nasal Index. | Stature. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Kidér-tot-Chetto . . East Coast of North Andaman. | 16·2 | 13·9 | 85·8 | 3·7 | 3·5 | 94·5 | 143·3 |
| 13 | Kéda (Éremtága) | Kéda | Torok-tumiko . . . East side of Middle Andaman. | 16·3 | 13·3 | 81·6 | 3·6 | 3·6 | 100·0 | 134·9 |
| 14 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Tip-lunta . . . Stewart's Sound. | 16·8 | 13·7 | 81·5 | 3·7 | 3·7 | 100·0 | 38·8 |
| 15 | Kédé (Áriauto) | Kédé | Betra-kudo . . . Cuthbert Bay. | 16·3 | 13·2 | 80·9 | 3·4 | 3·0 | 88·2 | 140·5 |
| 16 | Kédé (Éremtaga) | Kédé | Pute-poroij . . West side of Middle Andaman. | 16·8 | 13·5 | 80·3 | 3·5 | 3·6 | 102·8 | 139·3 |
| 17 | Kédé (Áriauto) | Kédé | Réngó-tumtau-tótu . . Interview Island. | 16·2 | 13·5 | 83·3 | 3·6 | 3·2 | 88·8 | 141·2 |
| 18 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Chakam-lat-koü-to . . Stewart's Sound. | 16·4 | 13·6 | 82·9 | 3·3 | 3·3 | 100·0 | 134·0 |
| 19 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Bara-li-Chir . . . West Coast of North Andaman. | 16·7 | 13·6 | 81·4 | 3·3 | 3·5 | 106·0 | 138·7 |
| 20 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Laroit-Chettu . West Coast of North Andaman. | 16·4 | 13·6 | 82·9 | 3·5 | 3·4 | 97·1 | 136·8 |
| 21 | Kéda (Áriauto) | Kéda | Kider-tot-Chette . . East Coast of Middle Andaman. | 17·7 | 14·3 | 80·7 | 3·4 | 3·3 | 97·0 | 139·1 |
| 22 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Mikot-tot-Chittol . . Interior of North Andaman. | 16·3 | 13·6 | 83·4 | 3·8 | 3·5 | 92·1 | 139·2 |
| 23 | Kédé (Éremtága) | Kédé | Bun-tao . . . . Interior of Middle Andaman. | 16·9 | 13·8 | 81·6 | 3·4 | 3·3 | 97·0 | 147·1 |
| 24 | Kédé (Áriauto) | Kédé | Amit-tera-Tét . . . East Coast of Middle Andaman. | 16·6 | 13·9 | 83·7 | 3·7 | 3·3 | 89·1 | 135·3 |
| 25 | Cháriár (Áriauto) | Cháriár | Taunmu-ket . . North-West of North Andaman. | 16·7 | 13·3 | 79·6 | 3·3 | 3·7 | 112·1 | 138·2 |
| 26 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Árat . . . . North-West of Middle Andaman. | 16·8 | 13·5 | 80·3 | 3·6 | 3·4 | 94·4 | 133·0 |
| 27 | Kédé (Áriauto) | Kédé | Reng-lum-taū . . . Interview Island. | 16·6 | 13·8 | 83·1 | 3·9 | 3·7 | 94·8 | 134·2 |
| 28 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Parat . . . West Coast of North Andaman. | 16·9 | 13·5 | 79·8 | 3·8 | 3·8 | 100·0 | 144·0 |
| 29 | Kédé (Áriauto) | Kédé | Tauro-poroich . . West Coast of Middle Andaman. | 16·5 | 13·6 | 82·4 | 3·2 | 3·6 | 112·5 | 137·7 |
| 30 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Méré-tera-pung . . Stewart's Sound. | 16·9 | 14·1 | 83·4 | 3·6 | 3·6 | 100·0 | 140·8 |
| 31 | Kédé (Éremtága) | Kédé | Torok-téra-Chang . . Interior of Middle Andaman. | 16·5 | 13·3 | 80·6 | 4·3 | 3·3 | 76·7 | 144·2 |
| 32 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Chimino . . . . West Coast of North Andaman. | 16·4 | 13·2 | 80·4 | 4·1 | 3·6 | 87·8 | 137·6 |

# INDIVIDUAL MEASUREMENTS.

## Negrito Type.

### FEMALE ANDAMANES OF NORTH ANDAMAN—*concld.*

CAPTAIN W. MOLESWORTH, I.M.S.

| Serial No. | NAME OF TRIBE OR CASTE. | Language or Dialect. | Locality. | Length Glabello-occipital. | Breadth Extreme. | Cephalic Index. | Height of Nose. | Breadth of Nose. | Nasal Index. | Stature. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 33 | Kéda (Áriauto) | Kéda | Bé-tera-kodo . . . East Coast of Middle Andaman. | 15·9 | 13·0 | 81·7 | 4·0 | 3·7 | 92·5 | 138·0 |
| 34 | Cháriár (Áriauto) | Cháriár | Tong-mu . . . North-West of North Andaman. | 16·3 | 13·6 | 83·4 | 3·8 | 3·7 | 97·3 | 135·3 |
| 35 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Tno-terai-Julé . . West Coast of North Andaman. | 16·3 | 13·9 | 85·2 | 4·0 | 3·4 | 85·0 | 143·7 |
| 36 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Cheraot-Chettu . . West Coast of North Andaman. | 15·9 | 13·4 | 84·2 | 3·8 | 3·5 | 92·1 | 138·5 |
| 37 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Paur-tot-déla . . . Interior of North Andaman. | 16·4 | 13·2 | 80·4 | 3·8 | 3·3 | 86·8 | 132·3 |
| 38 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Parata-li-Chir . . . Stewart's Sound. | 16·3 | 13·3 | 81·6 | 3·6 | 3·4 | 94·4 | 142·4 |
| 39 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Jér-tian . . . . Stewart's Sound. | 15·1 | 12·8 | 84·7 | 3·7 | 3·5 | 94·5 | 127·7 |
| 40 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Bilik-aur-pung . . Stewart's Sound. | 16·4 | 13·2 | 80·4 | 3·6 | 3·6 | 100·0 | 133·7 |
| 41 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Tau-tai-ino . . . West Coast of North Andaman. | 16·2 | 13·2 | 81·4 | 4·0 | 3·6 | 90·0 | 138·3 |
| 42 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Meo-kat . . . West Coast of North Andaman. | 15·9 | 13·4 | 84·2 | 3·6 | 3·4 | 94·4 | 132·5 |
| 43 | Cháriár (Áriauto) | Cháriár | Pumo-tong . . . West Coast of North Andaman. | 17·2 | 13·7 | 79·6 | 3·8 | 3·8 | 100·0 | 150·0 |
| 44 | Kéda (Áriauto) | Kéda | Kider-tot-Chette . . East Coast of Middle Andaman. | 17·1 | 13·6 | 79·5 | 4·0 | 3·8 | 95·0 | 138·7 |
| 45 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Tip-tu-mauto . . . Stewart's Sound. | 16·4 | 13·2 | 80·4 | 3·7 | 3·4 | 91·8 | 137·7 |
| 46 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Maurok-toi . . . West Coast of North Andaman. | 16·7 | 13·3 | 79·6 | 4·4 | 3·4 | 77·2 | 135·0 |
| 47 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Lai-paulé . . . East Coast of North Andaman. | 17·1 | 13·7 | 80·1 | 3·6 | 3·3 | 91·6 | 144·1 |
| 48 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Chali-Kot-Chettu . . Interior of North Andaman. | 16·8 | 13·1 | 77·9 | 4·1 | 3·6 | 87·8 | 136·4 |
| 49 | Jéru (Éremtága) | Jéru | Páta-pung . . . Interior of North Andaman. | 15·9 | 13·6 | 85·5 | 3·7 | 3·4 | 91·8 | 137·5 |
| 50 | Jéru (Áriauto) | Jéru | Árat . . . . South-West of North Andaman. | 16·6 | 13·8 | 83·1 | 3·8 | 3·4 | 89·4 | 137·4 |
| | GRAND TOTAL | | | 826·2 | 676·5 | .... | 184·5 | 174·1 | ... | 5926·8 |
| | AVERAGE | | | 165·2 | 135·3 | 81·9 | 36·9 | 34·8 | 94·3 | 138·3 |

# INDIVIDUAL MEASUREMENTS.

## Negrito Type.

### MALE ANDAMANES OF SOUTH ANDAMAN.

CAPTAIN W. MOLESWORTH, I.M.S.

| Serial No. | NAME OF TRIBE OR CASTE. | Language or Dialect. | Locality. | Length Glabello-occipital. | Breadth Extreme. | Cephalic Index. | Height of Nose. | Breadth of Nose. | Nasal Index. | Stature. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Puchik-Wár (Éremtága) | Puchik-Wár | Yeretil—Interior of Middle Andaman | 16·8 | 13·8 | 82·1 | 4·3 | 3·7 | 86·0 | 149·0 |
| 2 | Ákar-Bálé | Ákar-Bálé | Duba-lébar — Outram Island | 17·1 | 14·2 | 82·9 | 5·0 | 3·7 | 74·0 | 148·6 |
| 3 | Okko-juwai (Éremtága) | Okko-juwai | Taūlo-boicho—Interior of Middle Andaman | 17·2 | 14·0 | 81·3 | 4·1 | 3·6 | 87·8 | 149·3 |
| 4 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto) | Áka-Béa-da | Kyd Island | 16·0 | 14·4 | 90·0 | 3·9 | 3·5 | 89·7 | 145·3 |
| 5 | Puchik-Wár (Áriauto) | Puchik-Wár | Bár-láka-bil—West Coast of Middle Andaman | 17·7 | 14·7 | 83·0 | 4·3 | 4·3 | 100·0 | 150·9 |
| 6 | Áka-Béa-da (Ariauto) | Áka-Béa-da | Kyd Island | 18·3 | 15·0 | 81·9 | 3·7 | 3·7 | 100·0 | 146·3 |
| 7 | Ákar-Bálé (Áriauto) | Ákar-Bálé | North Button Island | 17·5 | 14·3 | 81·7 | 3·9 | 3·2 | 81·9 | 145·2 |
| 8 | Ákar-Bálé (Áriauto) | Ákar-Bálé | Lawrence Island | 17·7 | 14·7 | 83·0 | 4·7 | 3·9 | 82·9 | 155·4 |
| 9 | Puchik-Wár (Áriauto) | Puchik-Wár | Yoljig—South-East of Middle Andaman | 16·8 | 14·3 | 85·1 | 4·1 | 4·2 | 102·4 | 154·3 |
| 10 | Okko-juwai (Éremtága) | Okko-juwai | Bai-la-pága—Interior of Middle Andaman | 16·7 | 14·4 | 86·2 | 4·1 | 3·7 | 90·2 | 152·0 |
| 11 | Puchic-Wár (Áriauto) | Puchik-Wár | Maūt Kuner—Middle Andaman | 17·3 | 14·6 | 84·3 | 4·2 | 4·1 | 97·6 | 147·5 |
| 12 | Ákar-Bálé (Áriauto) | Ákar-Bálé | Jéder-Lébar—Lawrence Island | 17·5 | 14·2 | 81·1 | 4·4 | 3·7 | 84·0 | 152·2 |
| 13 | Okko-juwai (Éremtága) | Okko-juwai | Taūlo-Boicho—Interior of Middle Andaman | 17·2 | 14·8 | 86·0 | 4·0 | 3·9 | 97·5 | 147·0 |
| 14 | Puchik-Wár (Éremtága) | Puchik-Wár | Wáta-Yémi—Interior of Middle Andaman | 17·1 | 14·2 | 82·9 | 4·0 | 3·8 | 95·0 | 141·5 |
| 15 | Aka-Béa-da (Áriauto) | Áka-Béa-da | Mai-Leptu—North-West end of South Andaman | 17·3 | 15·0 | 86·7 | 4·3 | 4·3 | 100·0 | 138·0 |
| 16 | Akar-Bálé (Áriauto) | Ákar-Bálé | Todma Boroij—Lawrence Island | 16·9 | 14·2 | 83·9 | 4·9 | 3·8 | 77·5 | 148·7 |
| 17 | Ákar-Bálé (Áriauto) | Ákar-Bálé | Neill Island | 16·7 | 14·1 | 84·4 | 4·3 | 3·5 | 81·3 | 150·5 |
| 18 | Puchik-Wár (Áriauto) | Puchik-Wár | Charka—Colebroke Island | 18·1 | 14·6 | 80·6 | 4·1 | 4·0 | 97·5 | 151·3 |
| 19 | Puchik-Wár (Áriauto) | Puchik-Wár | Maūt Kunu—Middle Andaman | 17·3 | 14·2 | 82·0 | 4·2 | 3·8 | 90·4 | 145·0 |
| 20 | Okko-juwai (Éremtága) | Okko-juwai | Bai-la-pága—Interior of Middle Andaman | 17·4 | 14·5 | 83·3 | 4·4 | 3·6 | 81·8 | 144·6 |
| 21 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto) | Áka-Béa-da | Mai-Leptu—North-West corner of South Andaman | 17·6 | 14·3 | 81·2 | 4·7 | 3·9 | 82·9 | 153·4 |
| 22 | Puchik-Wár (Áriauto) | Puchik-Wár | Parlob—South-West of Middle Andaman | 18·0 | 14·6 | 81·1 | 4·8 | 4·0 | 83·3 | 150·4 |
| 23 | Puchik-Wár (Éremtága) | Puchik-Wár | Káto-burin—Interior of Middle Andaman | 17·8 | 14·7 | 82·5 | 4·8 | 3·9 | 81·2 | 148·0 |
| 24 | Okko-juwai (Éremtága) | Okko-juwai | Puli-ton-miko—Interior of Middle Andaman | 16·7 | 13·9 | 83·2 | 4·6 | 4·0 | 86·9 | 144·6 |
| 25 | Kol (Áriauto) | Kol | Long Island | 17·5 | 14·4 | 82·2 | 4·8 | 3·7 | 77·0 | 159·4 |
| 26 | Puchik-Wár (Éremtága) | Puchik-Wár | Táli Chórat—Homfray Strait | 17·3 | 14·3 | 82·6 | 4·3 | 3·9 | 90·6 | 149·7 |
| 27 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto) | Áka-Béa-da | Lurua—Bluff Island | 17·3 | 14·0 | 80·9 | 4·8 | 3·8 | 79·1 | 147·0 |
| 28 | Kol (Éremtága) | Kol | Bárat-par-dina—Interior of Middle Andaman | 17·3 | 14·5 | 83·8 | 4·5 | 3·8 | 84·4 | 146·8 |

# INDIVIDUAL MEASUREMENTS.

## Negrito Type.

### MALE ANDAMANES OF SOUTH ANDAMAN—*concld.*

CAPTAIN W. MOLESWORTH, I.M.S.

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 29 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto) | Áka-Béa-Da | Kaūn-luntâ-baraij—Interior of South Andaman | 17·3 | 14·0 | 80·9 | 4·6 | 4·0 | 86·9 | 142·8 |
| 30 | Kol (Áriauto) | Kol | Long Island | 17·3 | 14·7 | 84·9 | 3·9 | 3·8 | 97·4 | 141·5 |
| 31 | Áka-Béa-da (Éremtága) | Áka-Béa-da | Rau-luntá—Port Campbell | 18·0 | 14·7 | 81·6 | 4·1 | 3·8 | 92·6 | 156·0 |
| 32 | Áka-Béa-da (Éremtága) | Áka-Béa-da | Puta-tong—Middle Straits | 17·1 | 14·0 | 81·8 | 4·1 | 3·4 | 82·9 | 150·4 |
| 33 | Áka-Béa-da (Éremtága) | Áka-Béa-da | Bája-jág-da—Interior, South Andaman | 16·9 | 14·1 | 83·4 | 4·0 | 3·4 | 85·0 | 145·4 |
| 34 | Ákar-Bálé (Áriauto) | Ákar-Bálé | Gólug-Má—Havelock Island | 18·1 | 14·9 | 82·3 | 5·1 | 4·4 | 86·2 | 153·6 |
| 35 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto) | Áka-Béa-da | Páp-luntá—Middle Straits | 17·3 | 14·3 | 82·6 | 4·5 | 3·9 | 86·6 | 153·6 |
| 36 | Akar-Bálé (Áriaūto) | Ákar-Bálé | Neill Island | 18·4 | 15·3 | 83·1 | 4·2 | 3·6 | 85·7 | 143·1 |
| 37 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto) | Áka-Béa-da | Port Campbell | 17·6 | 14·8 | 84·0 | 4·4 | 3·6 | 81·8 | 145·9 |
| 38 | Áka-Béa-da (Éremtága) | Áka-Béa-da | Góp-láka-bang—Interior of South Andaman | 18·1 | 15·1 | 83·4 | 4·3 | 3·5 | 81·3 | 150·6 |
| 39 | Ákar-Bálé (Áriauto) | Ákar-Bálé | Outram Island | 16·6 | 14·2 | 85·5 | 3·9 | 3·7 | 94·8 | 140·0 |
| 40 | Okko-juwai (Éremtága) | Okko-juwai | Bai-lá-pága—Interior of Middle Andaman | 17·4 | 14·0 | 80·4 | 4·3 | 3·6 | 83·7 | 149·6 |
| 41 | Puchik-Wár (Éremtága) | Puchik Wár | Yéretil—Interior of Middle Andaman | 17·3 | 14·7 | 84·9 | 4·3 | 3·9 | 90·6 | 149·2 |
| 42 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto) | Áka-Béa-da | Lekera-luntá—South end of Middle Andaman | 17·8 | 14·1 | 79·2 | 4·5 | 3·7 | 82·2 | 149·2 |
| 43 | Puchik-Wár (Éremtága) | Puchik Wár | Parlób—South-East corner of Middle Andaman | 17·8 | 14·3 | 80·3 | 3·7 | 3·7 | 100·0 | 146·0 |
| 44 | Okko-juwai (Éremtága) | Okko-juwai | Tal-bajchan—Interior of Middle Andaman | 17·3 | 14·1 | 81·5 | 4·2 | 3·5 | 83·3 | 149·5 |
| 45 | Puchik-Wár (Éremtága) | Puchik-Wár | Parlób,—South-East corner of Middle Andaman | 17·0 | 14·3 | 84·1 | 3·8 | 3·4 | 89·4 | 148·5 |
| 46 | Puchik-Wár (Éremtága) | Puchik-Wár | Tól-tóng-ta,—Interior of Middle Andaman | 16·8 | 13·8 | 81·6 | 4·2 | 3·9 | 92·8 | 149·2 |
| 47 | Puchik-Wár (Éremtága) | Puchik-Wár | Pop-tuug-tá—Interior of Middle Andaman | 16·3 | 14·0 | 85·8 | 3·7 | 3·6 | 97·2 | 144·9 |
| 48 | Okko-juwai (Éremtága) | Okko-juwai | Kópa-tă-Kóda—Interior of Middle Andaman | 16·6 | 13·9 | 83·7 | 3·6 | 3·4 | 94·4 | 139·2 |
| 49 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto) | Áka-Béa-da | Mai-Leptu—North-West end of South Andaman | 17·1 | 14·1 | 82·4 | 4·1 | 3·9 | 95·1 | 148·5 |
| 50 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto) | Áka-Béa-da | Pukuta-táralinga — West Coast of South Andaman | 17·3 | 14·4 | 83·2 | 4·0 | 3·8 | 95·0 | 147·0 |
| | GRAND TOTAL | | | 865·5 | 718·7 | ... | 213·7 | 188·5 | ... | 7408·6 |
| | AVERAGE | | | 173·1 | 143·7 | 83·0 | 42·7 | 37·7 | 88·2 | 1481·7 |

# INDIVIDUAL MEASUREMENTS.

## Negrito Type.

### FEMALE ANDAMANES OF SOUTH ANDAMAN.

CAPTAIN W. MOLESWORTH, I.M.S.

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Okko-juwai (Éremtága) . . . | Okko-juwai . | Kárain-táko-pó . . West Coast of Middle Andaman. | 16·7 | 13·6 | 81·4 | 3·8 | 3·5 | 92·1 | 138·0 |
| 2 | Okko-juwai (Éremtága) . . . | Okko-juwái . | Rengi-bróuga . . . Interior of Middle Andaman. | 16·9 | 13·8 | 81·6 | 4·0 | 3·2 | 80·0 | 140·9 |
| 3 | Puchik-wár (Éremtága) . . . | Puchik-wár . | Kaunuk-tūng-tang . . Middle Andaman. | 17·3 | 13·7 | 79·1 | 3·9 | 3·8 | 97·4 | 142·3 |
| 4 | Ákar-Bálé (Áriauto) . | Ákar-Bálé . | Gudu-lár-jang-áméj . Nicholson Island. | 16·6 | 13·7 | 82·5 | 4·2 | 3·7 | 88·1 | 139·3 |
| 5 | Puchik-wár (Éremtága) . . . | Puchik-wár . | Rar-tung-tá . . . Interior of Middle Andaman. | 16·6 | 14·0 | 84·3 | 4·1 | 3·6 | 87·8 | 135·2 |
| 6 | Kol (Áriauto) . . | Kol . . | Chirul . . . . Long Island. | 16·3 | 13·5 | 82·8 | 4·3 | 3·6 | 83·7 | 137·1 |
| 7 | Ákar-Bálé (Áriuto) . | Ákar-Bálé . | Páutiar-jánga-dogota . Lawrence Island. | 17·2 | 14·1 | 81·9 | 4·4 | 3·5 | 79·5 | 148·5 |
| 8 | Okko-juwai (Éremtága) . . . | Okko-juwai . | Kopuk-téra-kódé . . Interior of Middle Andaman. | 16·0 | 13·5 | 84·3 | 4·2 | 3·6 | 85·7 | 132·7 |
| 9 | Ákar-Bálé (Áriauto) . | Ákar-Bálé . | Lawrence Island . . | 17·0 | 13·6 | 80·0 | 4·6 | 3·5 | 76·0 | 138·4 |
| 10 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto). | Áka-Béa-da . | Rao-lunta-bud . . Port Campbell. | 16·8 | 14·1 | 83·9 | 4·0 | 3·4 | 85·0 | 142·1 |
| 11 | Puchik-wár (Éremtága) . . . | Puchik-wár . | Yeretil . . . . Interior of Middle Andaman. | 16·6 | 13·7 | 82·5 | 3·1 | 3·5 | 112·9 | 141·3 |
| 12 | Puchik-wár (Éremtága) . . . | Puchik-wár . | Yeretil . . . . Interior of Middle Andaman. | 16·3 | 13·4 | 82·2 | 3·4 | 3·5 | 102·9 | 140·7 |
| 13 | Puchik-wár (Éremtága) . . . | Puchik-wár . | Parlob . . . . Interior of Middle Andaman. | 16·9 | 13·4 | 79·2 | 4·1 | 3·3 | 80·4 | 138·8 |
| 14 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto). | Áka-Béa-da | Alaba-Cháng . . East Coast, South Andaman. | 15·7 | 13·7 | 87·2 | 4·7 | 3·3 | 70·2 | 141·7 |
| 15 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto) | Áka-Béa-da . | Mai Leptu . . . North-West of South Andaman. | 16·3 | 13·2 | 83·9 | 3·8 | 3·4 | 89·4 | 142·5 |
| 16 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto) | Áka-Béa-da . | Kuro-pung . . . Port Campbell. | 16·4 | 14·3 | 87·2 | 4·1 | 3·5 | 85·3 | 138·8 |
| 17 | Puchik-wár (Áriauto). | Puchik-wár . | Homfray Strait . . | 16·7 | 13·6 | 81·4 | 3·9 | 3·2 | 82·0 | 145·8 |
| 18 | Ákar-Bálé (Áriauto) . | Ákar-Bálé . | Juru-ina . . Lawrence Island. | 16·9 | 13·6 | 80·4 | 3·6 | 3·4 | 95·4 | 142·6 |
| 19 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto) | Áka-Béa-da | Kyd Island . . . | 16·7 | 14·0 | 83·8 | 4·4 | 3·8 | 86·3 | 140·5 |
| 20 | Puchik-wár (Éremtága) . . . | Puchik-wár . | Parlōb . . . . Middle Andaman. | 16·0 | 13·0 | 81·2 | 3·8 | 3·4 | 89·4 | 129·1 |
| 21 | Puchik-wár (Éremtága) . . | Puchik-wár . | Para-tōng-tā . . Interior of Middle Andaman. | 16·9 | 13·9 | 82·2 | 4·0 | 3·6 | 90·0 | 146·1 |
| 22 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto) . | Áka-Béa-da . | Baja-tāla-waruga . . Interior of South Andaman. | 17·4 | 14·4 | 81·3 | 3·8 | 3·5 | 92·1 | 146·6 |
| 23 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto). | Áka-Béa-da . | Rao-lunta-bud . . Port Campbell. | 16·7 | 13·7 | 82·0 | 3·7 | 3·5 | 94·5 | 144·5 |
| 24 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto) | Áka-Béa-da . | Koiob-lá-ténga . . West Coast of South Andaman. | 17·7 | 14·4 | 81·3 | 3·7 | 3·4 | 91·8 | 142·8 |
| 25 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto). | Áka-Béa-da . | Mai Leptu . . . North-West of South Andaman. | 17·1 | 13·7 | 80·1 | 4·3 | 3·2 | 74·4 | 143·7 |

# INDIVIDUAL MEASUREMENTS.

## Negrito Type.

### FEMALE ANDAMANES OF SOUTH ANDAMAN—*concld.*

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 26 | *Okko-juwai (Éremtága) | Okko-juwai | Boroja-Cháng Interior of Middle Andaman. | 16·8 | 13·2 | 78·5 | 3·8 | 3·9 | 102·6 | 145·8 |
| 27 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto) | Áka-Béa-da | Lurua Spike Island. | 16·6 | 13·6 | 81·9 | 3·7 | 3·7 | 100·0 | 139·2 |
| 28 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto). | Áka-Bĕa-da | East Coast of South Andaman | 17·1 | 13·7 | 80·1 | 3·6 | 3·9 | 108·9 | 144·7 |
| 29 | Puchik wár (Éremtága) | Puchik-wár | Interior of Middle Andaman | 17·3 | 14·4 | 83·2 | 3·6 | 3·6 | 100·0 | 142·2 |
| 30 | Puchik-wár (Áriáuto) | Puchik-wár | Kiring Kacha Strait Island. | 16·3 | 13·7 | 84·0 | 4·4 | 3·4 | 77·2 | 145·7 |
| 31 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto). | Áka-Béa-da | Kyd Island | 15·7 | 13·7 | 87·2 | 4·3 | 3·0 | 69·7 | 134·9 |
| 32 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriáuto) | Áka-Béa-da | Rao-lunta-bud Port Campbell. | 16·4 | 14·3 | 87·2 | 3·4 | 3·5 | 102·9 | 135·2 |
| 33 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriáuto) | Áka-Béa-da | Port Campbell | 16·7 | 14·0 | 83·8 | 3·4 | 3·2 | 94·1 | 141·1 |
| 34 | Kol (Érémtága) | Kol | Ámit-la-Téd Middle Andaman. | 16·4 | 13·4 | 81·7 | 3·8 | 3·5 | 92·1 | 144·0 |
| 35 | Ákar-Bálé (Áriauto) | Ákar-Bálé | Gereng leber Lawrence Island | 17·2 | 14·6 | 84·8 | 3·9 | 4·2 | 107·6 | 140·2 |
| 36 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto) | Áka-Béa-da | Mai Loptu North-West of South Andaman | 16·2 | 13·5 | 83·3 | 3·4 | 3·4 | 100·0 | 133·3 |
| 37 | Puchik-wár (Éremtága) | Puchik-wár | Tali Chórat Homfray Strait. | 16·4 | 13·1 | 79·8 | 4·0 | 3·1 | 77·5 | 134·2 |
| 38 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto) | Áka-Béa-da | West Coast of South Andaman | 15·4 | 13·3 | 86·3 | 3·8 | 3·5 | 92·1 | 135·9 |
| 39 | Okka-juwai (Éremtága) | Okko-juwai | Taulo-boicho Interior of Middle Andaman. | 16·9 | 14·1 | 83·4 | 4·0 | 3·1 | 77·5 | 139·7 |
| 40 | Puchik-wár (Áriauto) | Puchik-wár | Maut Kunu Middle Andaman. | 16·2 | 13·6 | 83·9 | 3·4 | 3·1 | 91·1 | 139·5 |
| 41 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto) | Áka-Béa-da | Port Campbell | 15·9 | 13·8 | 86·7 | 4·3 | 3·4 | 79·0 | 141·4 |
| 42 | Okko-juwái (Éremtága) | Okko-juwai | Korain-tōkko-pu Interior of Middle Andaman. | 16·1 | 13·2 | 81·9 | 3·8 | 3·5 | 92·1 | 139·9 |
| 43 | Puchik-wár (Áriauto) | Puchik-wár | Wota Emi Middle Andaman. | 16·3 | 13·3 | 81·6 | 3·8 | 3·2 | 84·2 | 136·8 |
| 44 | Puchik-wár (Éremtága) | Puchik-wár | Parlob South-East end of Middle Andaman. | 16·1 | 13·7 | 85·0 | 3·3 | 3·7 | 112·1 | 134·3 |
| 45 | Áka-Béa-da (Áriauto). | Áka-Béa-da | Port Campbell | 16·6 | 13·8 | 83·1 | 3·6 | 3·6 | 100·0 | 141·6 |
| 46 | Puchik-wár (Áriauto) | Puchik-wár | Strait Island | 16·6 | 14·1 | 84·9 | 4·0 | 3·3 | 82·5 | 141·7 |
| 47 | Áka-Béa-da (Éremtága) | Áka-Béa-da | Baja-jag-da Interior of South Andaman. | 17·0 | 13·8 | 81·1 | 3·7 | 3·7 | 100·0 | 144·5 |
| 48 | Ákar-Bálé (Áriauto) | Ákar-Bálé | East Island | 16·7 | 14·0 | 83·8 | 3·3 | 3·2 | 96·9 | 141·1 |
| 49 | Ákar-Bálé (Áriauto) | Ákar-Bálé | Lawrence Island | 16·6 | 13·6 | 81·9 | 4·0 | 3·0 | 75·0 | 139·5 |
| 50 | Puchik-wár (Éremtága) | Puchik-wár | Pārlob South-East corner of Middle Andaman. | 16·7 | 13·9 | 83·2 | 3·4 | 3·5 | 102·9 | 136·1 |
| | GRAND TOTAL | | | 830·2 | 687·0 | ... | 193·6 | 173·1 | ... | 7012·4 |
| | AVERAGE | | | 166·0 | 137·4 | 82·7 | 38·7 | 34·6 | 89·4 | 1402·4 |

# APPENDIX II.

## Social Statistics.

GROUP I.

# Social Grouping of the Turko-Iranian Tract.

## BALUCHISTAN AND NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

### MUSALMĀNS.

**CLASS I.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Saiyad | 92,499 |
| Shekh | 23,519 |
| TOTAL | 116,018 |

**CLASS II.—Afghans.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Ghalzāi | 18,961 |
| Kākar | 107,825 |
| Luni | 2,825 |
| Pāni | 20,682 |
| Shirāni | 17,101 |
| Tārin | 40,841 |
| Others | 461,926 |
| TOTAL | 670,161 |

**CLASS III.—Baloch.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Bugti | 15,426 |
| Buledi | 5,769 |

### MUSALMĀNS—*contd.*

**CLASS III.—Baloch—*contd.***

| | |
|---|---|
| Domki | 4,938 |
| Magāssi | 10,343 |
| Mārri | 20,453 |
| Rind | 19,316 |
| Others | 28,253 |
| TOTAL | 104,498 |

**CLASS IV.—Brāhui.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Bangulzāi | 11,229 |
| Bizānjo | 17,013 |
| Gurgnāri | 4,033 |
| Kambrāni | 4,928 |
| Kurd | 4,018 |
| Lāngav | 18,528 |
| Lehri | 6,278 |
| Mengāl | 79,288 |
| Mohammad Hāsni | 57,489 |

### MUSALMĀNS—*contd.*

**CLASS IV—Brāhui—*contd.***

| | |
|---|---|
| Qalāndrāni | 6,316 |
| Sājdi | 6,703 |
| Shawāni | 8,148 |
| Zehri | 50,176 |
| Others | 22,251 |
| TOTAL | 296,398 |

**CLASS V.—(Lāsi).**

| | |
|---|---|
| Angāria | 2,729 |
| Gadrā | 7,898 |
| Gongā | 2,010 |
| Jāmot | 2,946 |
| Runjhā | 3,773 |
| Sanghar | 2,685 |
| Others | 15,117 |
| TOTAL | 37,158 |

### MUSALMĀNS—*contd.*

**CLASS VI.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Makrāni | 2,282 |

**CLASS VII.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Dehwār | 7,033 |
| Ghulām | 14,676 |
| Jat | 139,288 |
| Khetrān | 14,716 |
| TOTAL | [illegible] |
| GROUP TOTAL | 1,40[illegible] |
| Others unclassified | 1,320,917 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 2,723,145 |

GROUP II.

# Social Grouping of the Indo-Aryan Tract.

## AJMER-MERWĀRA, RĀJPUTĀNA, THE PUNJĀB, AND KĀSHMIR.

### HINDUS.

**CLASS I.—Brāhmans.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Brāhmans | 2,330,582 |

**CLASS II.—Kshatriyās and castes allied to Kshatriyā who are considered of high social standing.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Khatri | 439,085 |
| Rājput | 1,199,953 |
| Others | 2,117,761 |
| TOTAL | 3,756,799 |

**CLASS III.—Vaishyās or trading castes.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Agarwāl | 215,781 |
| Khandelwāl | 68,790 |
| Maheswari | 88,591 |
| Others including "Bania" | 441,888 |
| TOTAL | 815,050 |

### HINDUS—*contd.*

**CLASS IV.—Castes from whom members of the higher castes can take *pakki* and water.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Ahir | 366,635 |
| Gujar | 667,506 |
| Jāt | 2,491,923 |
| Māli | 440,949 |
| Sonār or Sunār | 201,976 |
| Thākkar | 102,056 |
| Others | 470,810 |
| TOTAL | 4,741,855 |

**CLASS V.—Castes from whom some Brahmans take *pakki* and Rajputs take *kachhi*.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Arora | 592,533 |
| Darzi | 55,968 |
| Ghirāth | 169,117 |
| Kānet | 387,308 |
| Kumbhār | 462,081 |

### HINDUS—*contd.*

**CLASS V.—Castes from whom some Brāhmans take *pakki* and Rājputs take *kachhi*—*contd.***

| | |
|---|---|
| Nāi | 301,427 |
| Rabāi or Rāika | 13 |
| Others | 228,565 |
| TOTAL | 2,197,012 |

**CLASS VI.—Castes from whose *lota* the twice-born will not take water.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Bairāgi | 76,385 |
| Chimbā | 62,595 |
| Daghi and Koli | 266,012 |
| Dhākar | 78,944 |
| Dhobi | 65,543 |
| Dumna | 57,711 |
| Kamboh | 56,297 |
| Khāti | 157,968 |
| Labāna | 36,444 |

### HINDUS—*contd.*

**CLASS VI.—Castes from whose *lota* the twice-born will not take water—*contd.***

| | |
|---|---|
| Lodhā | 53,482 |
| Lohār and Tārkan | 416,588 |
| Mahtam | 48,632 |
| Mina | 478,612 |
| Rāwat | 42,557 |
| Saini | 106,011 |
| Teli | 50,925 |
| Others | 196,843 |
| TOTAL | 2,251,549 |

**CLASS VII.—Castes untouchable.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Bhil | 345,170 |
| Chāmār | 1,864,324 |
| Chuhrā | 947,982 |
| Dhanak | 98,791 |
| Khātik | 68,888 |
| Pāsi | 1,399 |
| Regar | 14,287 |
| Others | 297,904 |
| TOTAL | 3,638,745 |
| GROUP TOTAL | 19,731,592 |
| Indefinite group unclassified | 133,581 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 19,865,173 |

GROUP II

## Social Grouping of the Indo-Aryan Tract—*contd.*

### AJMER-MERWĀRA, RĀJPUTĀNA, THE PUNJĀB, AND KĀSHMIR—*contd.*

| MUSALMĀNS. | | MUSALMĀNS—*contd.* | | MUSALMĀNS—*contd.* | | MUSALMĀNS—*contd.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CLASS I.—(Ashrāf.) | | CLASS II.—(Ajlāf)—*contd.* | | CLASS III.—(Arjāl)—*contd.* | | CLASS III.—(Arjāl)—*contd.* | |
| Better class Muhāmmadans. | | Lower-class Muhāmmadans—*contd.* | | Degraded class, most of them are converts—*contd.* | | Degraded class, most of them are converts—*contd.* | |
| Mogh'al | 126,169 | Rājput | 1,449,601 | Sub-class (*a*)—*contd.* | | Sub-class (*c*)—*contd.* | |
| Pathān | 425,966 | Others | 54,802 | Teli | 455,902 | Chuhra | 226,338 |
| Saiyad | 333,009 | TOTAL | 5,668,649 | TOTAL | 2,428,800 | Fakir | 297,459 |
| Shekh | 631,774 | CLASS III.—(Arjāl.) | | Sub-class (*b*). | | Jhinwār | 142,208 |
| TOTAL | 1,516,918 | Degraded class, most of them are converts. | | Dhobi | 135,334 | Kamboh | 73,880 |
| CLASS II.—(Ajlāf.) | | Sub-class (*a*). | | Dom | 58,713 | Kāshmiri | 250,549 |
| Lower class Muhāmmadans. | | Darzi | 198,585 | Mirāsi | 233,137 | Khoja | 99,476 |
| Awān | 443,801 | Jolāhā | 599,902 | Mochi | 447,666 | Māchhi | 236,742 |
| Baloch | 469,393 | Kasāi | 20,970 | TOTAL | 874,850 | Mallāh | 70,450 |
| Gujar | 747,272 | Kumbhār | 366,871 | Sub-class (*c*). | | Mewāti | 9,419 |
| Jāt | 2,080,267 | Lohār | 241,314 | Arain | 1,005,330 | TOTAL | 2,542,816 |
| Khokar | 108,314 | Nāi and Hajjām | 228,720 | Bharāi | 70,923 | Others unclassified | 2,302,694 |
| Meo | 315,199 | Tārkhān | 316,536 | Chimba | 60,051 | GRAND TOTAL | 15,334,727 |

GROUP III.

## Social Grouping of the Scytho-Dravidian Tract.

### BOMBAY, BARODA, AND COORG.

| HINDUS. | | HINDUS—*contd.* | | HINDUS—*contd.* | | HINDUS—*contd.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CLASS I.—Brāhmans. | | CLASS III.—Vaishyās. (*a*) Traders. | | CLASS III.—Vaishyās—*contd.* | | CLASS IV.—Sudras. | |
| Brāhman | 1,200,431 | Disāval | 14,001 | (*c*) Cattle-breeders. | | (*a*) (Clean Sudras) Those rendering personal service. | |
| CLASS II.—Kshatriyās. | | Gujjar | 19,770 | Ahir | 109,204 | Bhoi | 61,707 |
| (*a*) Writer class. | | Kapolā | 17,317 | Bharwād and Dhangar | 788,837 | Darzi | 164,600 |
| Prabhu | 28,913 | Khadāyata | 24,723 | Chāran | 35,388 | Dhobi | 87,121 |
| Others | 7,060 | Lād | 32,480 | Rabāri | 148,308 | Gurava | 65,019 |
| TOTAL | 35,973 | Meshri | 11,176 | Others | 863 | Hajjām | 212,942 |
| (*b*) Warrior or Pseudo-warrior class. | | Modh | 32,303 | TOTAL | 1,082,600 | Māchhi | 37,987 |
| [illegible]āsia | 28,629 | Nāgar | 15,945 | (*d*) Artizans. | | Others | 108,175 |
| [illegible]āthi | 27,305 | Pancham | 12,509 | Bhāvsār | 26,221 | TOTAL | 737,551 |
| [illegible]hatris | 94,770 | Porwād | 12,774 | Kansārā | 39,920 | (*b*) Those who do petty business. | |
| Marātha | 1,403,687 | Shirmāli | 46,484 | Lohār | 134,667 | Bhandāri | 168,903 |
| Rājput | 446,604 | Sorthia | 12,364 | Pānchkalsi | 9,342 | Halipaik | 52,059 |
| Thākore | 122,826 | Others | 4,080 | Sālvi and Koshti | 106,426 | Kumbhār | 280,640 |
| Others | 59,898 | TOTAL | 255,926 | Sonār and Soni | 202,457 | Rāvalia | 59,588 |
| TOTAL | 2,183,719 | (*b*) Agriculturists. | | Sutār | 233,737 | Vāghri | 83,120 |
| | | Kunbis | 2,417,531 | Teli | 129,038 | Others | 25,188 |
| | | Others | 22,518 | Others | 74,589 | TOTAL | 669,498 |
| | | TOTAL | 2,440,049 | TOTAL | 956,397 | | |

# Social Grouping of the Scytho-Dravidian Tract—*contd.*

## BOMBAY, BARODA, AND COORG—*contd.*

### HINDUS—*contd.*

[CLASS IV.—Sudras—*contd.*

(*c*) Those engaged in labour and Agriculture.

| | |
|---|---|
| Chodrā | 30,972 |
| Gavandi | 49,829 |
| Gavli | 41,525 |
| Khārva | 37,931 |
| Koli | 1,994,600 |
| Konkani | 349,183 |
| Māli | 294,393 |
| Vanjāri and Lamān | 133,154 |
| Others | 280,195 |
| TOTAL | 3,211,782 |

(*d*) Performers and actors.

| | |
|---|---|
| Dādhi or Dhadhi | 91,743 |
| Others | 13,748 |
| TOTAL | 105,491 |

(*e*) Mendicants and beggars.

| | |
|---|---|
| Bāriā | 49,065 |
| Gosāi | 59,196 |
| Joshi | 11,100 |
| Others | 143,670 |
| TOTAL | 263,031 |

### HINDUS—*contd.*

CLASS IV.—Sudras—*contd.*

(*f*) Criminal Tribes.

| | |
|---|---|
| Dublā or Talavia | 110,475 |
| Others | 2,945 |
| TOTAL | 113,420 |

CLASS V.—Depressed class, whose touch is supposed to pollute.

| | |
|---|---|
| Berad | 177,082 |
| Bhangi | 105,072 |
| Bhil | 482,188 |
| Chāmbhār | 311,303 |
| Dhed (or Mahār) | 1,320,936 |
| Kabaligar | 35,612 |
| Kāthkari | 59,872 |
| Māng | 250,729 |
| Meghwāl | 34,962 |
| Nāikdā | 54,561 |
| Pānchāl | 60,489 |
| Others | 586,278 |
| TOTAL | 3,479,084 |
| GROUP TOTAL | 16,734,952 |
| Unclassified and animistic | 3,752,667 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 20,487,619 |

### MUSALMĀNS.

CLASS I.—Arabs.

| | |
|---|---|
| Khureshā | 28,005 |
| Saiyad | 138,239 |
| Shekh | 994,676 |
| Others | 125,036 |
| TOTAL | 1,285,956 |

CLASS II.—Afghāns.

| | |
|---|---|
| Pathān | 182,789 |

CLASS III.—Moghals.

| | |
|---|---|
| Moghal | 29,030 |

CLASS IV.—Baloch.

| | |
|---|---|
| Burdio | 68,409 |
| Chāndia | 74,461 |
| Domki | 43,432 |
| Jātoi | 53,487 |
| Khosa | 46,434 |
| Lighāri | 46,585 |
| Makrāni | 3,837 |
| Others | 211,269 |
| TOTAL | 547,914 |

CLASS V.—Brāhui.

| | |
|---|---|
| Brāhui | 48,180 |

### MUSALMĀNS—*contd.*

CLASS VI.—The Sindhi or aboriginal tribes.

| | |
|---|---|
| Jāt | 86,713 |
| Māhur | 32,426 |
| Sāma | 793,806 |
| Sindhi | 688,016 |
| Sumra | 124,130 |
| TOTAL | 1,725,091 |

CLASS VII.—The Sheikh Neo-Muslim (new converts to Islām).

| | |
|---|---|
| Bohrā or Bohorā | 143,679 |
| Khojā | 52,658 |
| Meman | 104,721 |
| Mohanā | 113,079 |
| Others | 21,936 |
| TOTAL | 436,073 |
| GROUP TOTAL | 4,255,033 |
| Others unclassified | 524,511 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 4,779,544 |

## Lingāyats.

### CLASS I.—Panchamsāli.

Hypergamous.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. *Ayyā* or Jangam | 150,180 |
| 2. *Banjig* Athnikar | 93 |
| Chilmi Agni | 6 |
| Dhulpavad | 10,678 |
| Dikshāvant | 6,902 |
| Lokabalki | 6,667 |
| Shilvant | 21,752 |
| Unspecified | 97,001 |
| 3. Panchamsāli | 431,127 |
| TOTAL | 724,406 |

### CLASS II.—Non-Panchamsāli with Ashtavarna Rights.

Endogamous.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Adibanjg | 32,328 |
| 2. Badiger | 1,320 |
| 3. Baligar | 370 |
| 4. Chatter | 1,718 |
| 5. Deodās | 563 |
| 6. Ganāchāri | 10 |
| 7. Gāniger | 99,489 |
| 8. Gavli | 4,806 |
| 9. Gavandi or Uppar | 2,204 |
| 10. Gurva | 4,837 |
| 11. Hānderaut | 3,047 |
| 12. Hāndeyavaru | 1,662 |

### CLASS II.—Non-Panchamsāli with Ashtavarna Rights—*contd.*

Endogamous—*contd.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 13. Hugar or Malgar | 38,053 |
| 14. Jir | 978 |
| 15. Kabbāligar | 243 |
| 16. Kammār or Lohār | 1,451 |
| 17. Kumbhār | 18,246 |
| 18. Kurvinshetti | 18,578 |
| 19. Kudevakkalig | 19,723 |
| 20. Kurub | 2,405 |
| 21. Kurāli | 831 |
| 22. Kursāli | 734 |
| 23. Lālgondā | 1,204 |

### CLASS II.—Non-Panchamsāli with Ashtavarna Rights—*contd.*

Endogamous—*contd.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 24. Mālav | 1,207 |
| 25. Māthāpatti | 387 |
| 26. Maskin Mālav | 6 |
| 27. Nāglig | 10,2 |
| 28. Nilgar | 3 |
| 29. Nonebar | 10,4 |
| 30. Padsāli | 1,74 |
| 31. Padamsāli | 1,69 |
| 32. Panchāchāri | 2,12 |
| 33. Pattesāli | 3,68 |
| 34. Pujār | 51 |
| 35. Raddi | 42,9 |

## Lingāyats—*contd.*

| CLASS II.—Non-Panchamsāli with Ashtavarna Rights—*contd.* | |
|---|---|
| Endogamous—*contd.* | |
| 36. Saddar | 57,569 |
| 37. Shivshinpigar | 7,725 |
| 38. Shivjogi | 238 |
| 39. Sungar | 80 |
| 40. Tāmboli | 360 |
| 41. Tilari | 9,151 |
| 42. Turkar | 1,163 |
| 43. Vāni | 61,423 |
| 44. Vastradavaru | 4 |
| CLASS TOTAL | 468,624 |

| CLASS III.—Non-Panchamsāli without Ashtavarna Rights. | | |
|---|---|---|
| Endogamous. | | |
| 1. Agāsā | | 11,771 |
| 2. Ambig | | 940 |
| 3. Basavi | | 7 |
| 4. Burud or Medar | | 430 |
| 5. Devang. | | |
| | Hatkar or Jada | 30,371 |
| | Bile Jada | 2,405 |
| | Unspecified | 11,710 |
| 6. Divātgi | | 226 |

| CLASS III.—Non-Panchamsāli without Ashtavarna Rights—*contd.* | |
|---|---|
| Endogamous—*contd.* | |
| 7. Hāndevazir | 8,543 |
| 8. Ilgar | 511 |
| 9. Kāchāri | 231 |
| 10. Kalāvant | 240 |
| 11. Kāmāthi | 5 |
| 12. Nādig | 24,621 |
| 13. Saib | 617 |
| 14. Sāli | 917 |
| CLASS TOTAL | 93,545 |

| CLASS IV.—Low Castes.* | |
|---|---|
| 1. Chalwādi | 52 |
| 2. Dhor or Dohori | 655 |
| 3. Helia or Mahār | 884 |
| 4. Hulsar | 4 |
| 5. Jingar | 26 |
| 6. Samgar | 1,959 |
| CLASS TOTAL | 3,580 |
| Unspecified | 132,138 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 1,422,293 |

* It is not unusual to deny that these castes are members of the Lingāyat community at the present day.

NOTE.—A tentative classification founded on imperfect enquiries and subject to revision upon the completion of the investigations now in progress.



## Social Grouping of the Dravidian Tract.

### 1. MADRAS PRESIDENCY, 2. MYSORE, 3. HYDERABAD, 4. TRAVANCORE, AND 5. COCHIN.

| HINDUS. | |
|---|---|
| CLASS I.—Brāhman and allied castes. | |
| Brāhman | 2,158,261 |
| CLASS II.—Kshatriyā and allied castes. | |
| Khatriyā | 139,635 |
| Kanul Karan | 89,299 |
| Rajput | 66,266 |
| [illegible] | 113,528 |
| [illegible] | 41,768 |
| TOTAL | 450,496 |
| CLASS III.—Vaishyā and allied castes. | |
| [illegible] | 672,590 |
| [illegible] (including [illegible] | 405,549 |
| TOTAL | 1,078,139 |
| CLASS IV.—*Sat* or good Sudras. | |
| [illegible]si | 24,866 |
| [illegible] | 1,016,122 |
| [illegible] | 118,528 |
| [illegible] | 312,337 |
| [illegible] | 103,083 |
| [illegible] | 998,470 |
| [illegible] | 695,302 |
| [illegible] | 126,546 |

| HINDUS—*contd.* | |
|---|---|
| CLASS IV.—*Sat* or good Sudras—*contd.* | |
| Kamma | 973,728 |
| Kāpu | 2,576,448 |
| Kummara | 222,193 |
| Kusadan | 145,077 |
| Nāyar | 1,043,894 |
| Satāni | 61,843 |
| Vakkaliga | 1,376,592 |
| Velāmā | 567,945 |
| Vellālā | 2,442,959 |
| Others | 4,732,321 |
| TOTAL | 17,538,254 |
| CLASS V.—Sudras who habitually employ Brāhmans as purohits and whose touch is supposed to pollute. | |
| Agamudiyan | 318,166 |
| Ambala Karan | 162,474 |
| Kaikolan | 350,632 |
| Maravan | 345,915 |
| Nattaman | 151,278 |
| Palli | 2,557,216 |
| Sālè or Sālā | 556,370 |
| Telagā | 447,544 |
| Tottiyān | 151,007 |

| HINDUS—*contd.* | |
|---|---|
| CLASS V.—Sudras who habitually employ Brāhmans as purohits and whose touch is supposed to pollute—*contd.* | |
| Vaniyān | 185,067 |
| Others | 1,618,634 |
| TOTAL | 6,844,303 |
| CLASS VI.—Sudras who occasionally employ Brāhman purohits, but whose touch does pollute. | |
| Ambattan | 218,657 |
| Bestha | 194,394 |
| Devanga | 279,154 |
| Gamallā | 150,977 |
| Gowndālā | 243,792 |
| Gudalā | 4,437 |
| Idiga | 279,567 |
| Kallan | 487,284 |
| Kuruba | 592,350 |
| Mangala | 198,489 |
| Mutracha | 176,060 |
| Tsakala | 360,215 |
| Uppara | 259,605 |
| Valaiyan | 360,296 |
| Vannan | 210,931 |
| Others | 835,338 |
| TOTAL | 4,851,546 |

| HINDUS—*contd.* | |
|---|---|
| CLASS VII.—Sudras who do not employ Brāhman purohits and whose touch pollutes. | |
| Agāsā | 107,8[illegible] |
| Kurāvan | 1[illegible]53,89[illegible] |
| Kurumban | 155,000 |
| Odde | 502,698 |
| Yanode | 103,979 |
| Others | 1,146,363 |
| TOTAL | 2,169,774 |
| CLASS VIII.—Castes which pollute even without touching, but do not eat beef. | |
| Billāvā | 142,895 |
| Cheruman | 253,347 |
| Illuvan | 787,250 |
| Kammalan | 104,033 |
| Pallan | 833,958 |
| Shānan | 603,335 |
| Tiyan | 578,453 |
| Others | 890,451 |
| TOTAL | 4,193,722 |

# Social Grouping of the Dravidian Tract—*contd.*



1. MADRAS, ETC., 2. CHOTĀ-NĀGPUR, ETC., 3. CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERĀR.

## 1. Madras Presidency, 2. Mysore, 3. Hyderabad, 4. Travancore, and 5. Cochin —*contd.*

### HINDUS—*contd.*

**CLASS IX.—Castes eating beef.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Boya | 397,348 |
| Khond | 316,568 |
| Savara | 183,159 |
| Others | 357,601 |
| TOTAL | 1,254,676 |

**CLASS X.—Castes eating beef and polluting without touching.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Chakkiliyan | 487,445 |
| Holeyā | 743,853 |
| Madigā | 1,034,927 |
| Mālā | 1,645,084 |
| Parāiyan | 2,231,655 |
| Others | 1,612,937 |
| TOTAL | 7,755,901 |

**CLASS XI.—Castes denying the sacerdotal authority of Brāhmans.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Jangam | 102,121 |
| Kammālan | 540,310 |
| Kam Sala | 271,583 |
| Lingāyat | 1,106,714 |
| Panchāla | 215,471 |
| Others | 92,315 |
| TOTAL | 2,328,514 |

**CLASS XII.—Castes insufficiently indicated and not corresponding with the other provinces.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Vadugan | 95,924 |
| Others | 1,764,265 |
| TOTAL | 1,860,189 |

**CLASS XIII.—Castes unspecified and religious mendicants.**

| | |
|---|---|
| TOTAL | 142,591 |
| **GROUP TOTAL** | **52,626,366** |
| Animists and unclassified | 196,057 |
| **GRAND TOTAL** | **52,822,423** |

## 1. Chotā-Nāgpur, 2. States of Chotā-Nāgpur, 3. States of Orissā, 4. Angul and Khandmahāls.

### HINDUS—*contd.*

**CLASS I.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Brāhman | 214,677 |

**CLASS II.—Castes of twice-born rank.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Bābhan | 35,360 |
| Kāyasth | 27,601 |
| Rājput | 108,333 |
| Others | 25,047 |
| TOTAL | 196,341 |

**CLASS III.—Clean Sudras.**

Sub-class (*a*).

| | |
|---|---|
| Ahir (Goala) | 371,209 |
| Chero | 21,996 |
| Kāhār | 76,943 |
| Kharwār and Bhogta | 142,900 |
| Koiri | 83,362 |
| Kurmi | 463,476 |
| Others | 73,779 |
| TOTAL | 1,233,665 |

Sub-class (*b*).

| | |
|---|---|
| Bārhi | 42,530 |
| Hajjām | 47,077 |
| Kumbhār | 135,206 |
| Lohār (Kamār) | 149,098 |
| Māli | 17,152 |
| Rāutia | 39,471 |
| Sarak | 13,298 |
| Sonār | 15,022 |
| Others | 6,994 |
| TOTAL | 465,848 |

**CLASS IV.—Inferior Sudras.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Kalwār | 9,985 |
| Kewāt | 51,697 |
| Jhorā | 7,469 |
| Mallāh | 12,651 |
| Nuniā | 8,282 |
| Rauniār | 8,712 |
| Sunri | 73,218 |
| Teli | 169,692 |
| Others | 10,324 |
| TOTAL | 352,030 |

### HINDUS—*contd.*

**CLASS V.—Unclean Sudras.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Bāthudi | 44,670 |
| Bedā | 22,669 |
| Bhuiyā | 346,981 |
| Bhumij | 236,984 |
| Chāmār | 92,470 |
| Chik (Barik) and Pān | 308,930 |
| Dhobi | 67,078 |
| Dosadh | 60,448 |
| Ghāsi | 51,205 |
| Gond | 201,647 |
| Kandh | 121,011 |
| Kharia | 88,872 |
| Korā | 27,115 |
| Māhli | 33,118 |
| Māl | 14,095 |
| Mundā | 325,753 |
| Rājwār | 69,620 |
| Savar | 15,746 |
| Tatwā | 81,411 |
| Turi | 35,752 |
| Others | 48,037 |
| TOTAL | 2,293,612 |

**CLASS VI.—Scavengers and filth-eaters.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Dom | 39,548 |
| Hāri | 41,510 |
| Ho | 383,504 |
| Kāur | 62,413 |
| Nāgesia | 30,137 |
| Oraon | 448,999 |
| Santāl | 576,029 |
| Others | 62,047 |
| TOTAL | 1,644,187 |
| **GROUP TOTAL** | **6,400,360** |
| Animists and unclassified | 1,193,798 |
| **GRAND TOTAL** | **7,594,158** |

## 1. Central Provinces and 2. Berār.

### HINDUS—*contd.*

**CLASS I (*a*).—Castes of ancient twice-born.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Brāhman | 464,806 |
| Prabhu and Kāyasth | 30,690 |
| Rājput | 387,620 |
| Others | 327,081 |
| TOTAL | 1,210,197 |

**CLASS I (*b*).—Castes not of twice-born, but claiming high position on account of their high position.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Bairāgi | 37,711 |
| Bhāt | 22,553 |
| Religious mendicants | 24,264 |
| Others | 1,872 |
| TOTAL | 86,400 |

**CLASS II (*a*).—Higher cultivat... from whom a Brāhman ... take water.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Aghāria | 31,... |
| Ahir and Goālā | 933 |
| Chāsā | ... |
| Dāngi | ... |
| Dumal | ... |
| Gondhalis | ... |
| Gujar | ... |
| Kachhi | ... |
| Kalāl | ... |
| Kirār | ... |
| Koltā | ... |
| Kunbi | ... |
| Kurmi | ... |
| Lodhi | ... |
| Māli | ... |
| Mhāli | ... |
| Marāthā | ... |
| Others | ... |
| TOTAL | ... |

# Social Grouping of the Dravidian Tract—*contd.*

## 1. CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERĀR—*contd.*

### 1. Central Provinces and 2. Berār—*contd.*

**HINDUS—*contd.***

**CLASS II (*b*).—Higher artizans or trading castes from whom a Brāhman will take water.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Barāi | 55,757 |
| Barhāi | 67,170 |
| Sonār | 124,808 |
| Sutār | 30,114 |
| Wāni | 41,110 |
| Others | 47,721 |
| TOTAL | 366,680 |

**CLASS II (*c*).—Serving castes from whom a Brāhman will take water.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Dhimār | 223,723 |
| Kewāt | 191,080 |
| Nāi | 136,621 |
| Others | 37,926 |
| TOTAL | 589,350 |

**CLASS III (*a*).—Lower cultivating castes from whom a Brāhman will not take water.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Bhoyār | 46,905 |
| Chādar | 26,042 |
| Maniar | 40,158 |
| Others | 141,582 |
| TOTAL | 254,687 |

**HINDUS—*contd.***

**CLASS III (*b*).—Lower artizans from whom a Brāhman will not take water.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Bahna | 21,309 |
| Banjārā Vanjāri, and Labhāni | 140,130 |
| Bhulia | 26,070 |
| Darzi and Shimpi | 46,069 |
| Dhangar | 94,467 |
| Gadaria | 33,062 |
| Kālār | 149,200 |
| Koshti | 149,072 |
| Lohār | 150,343 |
| Teli | 788,710 |
| Others | 164,679 |
| TOTAL | 1,763,111 |

**CLASS IV.—Low Dravidian Tribes.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Baigā | 24,744 |
| Bhāria-Bhumiā | 33,561 |
| Bhil | 28,155 |
| Binjhwār | 71,099 |
| Gond | 1,997,654 |
| Hālbā | 90,093 |
| Kāndh | 168,641 |
| Kawār | 122,519 |
| Kisan | 32,788 |
| Sawara | 144,468 |
| Others | 72,713 |
| TOTAL | 2,786,435 |

**HINDUS—*contd.***

**CLASS V.—Castes who cannot be touched.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Andh | 39,679 |
| Balāhi | 44,272 |
| Bāsor | 42,759 |
| Beldār | 23,889 |
| Bhoi | 27,193 |
| Chāmār | 763,298 |
| Dhobi | 153,925 |
| Gandā | 277,830 |
| Ghāsia | 38,726 |
| Koli | 46,713 |
| Kātia | 31,924 |
| Kori | 35,971 |
| Kumhār | 119,315 |
| Mahār | 350,967 |
| Māng | 69,230 |
| Mehtar | 91,816 |
| Pankhā | 137,855 |
| Others | 49,848 |
| TOTAL | 2,345,210 |
| **GROUP TOTAL** | **13,332,398** |
| Animists and unclassified | 675,687 |
| **GRAND TOTAL** | **14,008,085** |

**MUSALMĀNS.**

**1. Madras, etc., 2. Chotā-Nāgpur, etc., 3. Central Provinces and Berār.**

**CLASS I.—(Ashrāf) Better class Muhāmmadan.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Moghal | 61,766 |
| Pathān | 331,479 |
| Saiyad | 353,952 |
| Shekh | 2,030,358 |
| TOTAL | 2,777,555 |

**CLASS II.—(Ajlāf) Lower class Muhāmmadan.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Dudekula | 74,538 |
| Jolāhā | 157,399 |
| Jonākan | 91,63 |
| Labbāi | 425,7 |
| Mappillā | 91 |
| Meltan | 55,214 |
| Tulukhan | 52,206 |
| TOTAL | 1,767,618 |
| Others | 138,339 |
| **GROUP TOTAL** | **4,683,512** |
| Unclassified | 302,961 |
| **GRAND TOTAL** | **4,986,473** |



# Aryo-Dravidian Tract.

## THE UNITED PROVINCES AND BIHĀR.

### United Provinces.

**HINDUS.**

**CLASS I.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Brāhman | 4,706,332 |
| Others | 48,922 |
| TOTAL | 4,755,254 |

**HINDUS—*contd.***

**CLASS II.—Castes allied to Brāhmans and who are considered to be of high social standing.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Bhāt | 131,881 |
| Bhuinhār | 205,951 |
| Tāgā | 109,578 |
| Others | 12,951 |
| TOTAL | 4 |

**HINDUS—*contd.***

**CLASS III.—Kshatriyās.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Khatri | 49,518 |
| Rājput | 3,354,058 |
| Others | 693 |
| TOTAL | 3,404,269 |

**HINDUS—*contd.***

**CLASS IV.—Castes allied to Kshatriyās, though their claim is not universally admitted.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Kāyastha | 515,698 |
| Others | 1,996 |
| TOTAL | 517,694 |

# Aryo-Dravidian Tract—*contd.*

## THE UNITED PROVINCES AND BIHĀR—*contd.*

### United Provinces—*contd.*

#### HINDUS—*contd.*

**CLASS V.—Vaishyās.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Agarwāla | 291,143 |
| Bārāseni | 42,833 |
| Umar | 42,422 |
| Others | 107,895 |
| TOTAL | 484,293 |

**CLASS VI.—Castes allied to Vaishyās, but their claim is not universally admitted.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Agrahāri | 86,503 |
| Kandu | 157,638 |
| Kasaundhan | 96,123 |
| Others | 507,875 |
| TOTAL | 848,139 |

**CLASS VII.—Castes of good social position, superior to that of the remaining classes.**

| | |
|---|---|
| [illegible] | 784,878 |
| [illegible]wāi | 65,778 |
| [illegible]thers | 12,826 |
| TOTAL | 863,482 |

**CLASS VIII.—Castes from whom some of the twice-born would take water and *pakki*, without question.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Ahar | 246,137 |
| Āhir | 3,823,668 |
| Barāi | 138,418 |
| Barhāi | 548,816 |
| Gujar | 283,952 |
| Kāchhi | 711,755 |
| Kāhār | 1,237,881 |
| Kisan | 369,631 |
| Koeri | 505,097 |
| Kurmi | 1,963,757 |
| Lodhā | 1,063,741 |
| Lohār | 531,749 |
| Māli | 265,042 |
| Murao | 645,920 |
| Nāi | 670,239 |
| Sorār | 283,980 |
| Others | 443,824 |
| TOTAL | 13,733,607 |

#### HINDUS—*contd.*

**CLASS IX.—Castes from whom some of the twice-born take water while others would not.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Bharbhunjā | 309,655 |
| Darzi | 101,741 |
| Gadariyā | 941,803 |
| Kewāt | 429,291 |
| Kumhār | 705,689 |
| Mallāh | 227,840 |
| Others | 207,851 |
| TOTAL | 2,923,870 |

**CLASS X.—Castes from whose hand the twice-born cannot take water, but who are not untouchable.**

**Sub-class (*a*), with respectable occupation.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Banjāra | 45,628 |
| Bhār | 381,197 |
| Kalwār | 324,375 |
| Teli | 732,367 |
| Others | 79,823 |
| TOTAL | 1,563,390 |

**Sub-class (*b*), more or less degrading occupation.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Arak | 73,702 |
| Kol | 49,653 |
| Luniya | 399,886 |
| Others | 180,482 |
| TOTAL | 703,723 |

**Sub-class (*c*), suspected criminal practices.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Kanjar | 27,376 |
| Meo | 10,546 |
| Others | 10,276 |
| TOTAL | 48,198 |

**CLASS XI.—Castes that are untouchable, but do not eat beef.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Dhanuk | 127,581 |
| Dhobi | 609,445 |
| Dusādh | 72,124 |
| Khātik | 199,591 |
| Kori | 990,027 |
| Pāsi | 1,239,282 |
| Others | 215,987 |
| TOTAL | 3,454,03[illegible] |

#### HINDUS—*contd.*

**CLASS XII.—Lowest castes eating beef and vermin.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Bhangi | 353,530 |
| Chāmār | 5,890,639 |
| Dom | 233,915 |
| Others | 116,737 |
| TOTAL | 6,594,821 |

**MENDICANTS.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Fakir | 294,253 |
| GROUP TOTAL | 40,649,391 |
| Animist and unclassified | 107,746 |
| **GRAND TOTAL** | **40,757,137** |

### Bihār.

#### HINDUS.

**CLASS I.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Brāhman | 1,094,509 |

**CLASS II.—Other castes of twice-born rank.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Bābhan | 1,108,438 |
| Kāyasth | 328,463 |
| Rājput | 1,163,175 |
| Others | 61,384 |
| TOTAL | 2,661,460 |

**CLASS III.—Clean Sudras.**

**Sub-class (*a*).**

| | |
|---|---|
| Ahir | 2,832,518 |
| Atith and Jogi | 66,870 |
| Bārui | 117,343 |
| Dhanuk | 581,427 |
| Gangauta | 82,378 |
| Gareri | 89,174 |
| Gour | 65,631 |
| Halwāi | 133,681 |
| Kāhār | 443,201 |
| Kandu | 482,164 |
| Koiri | 1,166,077 |
| Kurmi | 780,818 |
| Rājhwār | 77,603 |
| Others | 173,648 |
| TOTAL | 7,092,533 |

#### HINDUS—*contd.*

**Sub-class (*b*).**

| | |
|---|---|
| Āmāt | 57,263 |
| Bārhi | 217,753 |
| Hajjām | 332,011 |
| Kumhār | 281,736 |
| Lohār | 285,927 |
| Māli | 57,689 |
| Sonār | 173,468 |
| Others | 110,669 |
| TOTAL | 1,516,516 |

**CLASS IV.—Inferior Sudras.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Beldār | 91,530 |
| Bind | 126,531 |
| Chain | 79,933 |
| Gonrhi | 137,086 |
| Kalwār | 211,185 |
| Kewāt | 183,065 |
| Māllāh | 353,357 |
| Nuniā | 291,109 |
| Rāuiar | 68,601 |
| Sunri | 109,339 |
| Teli | 675,302 |
| Tiyār | 61,256 |
| Turaha[illegible] | 74,075 |
| Others | 45,233 |
| TOTAL | 2,507,602 |

**CLASS V.—Unclean castes.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Bhuiyā | 268,671 |
| Chāmār | 941,322 |
| Dhoba | 196,676 |
| Dosādh | 1,087,045 |
| Gangāi | 54,694 |
| Khatwe | 102,871 |
| Musāhār | 592,402 |
| Pāsi | 136,452 |
| Rājwār | 77,603 |
| Tatwā or Tanti | 424,889 |
| Others | 84,143 |
| TOTAL | 3,966,768 |

# Aryo-Dravidian Tract—*contd.*

## THE UNITED PROVINCES AND BIHĀR—*contd.*

| Bihār—*contd.* | | United Provinces and Bihār. | | MUSALMĀNS—*contd.* | | MUSALMĀNS—*contd.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **HINDUS—*contd.*** | | **MUSALMĀNS.** | | CLASS II.—(Ajlāf) Lower class Muhāmmadans—*contd.* | | CLASS III.—(Arzul) Degraded Class—*contd.* | |
| CLASS VI.—Scavengers and filth-eaters. | | CLASS I.—(Ashrāf) Better class Muhāmmadans. | | Bhangi | 90,904 | Fakir | 395,227 |
| Dom | 124,984 | Moghal | 86,254 | Darzi | 190,789 | Jolāhā | 1,546,959 |
| Others | 24,331 | Pathān | 919,464 | Dhobi | 138,733 | Kunjrā | 258,320 |
| TOTAL | 149,315 | Saiyad | 362,603 | Lohār | 77,786 | Quāssāb | 190,790 |
| GROUP TOTAL | 18,988,703 | Shekh | 3,221,739 | Nāi | 219,898 | TOTAL | 2,670,023 |
| Animists and unclassified | 1,667,327 | TOTAL | 4,590,060 | Teli | 207,863 | Sub-class (*b*). | |
| GRAND TOTAL | 20,656,030 | CLASS II.—(Ajlāf) Lower class Muhāmmadans. | | TOTAL | 1,361,983 | Gārā | 53,952 |
| | | Barhi | 79,433 | CLASS III.—(Arzul) Degraded Class. | | Mewāti | 51,028 |
| | | Behnā | 356,577 | Sub-class (*a*). | | TOTAL | 104,980 |
| | | | | Bhisti | 82,194 | GROUP TOTAL | 8,727,046 |
| | | | | Dhuniā | 196,533 | Unclassified | 1,567,400 |
| | | | | | | GRAND TOTAL | 10,294,446 |



# Social Grouping of the Mongolo-Dravidian Tract.

## BENGAL AND ORISSĀ.

### Bengal.

### HINDUS.

| CLASS I.—Brāhmans. | |
|---|---|
| Brāhman | 1,238,011 |

| CLASS II.—Castes ranking above clean Sudras. | |
|---|---|
| Baidya | 80,348 |
| Kāyastha | 977,730 |
| Khatri | 23,174 |
| Rājput | 111,493 |
| Ugra-Khatriya or Āguri | 88,415 |
| TOTAL | 1,281,160 |

| CLASS III.—Clean Sudras. | |
|---|---|
| Bārui | 161,265 |
| Gandha-banik | 117,769 |
| Kamār | 287,647 |
| Kumhār | 273,910 |
| Malākar | 33,414 |
| Mayrā (Madak) | 124,973 |
| Nāpit | 422,332 |
| Rāju | 59,348 |
| Sadgop | 557,805 |

| HINDUS—*contd.* | |
|---|---|
| CLASS III.—Clean Sudras—*contd.* | |
| Tāmli or Tāmbuli | 52,446 |
| Tānti | 304,144 |
| Teli and Tili | 498,106 |
| Others | *239,377 |
| TOTAL | 3,132,536 |

| CLASS IV.—Clean castes with degraded Brāhmans. | |
|---|---|
| Chāsi Kaibarta | 1,936,951 |
| Goālā or Āhir | 622,504 |
| TOTAL | 2,559,455 |

| CLASS V.—Castes whose water is not taken. | |
|---|---|
| Bhuiyā | 47,118 |
| Jugi and Jogi | 335,529 |
| Shāhā (Sunri) | 424,774 |
| Swarnakār or Sonār | 56,899 |
| Subarna-banik | 105,121 |
| Sutradhār | 166,748 |
| Others | †415,008 |
| TOTAL | 1,551,197 |

| HINDUS—*contd.* | |
|---|---|
| CLASS VI.—Low castes abstaining from beef, pork and fowls. | |
| Bāgdi | 1,014,752 |
| Chain | 49,064 |
| Dhobi | 220,332 |
| Jalia Kaibarta | 262,413 |
| Kālu | 114,163 |
| Kapāli | 141,900 |
| Kotāl | 10,627 |
| Malo (Jhāle) | 221,758 |
| Nama Sudra (Chandal) | 1,836,742 |
| Patni | 60,830 |
| Pod | 464,733 |
| Rājbansi | 1,560,516 |
| Tipārā | 25,725 |
| Tiyār | 200,544 |
| Others | 229,375 |
| TOTAL | 6,413,474 |

| CLASS VII.—Unclean feeders. | |
|---|---|
| Pāuri | 309,258 |
| Chāmār | 127,129 |

| HINDUS—*contd.* | |
|---|---|
| CLASS VII.—Unclean feeders—*contd.* | |
| Kāorā | 111,942 |
| Korā | 45,818 |
| Māl | 120,018 |
| Muchi | 411,596 |
| Others | 66,831 |
| TOTAL | 1,192,592 |
| Scavengers. | |
| Dom | 184,170 |
| Hāri | 168,485 |
| TOTAL | 352,655 |
| GROUP TOTAL | 17,721,080 |
| Animists and unclassified | 1,898,457 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 19,619,537 |

### Orissā.

### HINDUS.

| CLASS I.—Brāhmans. | |
|---|---|
| Brāhman | 415,140 |

* Includes unclassified "Sudras" 184,786.
† Includes Baistams who represent religious sect Vaishnavas, 392,442.

GROUP VI.

# Social Grouping of the Mongolo-Dravidian Tract—*contd.*

## BENGAL and ORISSA—*contd.*

### Orissā—*contd.*

#### HINDUS—*contd.*

CLASS II.—Twice-borns.

| | |
|---|---|
| Karan | 117,649 |
| Khandāit | 602,556 |
| Others | 29,547 |
| TOTAL | 749,752 |

CLASS III.—Clean Sudras.

Sub-class (*a*).

| | |
|---|---|
| Chāsā | 581,627 |
| Māli | 21,313 |
| Rāju | 47,085 |
| Sudhā | 41,802 |

Sub-class (*b*).

| | |
|---|---|
| Barhi | 44,012 |
| Bhandāri | 81,149 |
| [illegible]aur | 267,115 |
| [illegible]ria | 113,838 |
| [illegible] | 33,646 |
| Others | 32,583 |
| TOTAL | 1,264,[illegible] |

CLASS IV.—Unclean Sudras.

| | |
|---|---|
| Golā | 47,485 |
| Tānti | 134,764 |
| Others | 47,823 |
| TOTAL | 230,072 |

### HINDUS—*contd.*

CLASS V.—Caste whose touch defiles.

| | |
|---|---|
| Jyotish | 23,877 |
| Kewāt | 116,541 |
| Kumhār | 52,804 |
| Teli | 155,362 |
| Others | 80,348 |
| TOTAL | 428,932 |

CLASS VI.—Castes eating fowls and drinking spirit.

Sub-class (*a*).

| | |
|---|---|
| Chāmār | 25,273 |
| Others | 6,030 |
| TOTAL | 31,303 |

Sub-class (*b*).

| | |
|---|---|
| Bāuri | 157,548 |
| Dhobi | 81,736 |
| Gokhā | 43,951 |
| Others | 9,442 |
| TOTAL | 292,677 |

Sub-class (*c*).

| | |
|---|---|
| Kandrā | 142,861 |
| Others | 6,406 |
| TOTAL | 149,267 |

### HINDUS—*contd.*

CLASS VII.—Beef-eaters and scavengers.

| | |
|---|---|
| Hāri | 23,156 |
| Pān | 170,845 |
| Others | 10,613 |
| TOTAL | 204,614 |
| GROUP TOTAL | 3,766,527 |
| Animist and unclassified | 276,590 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 4,043,117 |

### Bengal and Orissā.

#### MUHAMMADANS.

CLASS I.—(Ashrāf) Better class.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mallik | 13,999 |
| Moghal | 14,316 |
| Pathān | 245,192 |
| Saiyad | 125,968 |
| Shekh | 19,580,567 |
| Others | 505 |
| TOTAL | 19,980,547 |

CLASS II.—(Ajlāf) Lower class.

Sub-class (1).

| | |
|---|---|
| Nāsyā | 158,120 |

### MUHAMMADANS—*contd.*

Sub-class (2).

| | |
|---|---|
| Jolāhā | 435,440 |
| Others | 6,934 |
| TOTAL | 442,374 |

Sub-class (3).

| | |
|---|---|
| Dāi | 21,264 |
| Dhawā | 18,337 |
| Kulu | 118,606 |
| Nikāri | 44,301 |
| Others | 16,480 |
| TOTAL | 218,988 |

Sub-class (4).

| | |
|---|---|
| Bediyās | 26,481 |
| Hajjām | 7,424 |
| Nagārchi | 18,320 |
| Tuntiā or Tutiā | 8,201 |
| Others | 7,781 |
| TOTAL | 68,207 |

CLASS III.—(Arzal) Degraded class.

| | |
|---|---|
| Kasbi | 6,252 |
| Others | 845 |
| TOTAL | 7,097 |
| GROUP TOTAL | 20,845,333 |
| Unclassified | 544,075 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 21,419,408 |

GROUP VII.

# Social Grouping of the Mongoloid Tract.

## ASSAM, SIKKIM, KOCH-BEHAR, AND HILL TIPPERA.

### Assam (Surma and Brahmaputra Valleys) and Hill Districts and Plains.

#### HINDUS.

CLASS I.—Castes of twice-born rank.

| | |
|---|---|
| Brāhman | 109,446 |
| Ganak | 20,535 |
| Others | 871 |
| TOTAL | 130,852 |

### HINDUS—*contd.*

CLASS II.—Good castes from whose hands Brāhmans will take water.

| | |
|---|---|
| Baidya | 5,154 |
| Das | 71,092 |
| Kāyasth | 86,918 |
| Kalita | 203,108 |
| Kewāt and Kaibartta | 148,822 |
| Koch | 221,721 |

### HINDUS—*contd.*

CLASS II.—Good castes from whose hands Brāhmans will take water—*contd.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Rājbansi | 120,071 |
| Others | 204,133 |
| TOTAL | 1,061,019 |

CLASS III.—Castes from whose hands Brāhmans will not take water.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ahom | 178,049 |

### HINDUS—*contd.*

CLASS III.—Castes from whose hands Brāhmans will not take water—*contd.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Jugi and Katani | 161,167 |
| Māli (Bhuin-māli) | 50,055 |
| Nadiyal (Dompatni) | 194,842 |
| Nama Sudra (Chandal) | 169,576 |
| Shaha (Sunri) | 54,600 |

# Social Grouping of the Mongoloid Tract—*contd.*

## ASSAM, SIKKIM, KOCH-BEHAR, AND HILL TIPPERA—*contd.*

### Assam (Surma and Brahmaputra Valleys) and Hill Districts and Plains.—*contd.*

**HINDUS—*contd.***

CLASS III.—Castes from whose hands Brāhmans will not take water—*contd.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Others | 285,609 |
| TOTAL | 1,093,898 |
| GROUP TOTAL | 2,285,769 |
| Animist and unclassified | 2,212,024 |
| **GRAND TOTAL** | **4,497,793** |

### Sikkim, Koch-Behar, and Hill Tippera.

**HINDUS.**

CLASS I.—High castes.

| | |
|---|---|
| Brāhman | 11,828 |
| Khas | 3,253 |
| Others | 402 |
| TOTAL | 15,483 |

**HINDUS—*contd.***

CLASS II.—Intermediate castes.

| | |
|---|---|
| Gurang | 4,503 |
| Limbu | 5,916 |
| Manger | 2,441 |
| Rājbansi (Koch) | 338,309 |
| Others | 8,580 |
| TOTAL | 359,740 |

CLASS III.—Low castes.

| | |
|---|---|
| Chakma | 4,510 |
| Kami | 2,838 |
| Khambu | 9,648 |
| Kuki | 7,547 |
| Lepcha | 7,982 |
| Nama Sudra | 8,543 |

**HINDUS—*contd.***

CLASS III.—Low Castes—*contd.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Others | 66,300 |
| TOTAL | 107,368 |
| GROUP TOTAL | 482,600 |
| Unclassified | 75,787 |
| **GRAND TOTAL** | **558,387** |

### Assam, Sikkim, Koch-Behar, and Hill Tippera.

**MUHĀMMADANS.**

CLASS I.—(Ashrāf).

Better class Muhāmmadans.

| | |
|---|---|
| Saiyad | 10,954 |
| Shekh | 1,661,923 |

**MUHĀMMADANS—*contd.***

CLASS I.—(Ashrāf)—*contd.*

Better class Muhāmmadans—*contd.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Pathān | 11,454 |
| Others | 1,426 |
| TOTAL | 1,685,757 |

CLASS II.—(Ajlāf)

Lower class Muhāmmadans.

Sub-class (*a*).

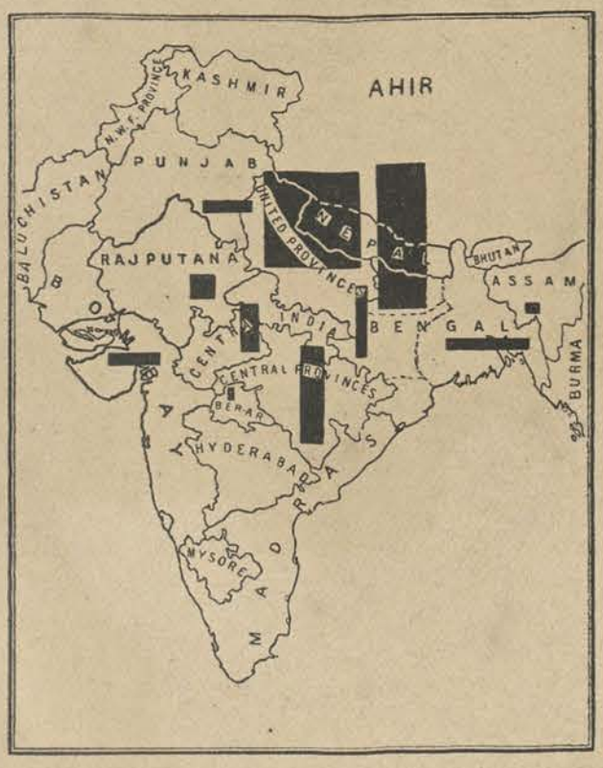
| | |
|---|---|
| Nasya | 42,607 |

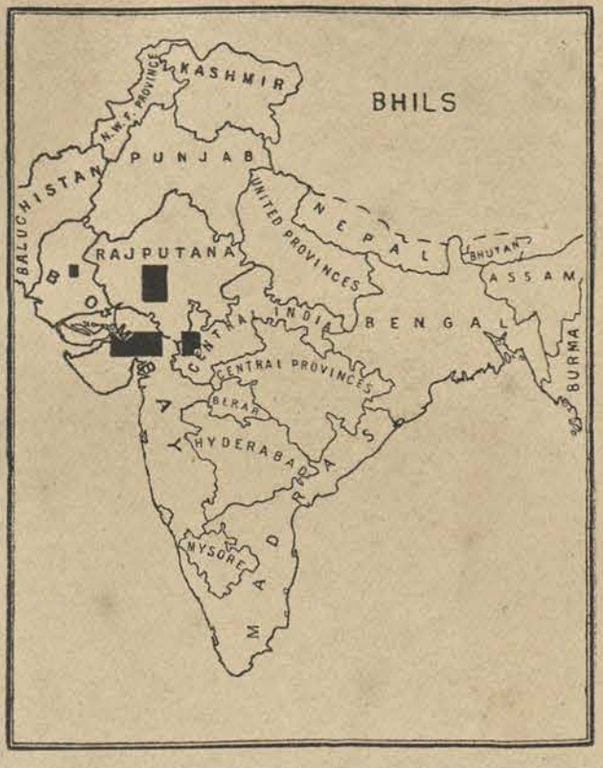
Sub-class (*b*).

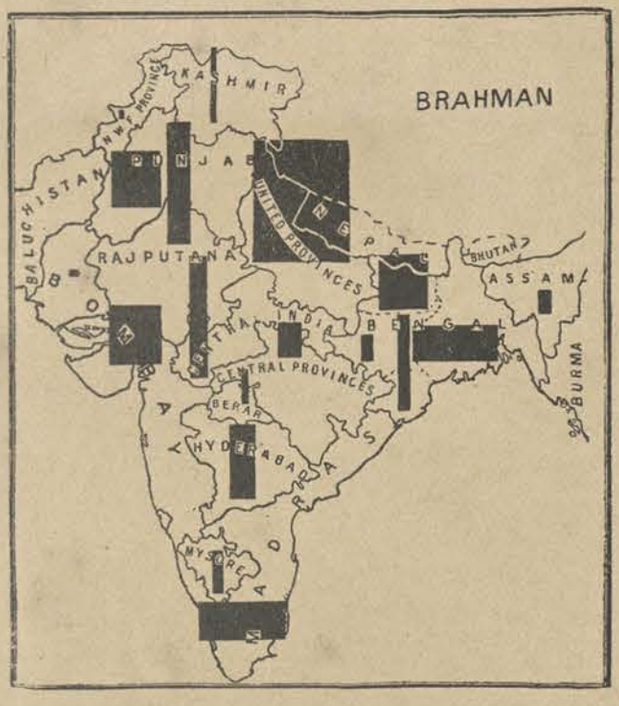
| | |
|---|---|
| Jolaha | 1,929 |
| Others | 1,710 |
| TOTAL | 46,246 |
| GROUP TOTAL | 1,732,003 |
| Unclassified | 62,894 |
| **GRAND TOTAL** | **1,794,** |

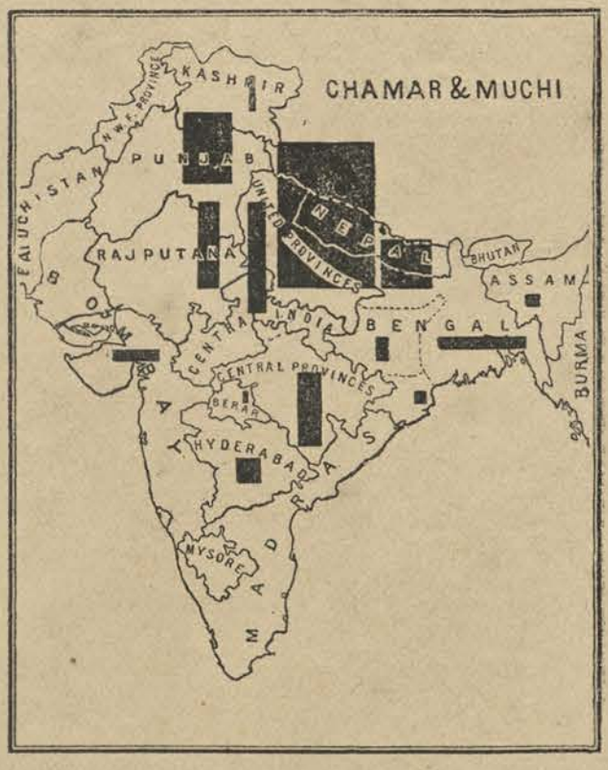
No. 654, Census Commr. for India.—Nov. 02.—3,000.

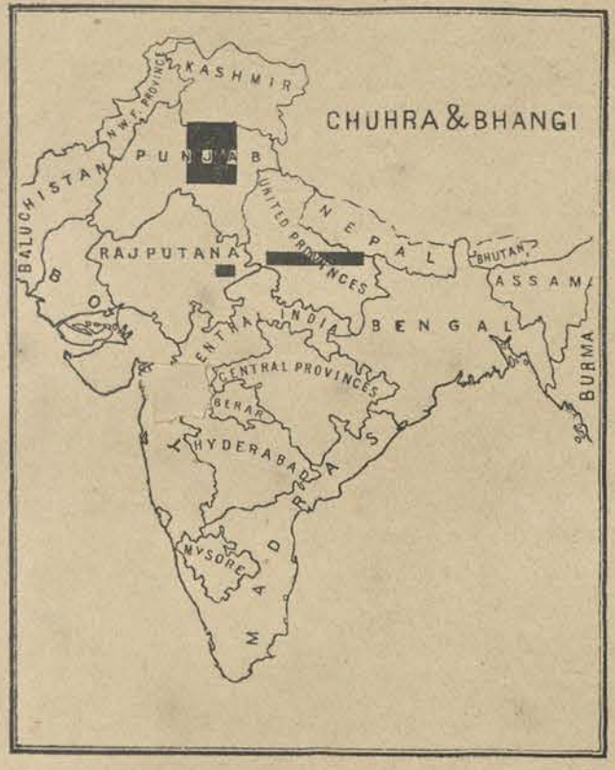
Litho., S. I. O., Calcutta.

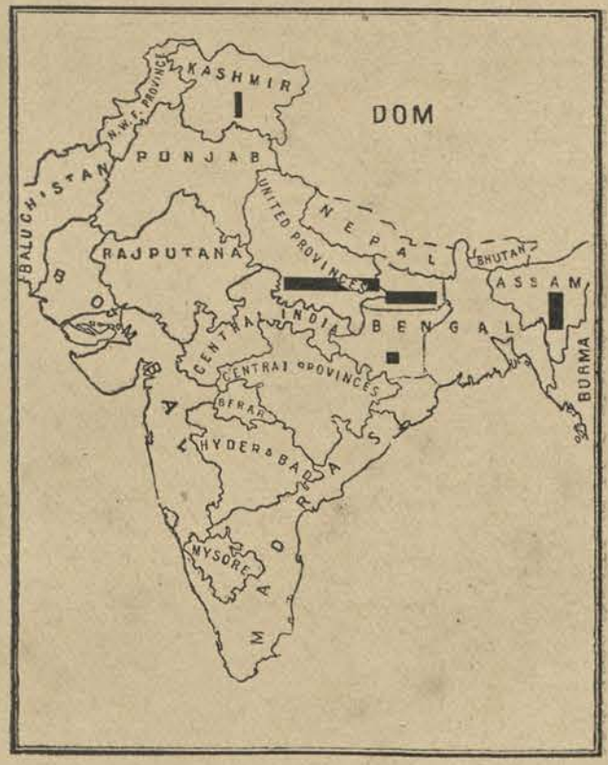



THE AREA OF EACH RECTANGLE SHOWS THE STRENGTH OF THE CASTE IN EACH PROVINCE — 300,000

THE BASE OF EACH RECTANGLE INDICATES THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE — 0 MILLION 10 20 30

THE HEIGHT SHOWS THE PROPORTION WHICH THE CASTE BEARS TO THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE — P.C. 3 1 0

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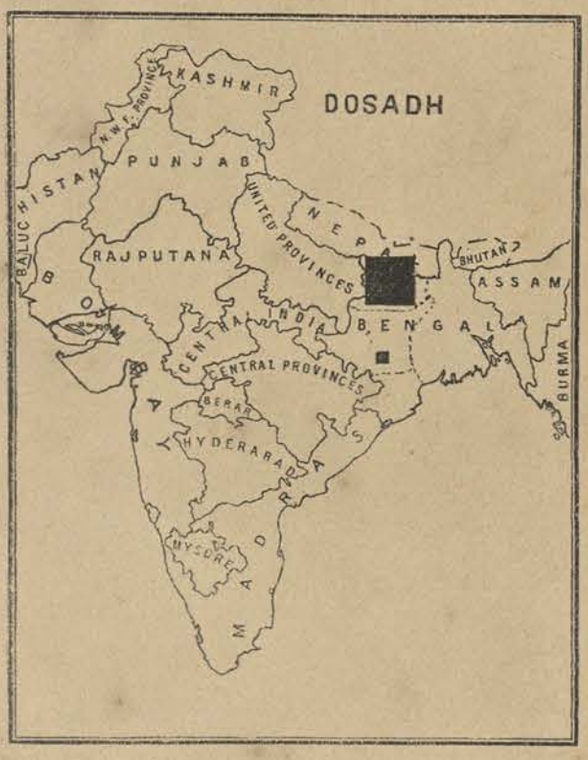


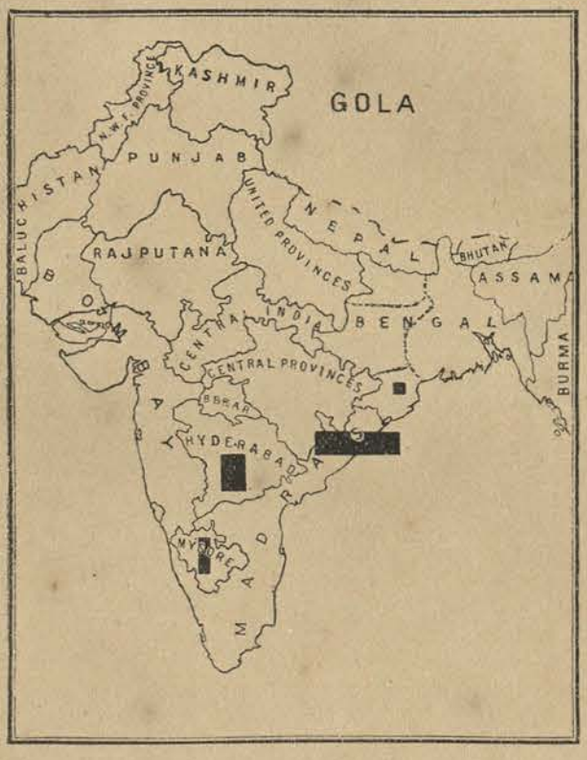


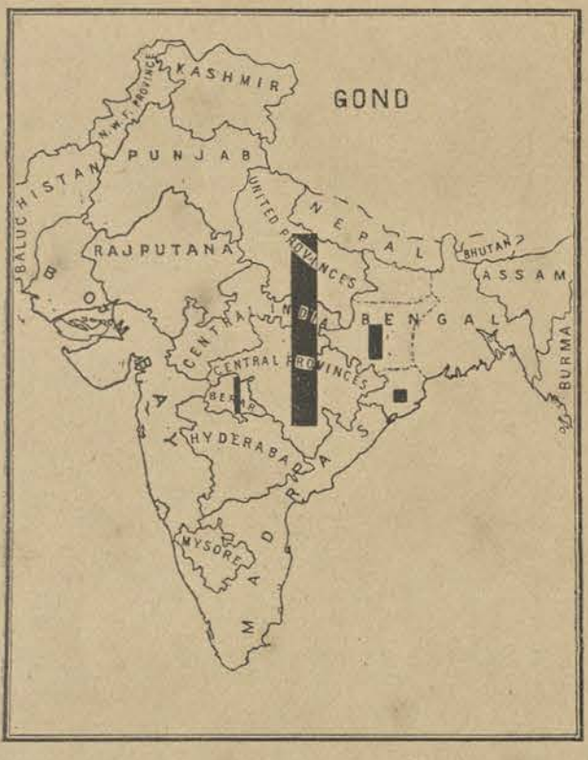


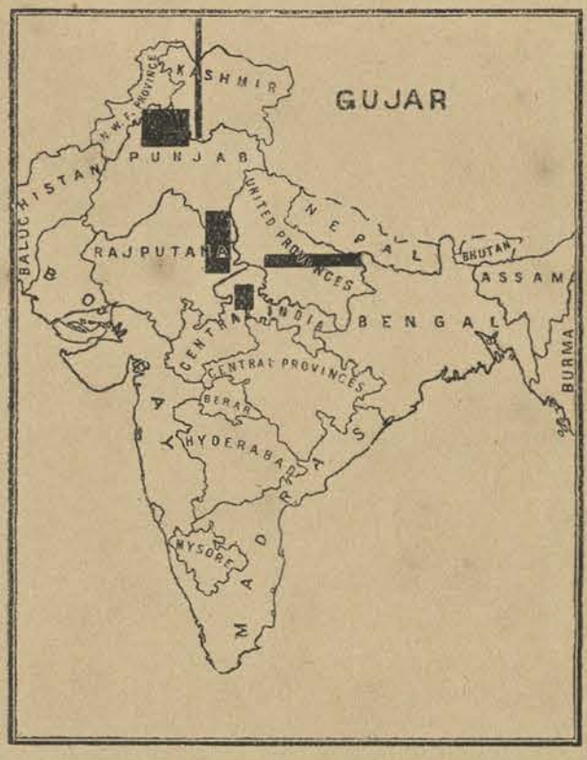


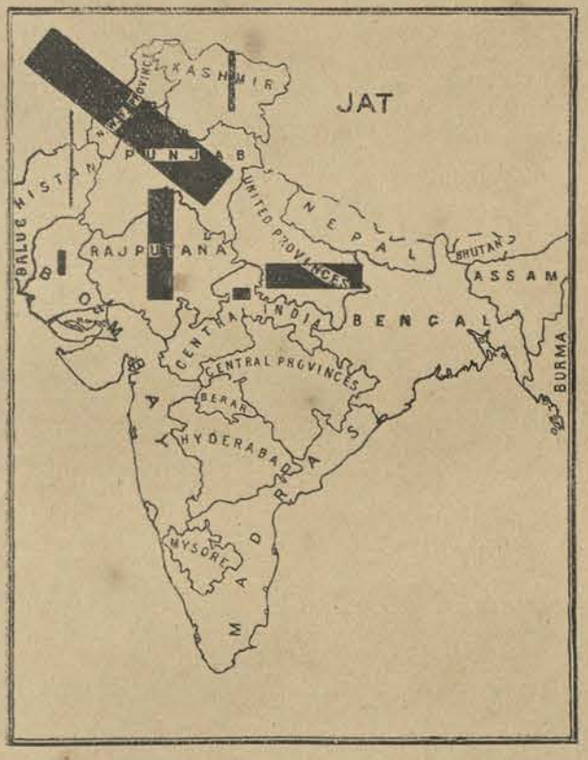


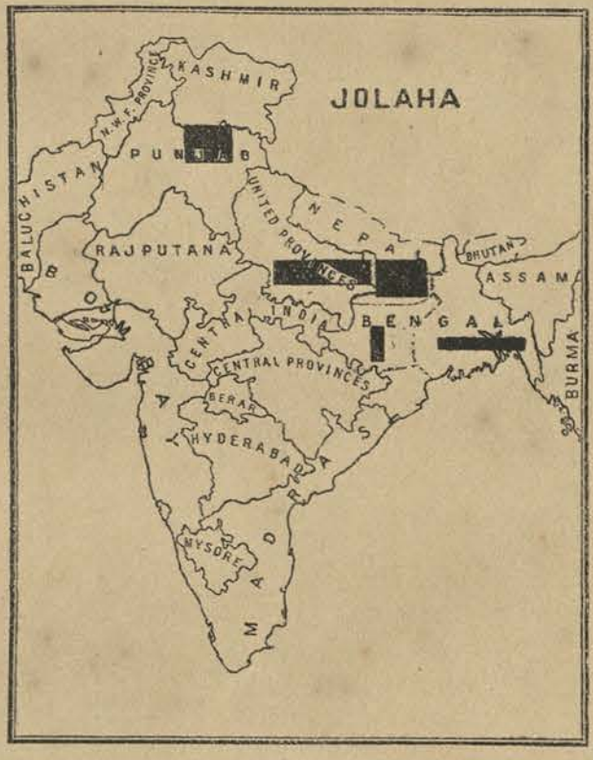


THE AREA OF EACH RECTANGLE SHOWS THE STRENGTH OF THE CASTE IN EACH PROVINCE — 300,000

THE BASE OF EACH RECTANGLE INDICATES THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE — 0 MILLION 10 20 30

THE HEIGHT SHOWS THE PROPORTION WHICH THE CASTE BEARS TO THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE — 5 P.C. 3 " 1 " 0 "

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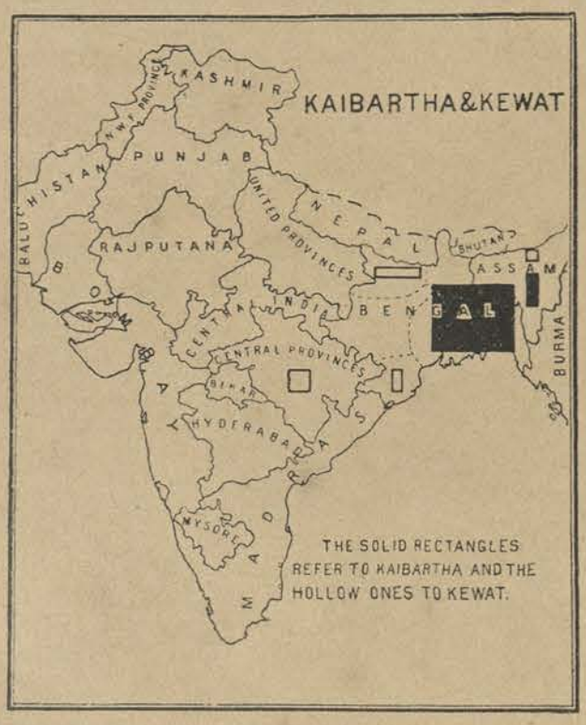


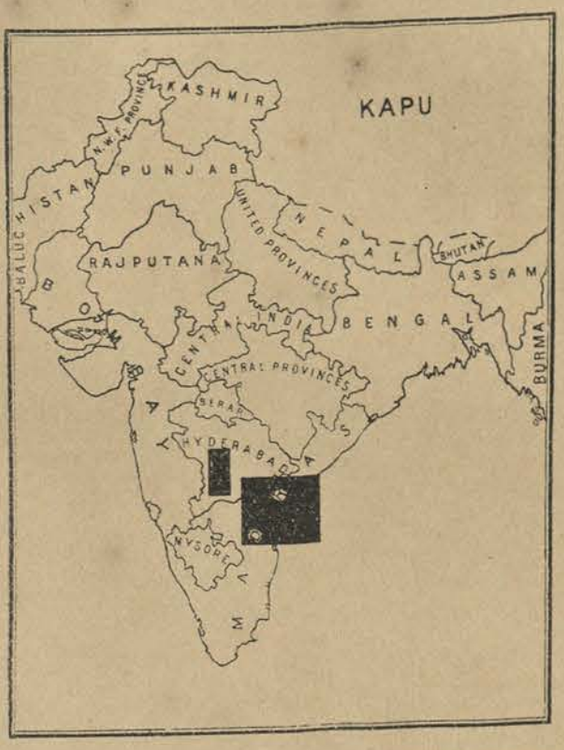


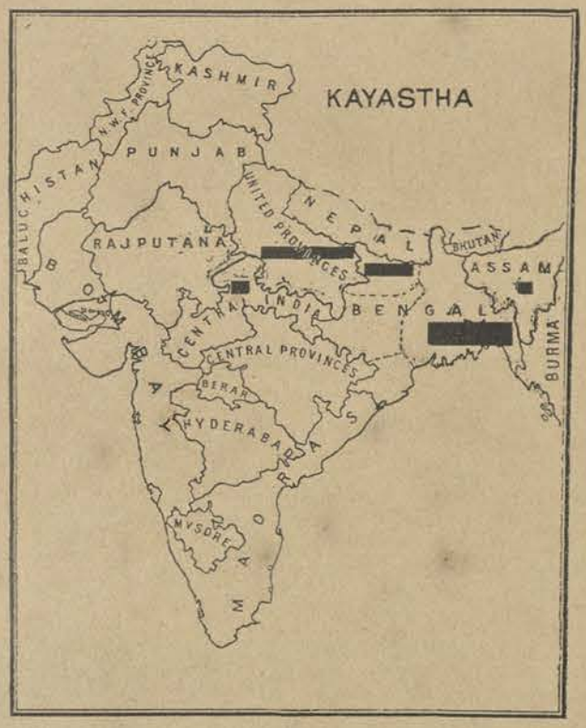


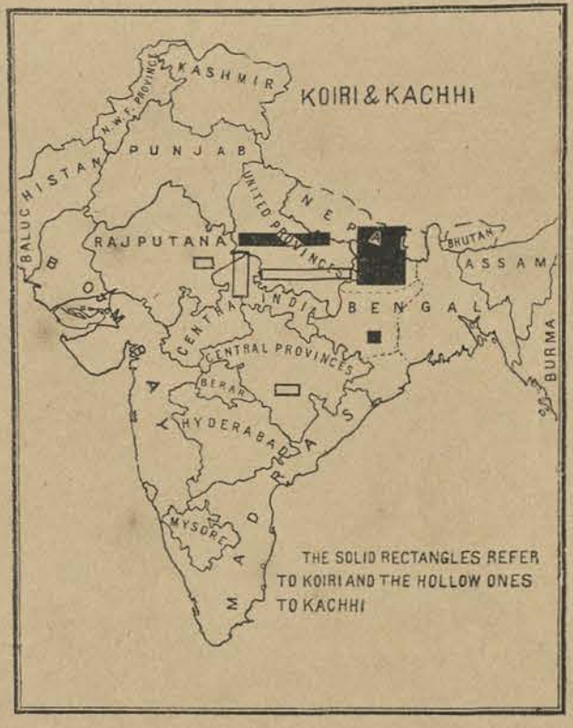


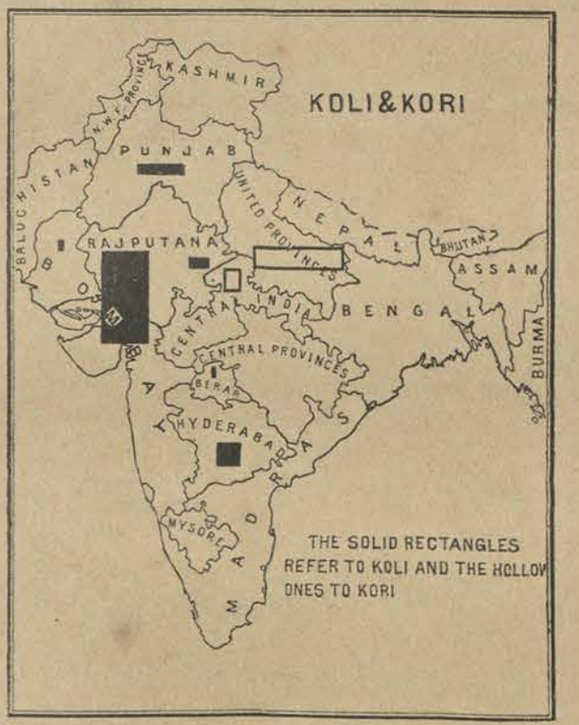


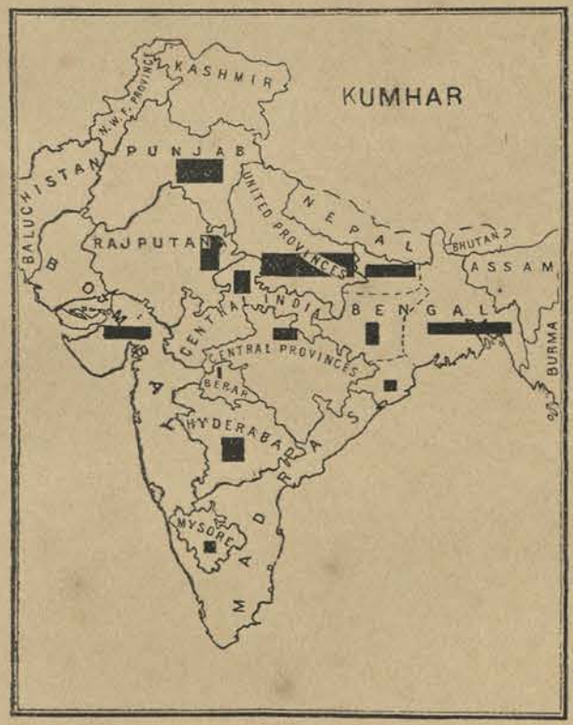


THE AREA OF EACH RECTANGLE SHOWS THE STRENGTH OF THE CASTE IN EACH PROVINCE — ■ 500,000

THE BASE OF EACH RECTANGLE INDICATES THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE — 0 MILLION 10 20 30

THE HEIGHT SHOWS THE PROPORTION WHICH THE CASTE BEARS TO THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE — 5 P.C. 3 1 0

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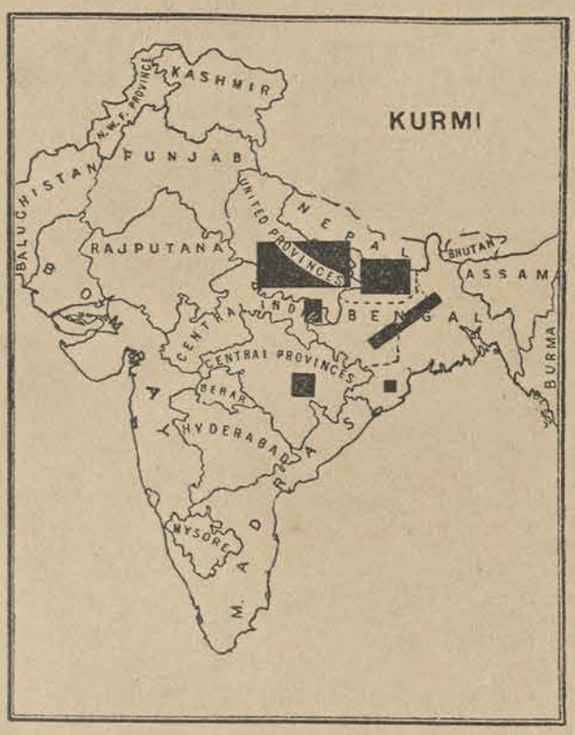


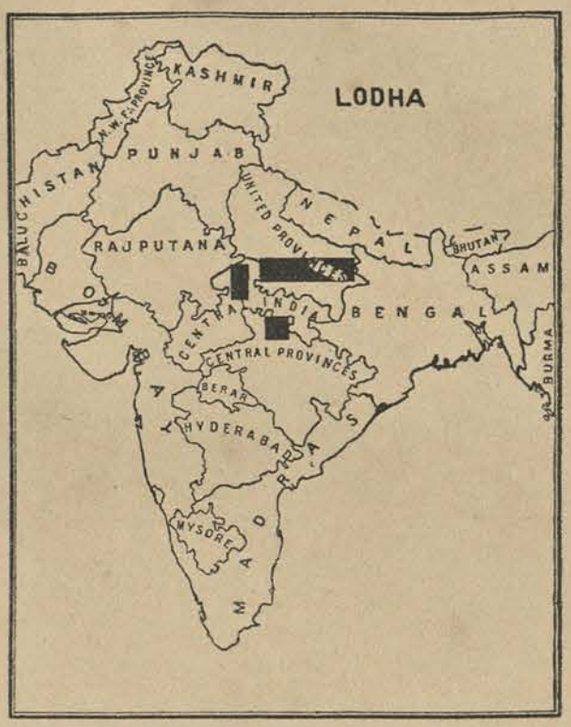


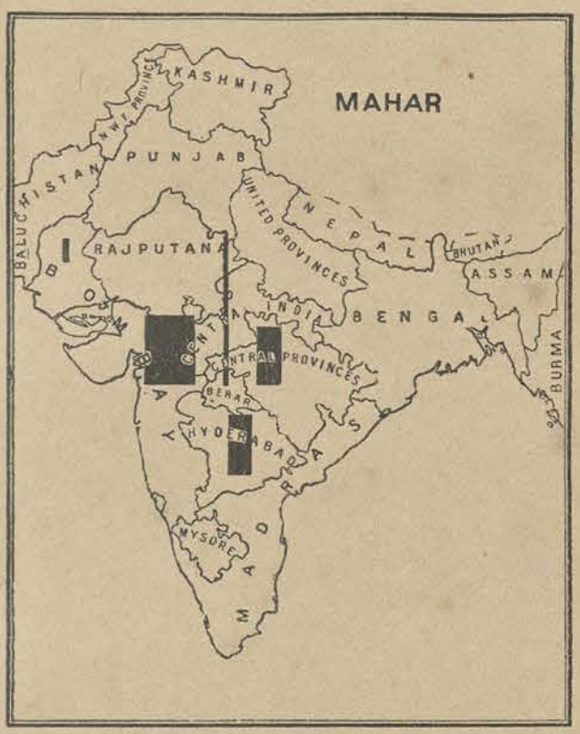


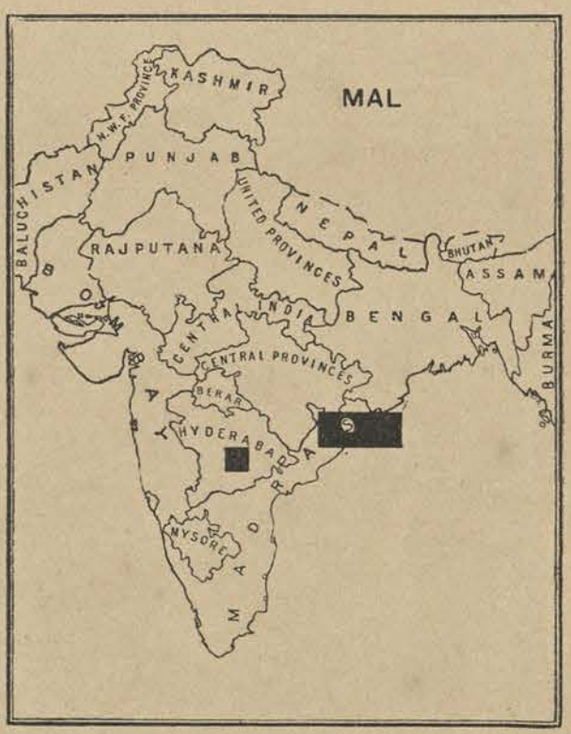


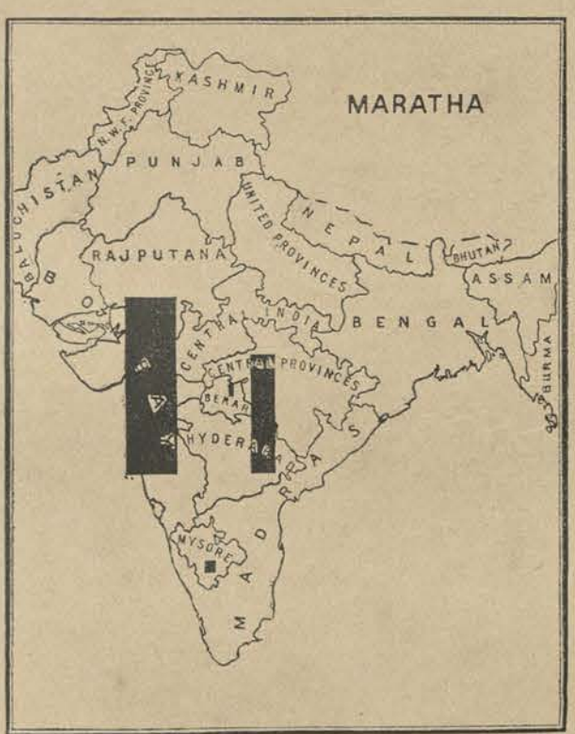


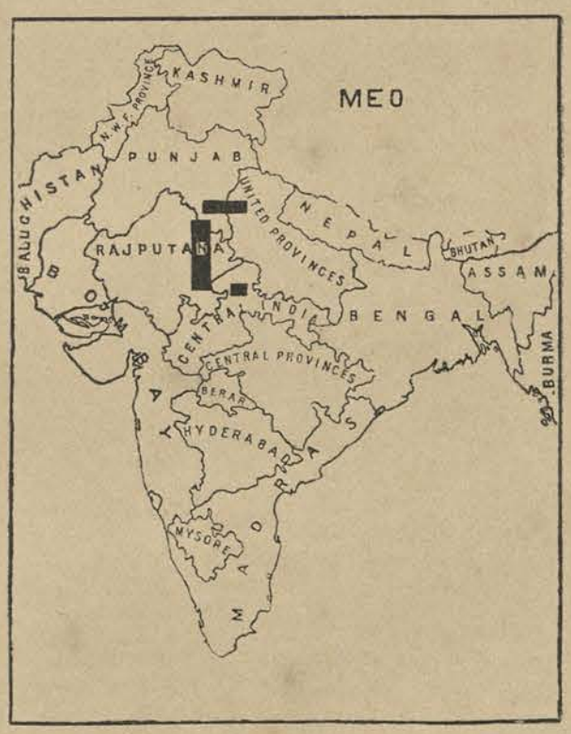


THE AREA OF EACH RECTANGLE SHOWS THE STRENGTH OF THE CASTE IN EACH PROVINCE — 300,000

THE BASE OF EACH RECTANGLE INDICATES THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE — 10 20 30 MILLION

THE HEIGHT SHOWS THE PROPORTION WHICH THE CASTE BEARS TO THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE — PER CENT 3 1 0

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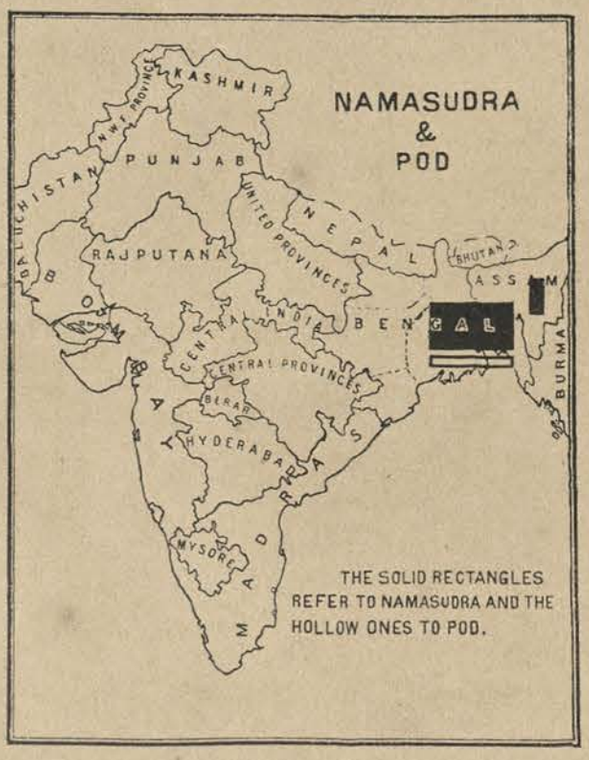


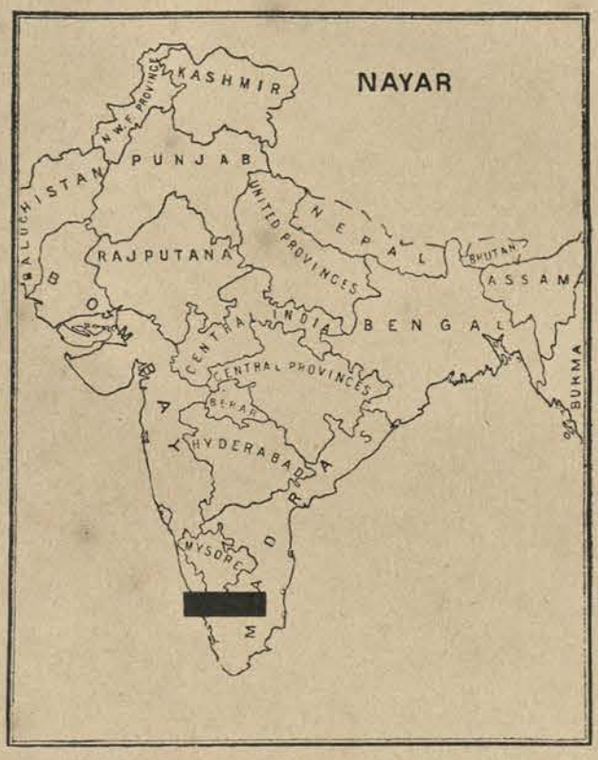


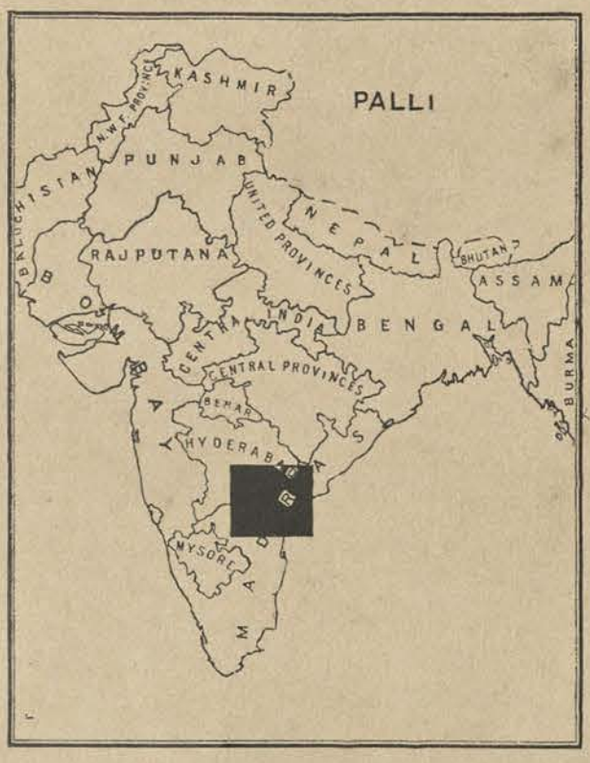


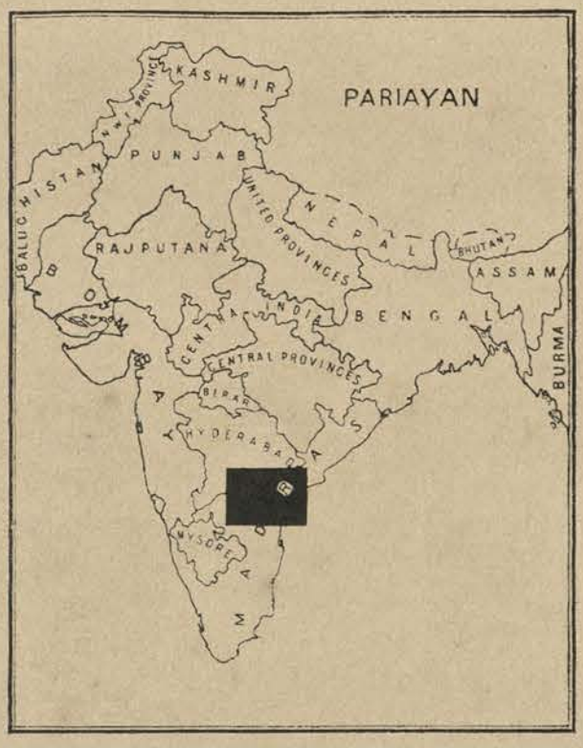


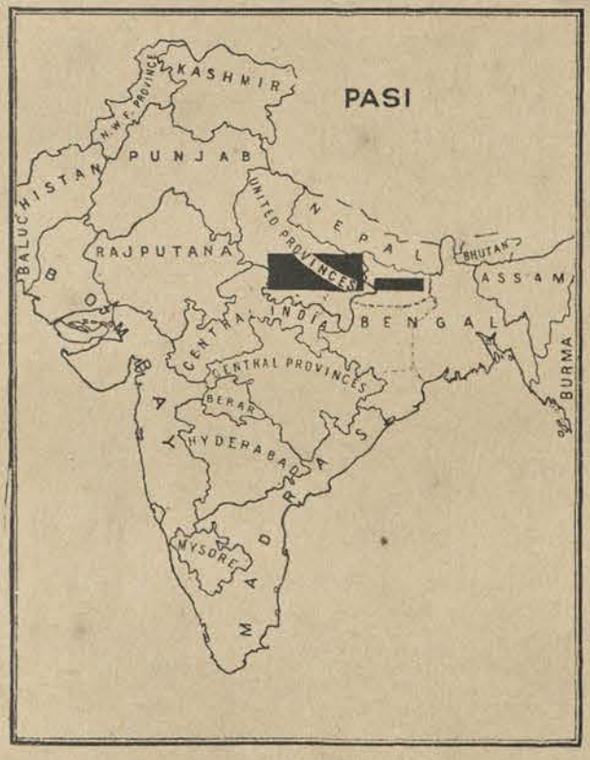


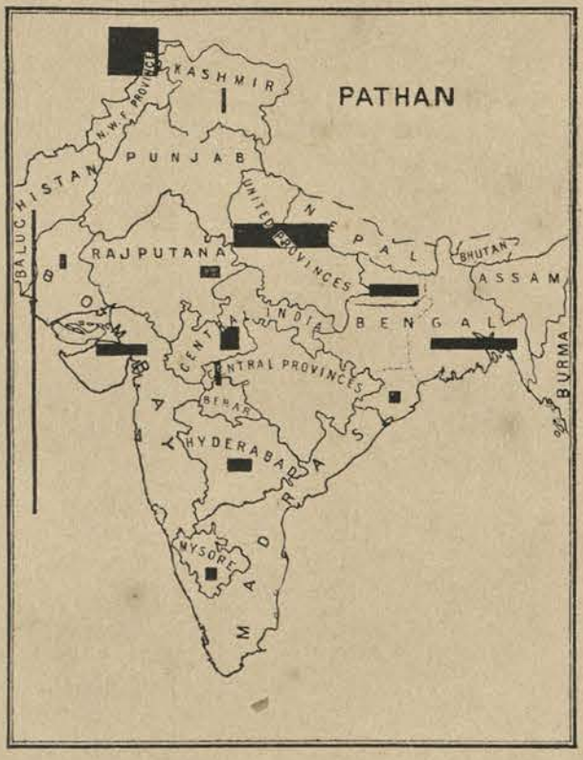


THE AREA OF EACH RECTANGLE SHOWS THE STRENGTH OF THE CASTE IN EACH PROVINCE — ■ 300,000

THE BASE OF EACH RECTANGLE INDICATES THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE — 0 MILLION, 10, 20, 30

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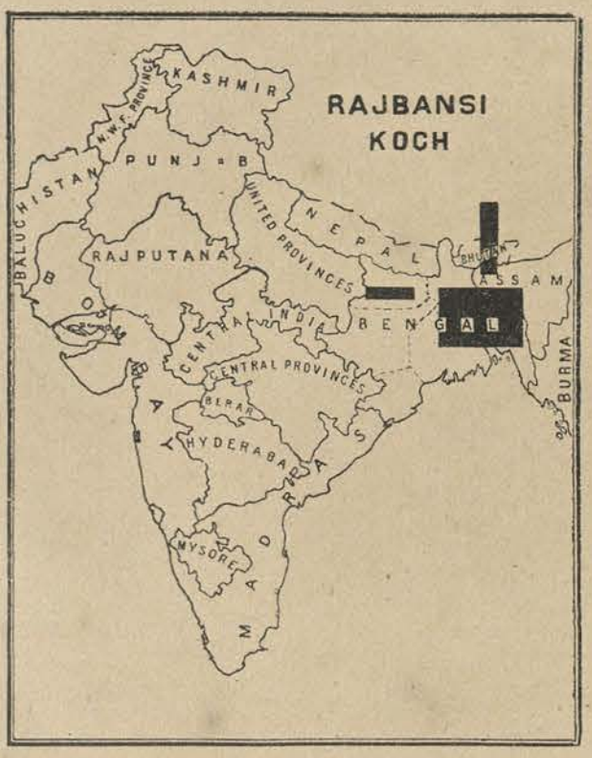


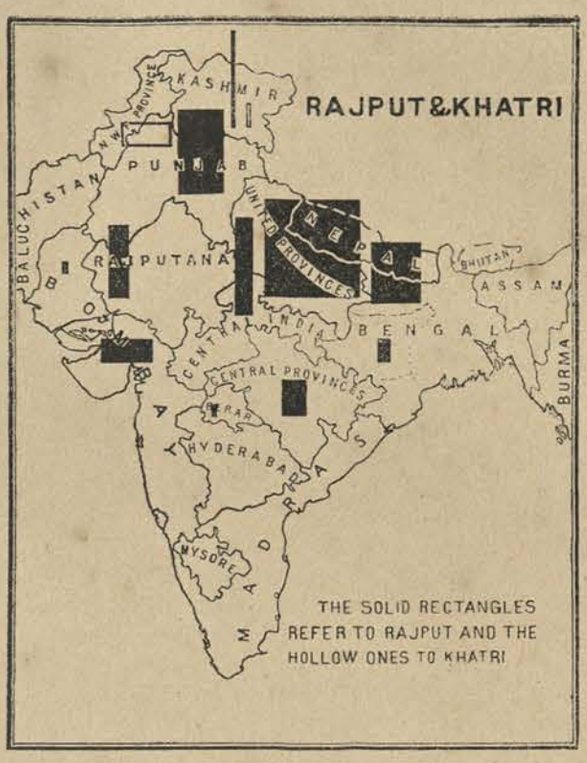


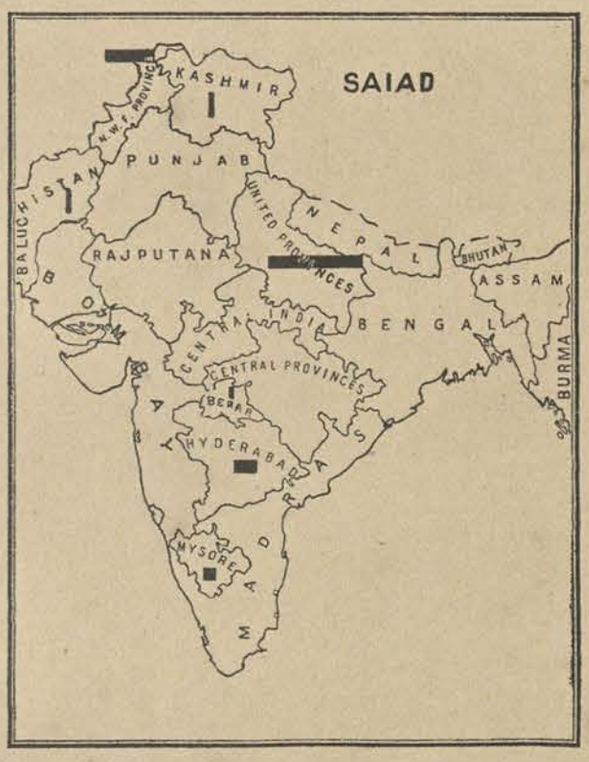


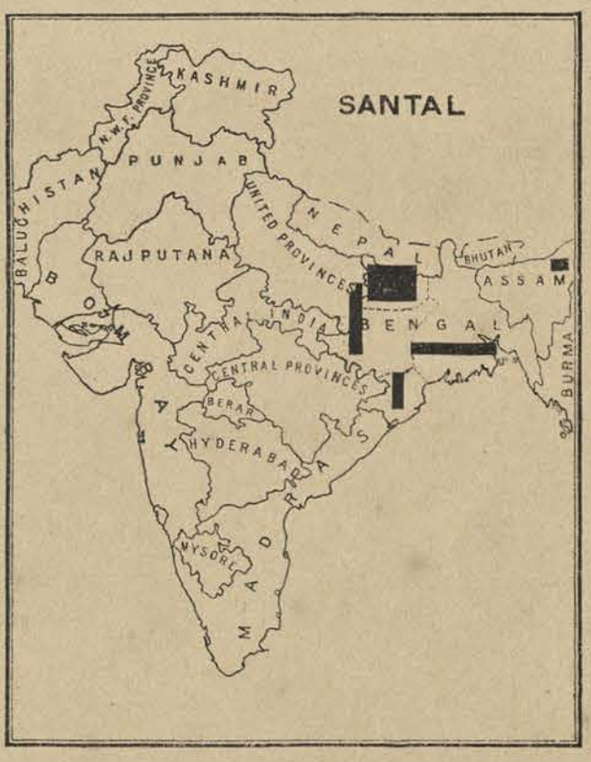


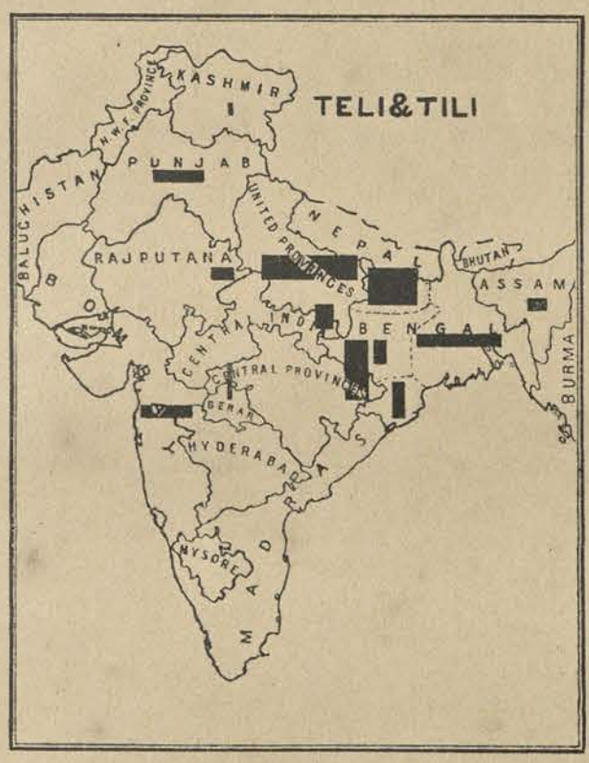


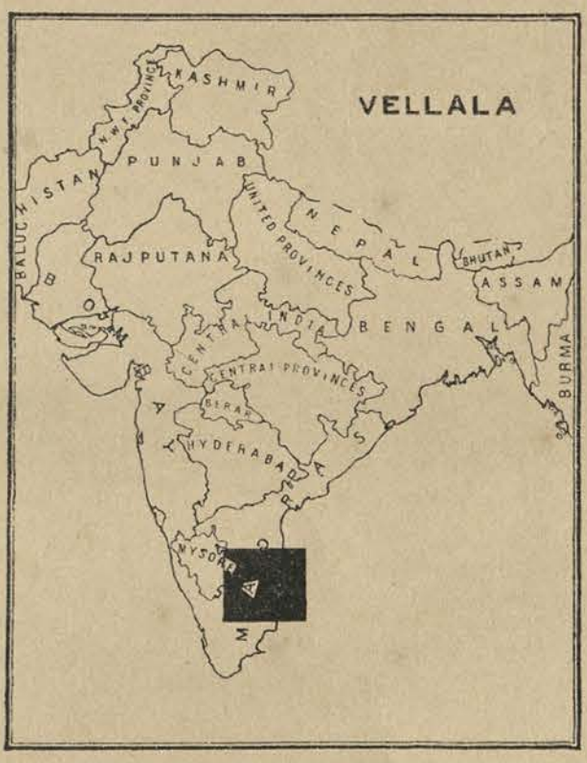


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THE BASE OF EACH RECTANGLE INDICATES THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE — 0 MILLION 10 20 30

THE HEIGHT SHOWS THE PROPORTION WHICH THE CASTE BEARS TO THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE — 5 P.C. 3 1 0

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# APPENDIX IV.

## Typical Tribes and Castes.

# APPENDIX IV.

# Typical Tribes and Castes.

## (1) Of the Turko-Iranian Tract.

### THE MARRIS.

[*R. Hughes-Buller, I.C.S.*]

The constitution of a Baloch tribe.

In taking the Marris as a specimen of a Baloch tribe, I have, perhaps, adopted a somewhat exaggerated example. I have taken it, however, because it is not only one of the best known of the Baloch tribes in the Province, but also the one about the constitution of which I have had the best opportunity of enquiring.

In respect of the periodical division of their lands and in their formation for predatory purposes, it may be that other Baloch tribes differ from the Marris; but in respect of their growth from a number of alien groups, there can be no doubt that there is great similarity. For instance, among the tribe of next importance, the Bugtis, there are the Nothānis, Kiāzāis, Jāfarānis, and Koriānis, none of whom belong to the stock from which the Bugti nucleus came. The Nothānis and Kiāzāis are said to be the original inhabitants of the Bugti country, and must have been there, according to local tradition, before the Buledis and the Afghāns, who preceded the Bugtis, possessed it. The Jāfarānis come from the Lund Baloch tribe of the Punjāb and the Koriānis from the Buledis. There are other groups among the Bugtis who came from the Laghāris. I have no doubt that many more alien elements could be found on more careful investigation, the information which I have given above having been derived from the most cursory enquiries. Investigation also shows that the Magassis and Rinds are equally heterogeneous in constitution. If my informants are to be believed, the present Chief of the Rinds of Shoran, the bluest blood among the Baloch, is a Bābi Afghān by extraction.

The sub-divisions of the Marris.

The Marri tribe is divided into three *takkaras* or clans, the Gazni, Lohārāni-Shirāni, and the Bijārāni. Each of these clans is divided into a number of *phalliis* or sections, and these sections are again sub-divided into sub-sections called *Pārā* or *Firqah*. The distribution of the sections into these three great clans is said to have been made by a Chief, Dodā Khān by name, five generations ago. About the same time the land belonging to the whole tribe was distributed into three portions, the Chief being assigned certain plots in the centre of each. Thus distributed, each clan, which consists of a group of sections, proceeded to the distribution of the portion allotted to it; the land was divided into five shares, and one share or more was assigned to a group of sections according to their numerical strength. The process is illustrated in the scheme of internal structure annexed where the share allotted to each group of sections is shown. Arrangements were also made for the redistribution, after every decennial period, of the land apportioned to each share.

Their History.

This, then, is the present constitution of the Marris. Now let us look at its history. Tribal accounts state that the nucleus of the tribe was left behind by Chākar the Rind when on his way to Satghara in the Punjāb, and that it consisted of small groups known as the Bijārāni, Pirdādāni, Nodhbandāghāni, and Aliāni, representatives of all of which will be found in the specimen table. They lived near Mamand to the east of Thalli in the Sibi Tahsil of Thal-Chotiali. Gradually these small groups increased and began a career of raiding and conquest. They were joined by a Buledi, Gazen by name, who in time acquired the Chieftainship of the tribe. But the strength of the nucleus being constantly lessened by the raids and incursions on which it was engaged, it became necessary to recruit from outside. The results may be seen in the notes which I have entered in the scheme on p. 7 as to the origin of the various units. Brāhuis, Baloch from the Punjāb, Baloch from other parts of Baluchistan, Khetrāns, Afghāns, Jats, all gained easy admission to the tribe. As soon as a man joined the tribe permanently he became a participator in good and ill. Then, having shown his worth, he was given a vested interest in the tribal welfare by acquiring a portion of the tribal lands at the decennial division, and his admission was sealed with blood by women from the tribe being given to him or his sons in marriage.

As the members of the tribe increased and new lands were conquered from the Hasnis, the Bārozāi Afghāns, and others, Doda's arbitrary division into clans became necessary and, as I have said, about the same time all the tribal land was permanently divided among them. The division into clans and the permanent distribution of the tribal land were both matters of practical convenience, for the clans made useful and easily commanded units for predatory expeditions, whilst the substitution of a distribution among smaller units for one which included the whole tribe must have provided an easy in place of a clumsy process. Starting, therefore, with the principle of participation in common good and common ill, participation in the tribal land came to be the essence of tribesmanship among the Marris. The process is easy to follow: Admission to participation in common blood-feud; then admission to participation in the tribal land; and lastly admission to kinship with the tribe. It was not until after a man or group had been given a share of tribal land at the decennial distribution that women were given to him or them in marriage.

**The system of division of land.**

At the time of the decennial division of land the number of males, of whatever age, in every sub-section of each section, is counted. In some cases the division only takes place among the married men of the section, a system which is adopted by the Jongwāni and Shambwāni sections of the Lohārāni clan. Lots are then drawn. This is effected by the representatives of every section each marking a piece of dried goat's dung. The pellets are thereupon shaken in the hands, and the representatives take their choice according to the order in which their pellets escape from the hands of the holder.

**The formation of the tribe for offensive purposes.**

I have already alluded to other reasons of a less peaceful nature, which appear to have actuated those who were responsible for the arbitrary division of the tribe into clans, namely, facility of combination for semi-military or predatory purposes.

**The tribal officers.**

At the head of the tribe was the Chief or Tomāndār with whom were associated the *Moqaddams* of clans as a council of war. An expedition having been decided upon, the duty of collecting the clansmen, or so many as were required, devolved on its *Moqaddams*, who also chose the commander of the men supplied from their respective clans. If a large expedition were organised and provisions were scarce, the contingent from each clan would move separately. It may be mentioned here that the office of *Moqaddam* of a clan is hereditary.

To perfect the organisation, however, some leaders or officers intermediate between the head of the clan and the sub-section were required, and we therefore find that at the head of each section is a *Waderā*, whose office, like that of the clan, is hereditary, the whole section combining to place the *paggri* on his head, just as the whole tribe combines in nominating a new Chief on the death of a former one. With the *Waderā* is associated a *Moqaddam*, who acts as the *Waderā's* executive officer, his business being to communicate the *Waderā's* orders to the *Motabars*, *i.e.*, the headmen of sub-sections. The office of *Moqaddam* of a section is not necessarily hereditary, a man of judgment or ability being quickly distinguished and selected.

Thus, we have between the *Moqaddam* of the clan and the individuals composing the smaller groups a chain of leaders ready to carry out such instructions as the former might issue.

There was another officer to whom duties were assigned during raiding expeditions. The *Rāhzan*, who held an hereditary office, accompanied all expeditions, and it was his duty to kill any Marri who fled from the line of battle. Besides an extra share in plunder, his principal privilege was that he incurred no liability to blood-feud or payment of compensation.

**Division of plunder.**

In the days before the British occupation a share of all plunder was first set aside for the Chief or Tomāndār; it was known as *panjak* or one-fifth. Portions were then distributed to the families of the dead and wounded, and afterwards to the Rāhzan. The *Moqaddams* next received their portions known as *Rez*. The remainder was divided among those who took part in the expedition, one share being given for each man, one share for a horse, and half a share for a gun. Spies, who risked much in obtaining information about the country to be raided, were given two shares.

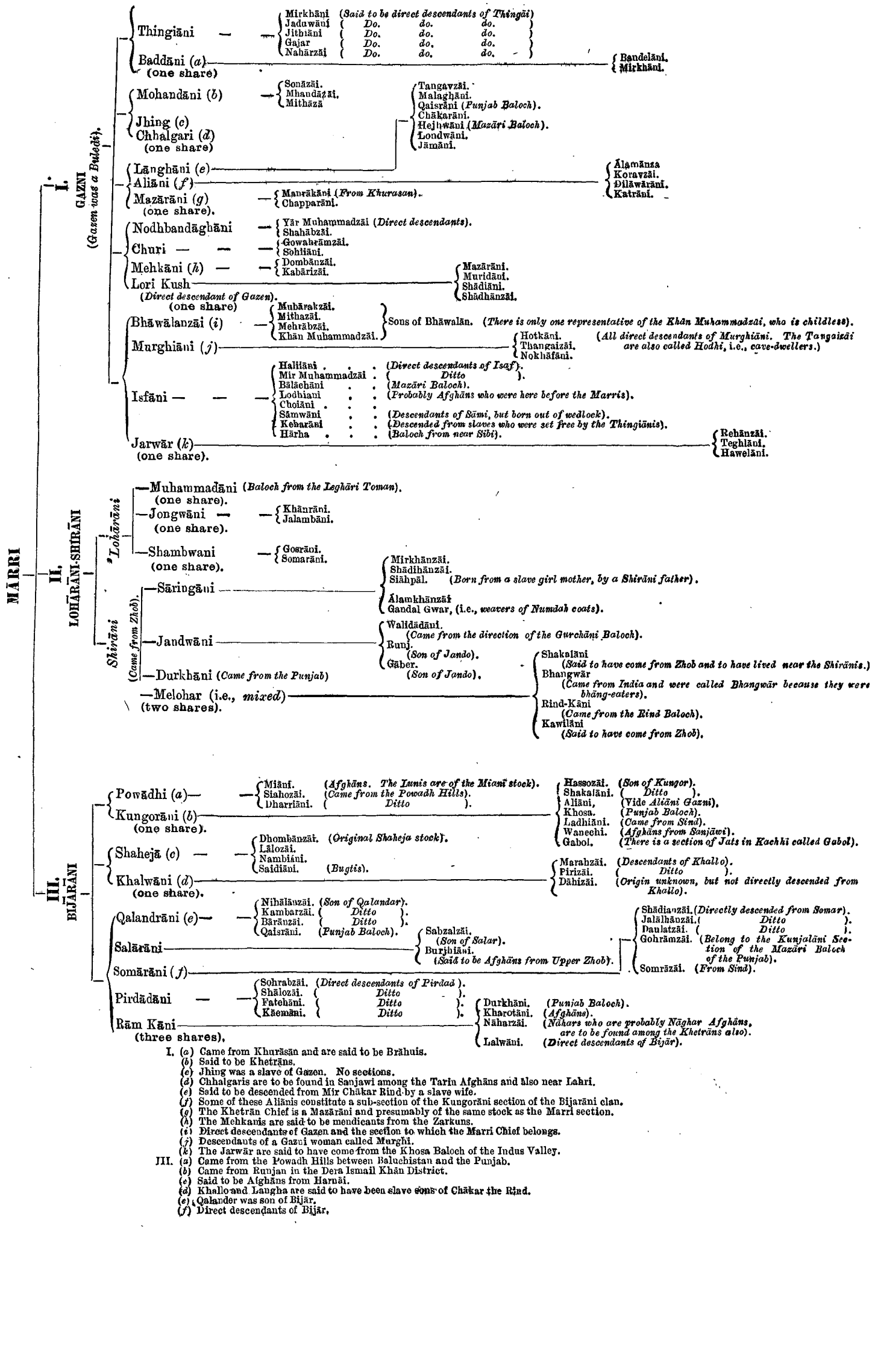
**Tribal endogamy.**

A Baloch marries, so far as possible, within the kindred group to which he belongs, the idea being still strongly prevalent among them that numbers are strength, and that the loss of a woman from among a group involves the loss of possible offspring. In this respect Baloch custom differs absolutely from that prevailing among the Afghāns. Again, unless there are stipulations to the contrary at the time of marriage, a woman on the death of her husband reverts to her father or to his heirs. That is to say, the temporary use of the woman rather than absolute possession is made over to the husband.

**Fission in the tribes.**

A process of disintegration, as much as of integration, was constantly going on among the Marris in former times, and probably does so now. A group which considered itself wronged or which had committed an offence against tribal custom would abandon its privileges, leave the main body and seek shelter with some other tribe, unless it happened to be strong enough to stand by itself. The process was facilitated by custom, a son having a right at any time to demand a division of property with his father. At such a division a son was entitled to one share as against his father's two shares.

# SCHEME OF INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF MARRI TRIBE.


MARRI
I. GAZNI (Gazen was a Buledi).
Thingiāni — Mirkhāni (Said to be direct descendants of Thingāi); Jaduwāni (Do. do. do.); Jithiāni (Do. do. do.); Gajar (Do. do. do.); Nahārzāi (Do. do. do.)
Baddāni (a) (one share) — Bandelāni; Mirkhāni
Mohandāni (b) — Sonāzāi; Mhandāzāi; Mithāzā
Jhing (c)
Chhalgari (d) (one share)
Tangavzāi; Malaghāni; Qaisrāni (Punjab Baloch); Chākarāni; Hejhwāni (Mazāri Baloch); Londwāni; Jāmāni
Lānghāni (e) — Ālamānza; Koravzāi; Dilāwārāni; Katrāni
Aliāni (f)
Mazārāni (g) (one share) — Manrākāni (From Khurasan); Chapparāni
Nodhbandāghāni — Yār Muhammadzāi (Direct descendants); Shahābzāi
Churi — — Gowahrāmzāi; Sohliāni
Mehkāni (h) — Dombānzai; Kabārizāi
Lori Kush (Direct descendant of Gazen). (one share) — Mazārāni; Muridāni; Shādiāni; Shādhānzāi
Bhāwālanzāi (i) — Muhārakzāi; Mithazāi; Mehrābzāi; Khān Muhammadzāi — Sons of Bhāwalān. (There is only one representative of the Khān Muhammadzāi, who is childless).
Murghiāni (j) — Hotkāni; Thangaizāi; Nokhāfāni. (All direct descendants of Murghiāni. The Tangaizāi are also called Hodhi, i.e., cave-dwellers.)
Isfāni — — Haliāni (Direct descendants of Isaf); Mir Muhammadzāi (Ditto); Bālāchāni (Mazāri Baloch); Lodhiani (Probably Afghāns who were here before the Marris); Choiāni; Sāmwāni (Descendants of Sāmi, but born out of wedlock); Kehrārāni (Descended from slaves who were set free by the Thingiānis); Hārha (Baloch from near Sibi).
Jarwār (k) (one share). — Rehānzāi; Teghlāni; Hawelāni
II. LOHĀRĀNI-SHIRĀNI
Lohārāni
Muhammadāni (Baloch from the Leghāri Toman). (one share).
Jongwāni — Khānrāni; Jalambāni. (one share).
Shambwani (one share). — Gosrāni; Somarāni
Shirāni (Came from Zhob).
Sāringāni — Mirkhānzāi; Shādihānzāi; Siāhpāl. (Born from a slave girl mother, by a Shirāni father); Ālamkhānzāi; Gandal Gwar, (i.e., weavers of Numdah coats).
Jandwāni — Walidādāni. (Came from the direction of the Gurchāni Baloch); Runj. (Son of Jando); Gāber. (Son of Jando).
Durkhāni (Came from the Punjab) — Shakalāni (Said to have come from Zhob and to have lived near the Shirānis.); Bhangwār (Came from India and were called Bhangwār because they were bhāng-eaters); Rind-Kāni (Came from the Rind Baloch); Kawilāni (Said to have come from Zhob).
Melohar (i.e., mixed) (two shares).
III. BIJĀRĀNI
Powādhi (a) — Miāni. (Afghāns. The Lunis are of the Miani stock); Siahozāi. (Came from the Powadh Hills); Dharriāni. (Ditto).
Kungorāni (b) (one share). — Hassozāi. (Son of Kungor); Shakalāni. (Ditto); Aliāni, (Vide Aliāni Gazni); Khosa. (Punjab Baloch); Ladhiāni. (Came from Sind); Wanechi. (Afghāns from Sanjāwi); Gabol. (There is a section of Jats in Kachhi called Gabol).
Shahejā (c) — Dhombānzāi. (Original Shaheja stock); Lālozāi; Nambiāni; Saidiāni. (Bugtis).
Khalwāni (d) (one share). — Marahzāi. (Descendants of Khallo); Pirizāi. (Ditto); Dāhizāi. (Origin unknown, but not directly descended from Khallo).
Qalandrāni (e) — Nihālānzāi. (Son of Qalandar); Kambarzāi. (Ditto); Bārānzāi. (Ditto); Qaisrāni. (Punjab Baloch).
Salārāni — Sabzalzāi. (Son of Salar); Burjhiāni. (Said to be Afghāns from Upper Zhob). — Shādianzāi. (Directly descended from Somar); Jalālhānzāi. (Ditto); Daulatzāi. (Ditto); Gohrāmzāi. (Belong to the Kunjalāni Section of the Mazāri Baloch of the Punjab); Somrāzāi. (From Sind).
Somārāni (f)
Pirdādāni — Sohrabzāi. (Direct descendants of Pirdad); Shālozāi. (Ditto); Fatehāni. (Ditto); Kāemāni. (Ditto). — Durkhāni. (Punjab Baloch); Kharotāni. (Afghāns); Nāharzāi. (Nāhars who are probably Nāghar Afghāns, are to be found among the Khetrāns also); Lalwāni. (Direct descendants of Bijār).
Rām Kāni (three shares).

I. (a) Came from Khurāsān and are said to be Brāhuis.
(b) Said to be Khetrāns.
(c) Jhing was a slave of Gazen. No sections.
(d) Chhalgaris are to be found in Sanjawi among the Tarin Afghāns and also near Lahri.
(e) Said to be descended from Mir Chākar Rind by a slave wife.
(f) Some of these Aliānis constitute a sub-section of the Kungorāni section of the Bijarāni clan.
(g) The Khetrān Chief is a Mazārāni and presumably of the same stock as the Marri section.
(h) The Mehkanis are said to be mendicants from the Zarkuns.
(i) Direct descendants of Gazen and the section to which the Marri Chief belongs.
(j) Descendants of a Gazni woman called Murghi.
(k) The Jarwār are said to have come from the Khosa Baloch of the Indus Valley.

III. (a) Came from the Powadh Hills between Baluchistan and the Punjab.
(b) Came from Runjan in the Dera Ismail Khān District.
(c) Said to be Afghāns from Harnāi.
(d) Khallo and Langha are said to have been slave sons of Chākar the Rind.
(e) Qalander was son of Bijār.
(f) Direct descendants of Bijār.

# THE BRĀHUIS.

[*R. Hughes-Buller, I.C.S.*]

The question, "Who are the Brāhuis?" is one which still remains unsolved, though it is to be hoped that the ethnological enquiry which it is proposed to undertake, and the anthopometric measurements which have already been taken in connection with that survey, will assist us in coming to some more or less definite conclusion regarding them. I only propose to give here a brief sketch of the little that we know regarding the ancient history of the country round Kalāt, and to show that the welding together of the tribes now composing the Brāhui confederacy into a homogeneous whole was a comparatively recent event.

**The History of Kalāt.**

From the references in Sir H. Elliot's History of India, Vol. I., it may be pretty certainly concluded that the Brāhui kingdom as it now exists is co-extensive with the countries which were known to the early geographers as Makrān, Turan, with its capital at Khozdār, and Nudha (otherwise called Budhā by Elliot), with its capital at Kandābel or Kandāil, the modern Gandāvā.

**Its ancient inhabitants.**

The principal population of these countries consisted of Jats and people resembling the Kurds. Now both General Cunningham and Colonel Tod agree that the Jats were of the Scythian stock, and the name Turan is used by Persian historians to distinguish the countries beyond the Oxus river from those to the south of it. Is it not possible, therefore, that the country round Kalāt was designated Turan from the fact of its being colonized by tribes from beyond the Oxus?

Again, the Mengals, Bizanjos, and Zehris, the three largest of the Brāhui tribes, are termed Jadgāl, or Jagdāl, *i.e.*, Jats, by the more intelligent among the Brāhuis, and Mr. Tate mentions that the Zaghar Mengal, who are looked on as the superior division of the Mengal tribe, universally believe that they came from a district called Zughd, situated somewhere near Samarkand in Central Asia. He also points out that Gal is a collective suffix in Balochi, and concludes that Mengal means Min tribe. The word *Men* or *Min* occurs on the lists of the Behistum inscriptions as the name of one of the Scythian tribes deported by Darius, the Achœmenian, for their turbulence.

Another Brāhui tribe which still retains a Scythian name is the Sājdi, one of the principal clans of which are the Sāqā, both names being identifiable with the Sagetœ and Sāki of ancient writers.

Although no definite conclusions can be based on such evidence, and though the Brāhuis have now assimilated a number of heterogeneous groups, there are at least reasons for thinking that in the early part of the Christian era the inhabitants of the country now occupied by the Brāhuis were of Scythic stock.

In order to follow the sequence of events, I will now return to my historical summary. At the end of the tenth century A.D. we hear of Khozdār being governed by an Arab, Muin-bin-Ahmed. He or his successors appear to have made a bid for independence, and in 978 A.D. the Amir Nāsir-ud-din Sabuktagin found it necessary to invade Khozdār. A little later Mahmud of Ghazni was compelled to chastise the rebellious State. Khozdār continued to be under the Ghazni dynasty, until the Ghoris possessed themselves of all the territories which had been held by the Ghaznivides, and we hear that the authority of Sultan Shams-ud-din Altamash was recognised in Khozdār. From this time forward Khozdār with Kalat-i-Nichārā, the present Kalāt, Shāl (Quetta) and Mastung were included in the province of Kandahar.

It appears to have been during the anarchy which prevailed in Afghanistan in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that the seed of independence was sown, which resulted in the rise and consolidation of the Brāhui power.

**Derivation of the word Brāhui.**

The derivation of the word Brāhui is obscure, and some people believe it to be a corruption of the Persian words *Bā Rohi*, a hillman. The more probable explanation of the word, however, is that it is an eponym from Brāho, otherwise Brāhim or Ibrāhīm. Brāho, it may be mentioned, is a common corruption of Ibrāhim among the people of this country. If we accept this explanation, it also accounts for the statement which every member of the Brāhui confederacy will make, that the Kambrānis with their sub-groups the Ahmadzāi, and the Iltāzāi, the Sumālānis, Gurgnāris, and Mirwānis are the real Brāhuis, that is to say, direct descendants from Brāho or Ibrāhim. Who Brāho or Ibrāhim was I have been unable to ascertain, but he and his following appear to have come from the west, and I have heard it stated that they were connected with the Nohāni, a sub-division of the Rinds living in the Kolwa Valley. Like most Muhammadans of influence and power, they claim Arab descent: but this is, at any rate, not proven.

**The Brāhui Rulers.**

Whatever their origin, the stock from whom the Brāhuis took their name appears to have gradually acquired power, their leaders being first known as "Rais," then as "Mirs," and later as "Sardars," until, in the time of Nasir the Great, they finally assumed or were given the title of "Khān." Their traditions tell us that they acquired Kalāt from the Baloch, and that they were assisted in doing so by the Raisānis and the Dehwars. The alleged acquisition of Kalāt from the Baloch is important as showing that the Baloch migration from the west, which set in about the fourteenth century, had extended to Kalāt; the assistance given by the Raisānis is also to be noted because the Raisānis are indisputably Afghāns, and we see, therefore, that there was a current of migration at the same time setting from the eastward.

Authentic history begins with Mir Ahmad, who dates from about the middle of the seventeenth century. This Chief entered on a career of raiding, in the course of which he took Dādhar from the Bārozāis of Sibi. His successor Mir Samandar, followed Mir Ahmad's example, and extended his rule to Karachi. He was followed by Mir Abdulla, who was subsequently killed in an action fought with the Kalhorās of Sind. It was in compensation for the blood of this Chief and his following that the lands now held by the Brāhuis in Kachhi were acquired from the Kalhorās. The award was made by Nādir Shah, whose suzerainty the Kalāt Chiefs always appear to have acknowledged.

The next ruler, Nāsir the Great, took the title of "Khān," and was invested with the title of Beglar Begi (Chief of Chiefs) by Nadir Shah. It was in the time of this Chief that the power of the Brāhuis reached its climax. His kingdom extended eastward to Harand and Dajal in the Dera Ghazi Khan district of the Punjab and westward to the confines of Makrān, the revenues of which he divided with the conquered Gichikis.

**Nāsir the Great and the Brāhuis.**

But to us the principal interest of Nāsir's reign must lie in the steps which he took to combine the various conflicting elements among the tribes, who had joined him, on the very basis which still exists. He distributed the tribes into two great divisions, the Sarāwāns on the north and the Jhālāwāns on the south. At the head of each of these main divisions was placed a leader—the Raisāni Chief in the case of the Sarāwāns, and the Zehri Chief in the case of Jhālāwāns. Nāsir then proceeded to organize each tribe on a system of feudal service with a two-fold object; the first was the supply of men to his Suzerain, the Ruler of Kandahar, and the second the supply of men for the purpose of the confederacy. The system was undoubtedly borrowed from the Afghāns, for Ahmad Shah Abdāli had introduced the same system into Pishin, and instead of levying revenue in that district, assessed each tribe at so many men-at-arms, the total amounting to 895. This assessment was known as *Gham-i-naukar*.

The system of distribution of the Suzerain's *sān*, as it was called, followed the same lines as the internal distribution of the men-at-arms required for the internal purposes of the confederacy. In the latter case each tribe was assessed to a certain number of men-at-arms proportioned to its numerical strength. Thus, the Raisānis found three hundred men, the Shahwānis five hundred, the Bangulzāis seven hundred, and so on. Each tribe then proceeded to divide the number of armed men which it was bound to produce amongst its various clans.

Concurrently with the distribution of the armed men among the tribes, Nāsir proceeded to a division of the land lately acquired in Kachhi, and it is from this time that the possession of Mithri by the Raisānis, Eri by the Shahwānis, Zardād by the Muhammad Shāhis, and of the various localities occupied by the Brāhui tribes commenced. Some of the Khurāsān lands were also distributed; but I cannot say whether this distribution dates from Nāsir Khān's time. In addition to their share of land, each of the two leading Chiefs in the great divisions, that is, the Raisāni and Shahwāni Chiefs among the Sarawāns, the Zehri and Mengal Chiefs among the Jhālāwāns, received payments in kind when attending the Khān with their followers and a yearly present of cash. The same system was followed on the smaller scale in the case of the minor Chiefs. These payments were made out of the Khān's own share of land in Kachhi.

**The Brāhuis, a confederacy.**

I have entered at some length into these matters, because they seem to me to have a direct bearing on the constitution of the race now known as the Brāhuis. The Brāhuis consist, in fact, of a number of confederated units constituted on the lines of a Brāhui or Baloch tribe. The confederacy is a congeries of heterogeneous and independent elements possessing common land and uniting from time to time for purposes of offence or defence, but again disuniting after the necessity for unity has disappeared.

Thus the two bonds which unite the confederacy are common land and common good and ill, which is another name for common blood-feud.

At the head of the confederacy is the Khān, who, until recent times at any rate, appears to have been invested in the minds of the members of his confederacy with certain theocratic attributes, for it was formerly customary for a tribesman on visiting Kalāt to make offerings at the Ahmadzāi Gate before entering the town. Below the Khān, again, are the leaders of the two main divisions, who are also the leaders of their particular tribes, and at the head of each tribe is a Chief, who has below him his subordinate leaders of clans, sections, etc.

Such a system might work well so long as there was a strong ruler in Kalāt, but once his power diminished, the natural result was civil war. It was this state of things which gave Sir Robert Sandeman his opportunity of stepping in and composing the differences between the Khān and his confederates, since which time there has been a tendeney for the British Government to be regarded as having taken the place of the Khān as head of the confederacy.

**Their heterogeneity.**

As may be supposed, homogeneity of race was by no means a necessary element of the semi-military formation in which the Brāhuis were constituted, and it is heterogeneity rather than homogeneity which is the striking feature of their composition. As indicating the mixture of races among the Brāhuis, the classification of the tribes which I have obtained from the Ex-Khān of Kalāt is of interest. He describes the Ahmadzāi and Iltāzāi, who are branches of the Kambrāni tribe, the Mirwāni, Gurgnāri, Sumālani, and Qalandrāni, or Qalandri, as the real Brāhuis who came from Aleppo. The Bangulzāi, the Lāngav, and the Lehri are described as branches of the Rinds, that is, of the Baloch, and the Ex-Khān notes that they were in Baluchistan before the Brāhuis. The Raisāni, Sarparrā, and Shahwāni are said to be Afghāns, while the Kurds and Muhammad Hasni or Māmāsāni came from Persia. The Bizanjo, Mengal, Sājdi, and Zehri are put down as Jadgāls or Jagdāls, *i.e.*, Jats, but the Chief of the Zehris is said to be an Afghān. Finally the Muhammad Shāhi and Nichāri are described as very ancient

inhabitants of the country, who were living in it previous to the advent of the Rinds. Now the historians whom I have quoted speak of the Jats as originally inhabiting the country, and indicate that they were followed by the Kurds and Baloch. At the same time there are indications of an influx of Afghāns from the east, for we find the Raisānis, who are Afghāns, assisting the Brāhui rulers to get possession of Kalāt from the Baloch. The details therefore given by the Ex-Khān are of special interest; in that they tally almost exactly with the waves of migration which we know to have passed over the country.

I will now give a short account of each of the more important tribes included in the two main divisions of the Brāhuis.

**The Sarāwān Division.**

The nucleus of the Raisānis came from the Spin-Tarin Afghāns, and their home was at Amadun, north of Kach Kwās, in the Thal-Chotiali district. They appear to have been in the country before the Brāhuis rose to power, for, as I have just mentioned, they assisted the latter to conquer Kalāt from the Baloch. The tribe is typical of the process of fission which is constantly going on among the inhabitants of Baluchistan. There were four sons of Rais—Sarāj, Rustam, Rāhusen and Siāhi. The descendants of the first three sons still form one group, but the Rustamzāis have long been at feud with the other two, and have now, to all intents and purposes, set up for themselves under a separate Chief. The descendants of Siāhi, the Siāhizāi, have joined the Mengals in the Jhālāwān division of the Brāhuis.

**The Raisānis.**

The lands of the Raisānis of the Sarāwān division are situated at Dulāi and Kahnak in Mastung and at Mithri in Kachhi. Those of the Jhālāwān Raisānis are at Wad and Nāl.

**The Shāhwānis.**

This tribe held the position of the head of the Sarāwān division of the Brāhuis until ousted by the Raisānis. The nucleus of the tribe is variously stated to be of Baloch and Afghān origin, whilst another story is to the effect that they came from Sharwān in the neighbourhood of the Caspian. Like all other Brāhui tribes, they have affiliated a large number of outside elements. They live in Mastung, Iskalko, and in Shahbāz Kalāt, south-west of Panjgur.

**The Muhammad Shāhis.**

The Muhammad Shāhis, according to local accounts, are some of the oldest inhabitants of the country, and are admitted to have been living in it before the rise of the Brāhui confederacy. They hold land in the Mangochar Valley and at Bhāg, in Kachhi. I have taken the constitution of this tribe as generally typical of that of the Sarāwān Brāhui tribes, and further details are not required here.

**The Bangulzāis.**

Next to the Lāngavs the Bangulzāis are the most numerous among the Brāhuis. The tribe has been largely recruited from outsiders, and one of its clans, the Garrānis, speak Balochi, whilst the rest speak Brāhui. Their head-quarters are situated at Isplinji, which is said to have been conquered from the Kurds, and they also hold land at Mastung and in Kachhi.

**The Kurds.**

Groups bearing this name are to be found scattered throughout Baluchistan, and I am told that there are some among the Punjāb Baloch also. It is a curious thing, that, among the people of Las Bela, *Kurd* is the appellation in general use for the Brāhuis and *Kurdi* for the Brāhui language. The Kurds in Baluchistan are, without doubt, descended from the Kurds of Kurdistan in Northern Persia, but they early appear to have migrated southward, and we hear of a portion of them inhabiting Kirman in 934 A.D.

The importance which the tribe has acquired among the Brāhuis is due to its position in the Dasht-i-bedaulat at the head of the Bolan Pass, whence they had ample opportunity for exercising their predatory habits. One of their largest clans, the Sātakzāis, is now practically independent of the main body.

**The Lāngavs.**

The Lāngavs are looked upon as a subject race, and although they were and are still bound to furnish the Khān with armed men, they were assigned no portion of the Kachhi lands at the time of Nasir Khān's distribution. They fill various subordinate positions in the Khān's household. Their Chief is the only one of the Sarāwān tribal Chiefs who has adopted the custom, common among the Jhālāwāns, of taking revenue from his tribesmen. He is not, however, on an equal footing with the rest of the Sarāwān Chiefs.

The Lāngavs cultivate the Mangochar Valley, in which they live, principally on behalf of the Khān, the Raisānias, and the Muhammad Shāhis.

**The Lehris.**

Narmukh is the head-quarters of this tribe. The nucleus of one of their principal clans, the Brahimzāi, and also that of the Haidarzāi, is said to be of Domki stock. They expelled the Khullois from Narmukh, some of whom are still to be found among the Rind Baloch.

**The Sarparrās.**

The Sarparrās live in the Gurginā Valley, and a few of them are also to be found in Chāgai. The Rodinis, who have been classed as a separate tribe among the Jhālāwāns, are variously asserted to be connected with the Sarparrās and with the Mirwānis. The name Sarparrā is said by the people to mean "decapitator," and it is a curious fact that Strabo in his geography speaks of a tribe with a similar name living further west. "Some tribes of Thracians, surnamed Saraparae, or decapitators, are said to live above Armenia, near the Gouraii and the Medes. They are a savage people, intractable mountaineers, and scalp and decapitate strangers: for such is the meaning of the term Saraparae."

**The Jhālāwan Division.**

**The Ahmadzai, Iltāzāi, Kambrāni and Mirwāni.**

Among the Jhālāwān tribes, the Kambrāni, Ahmadzāi, Iltāzāi, and Mirwāni may be discussed together, as they are all of the same stock. The Ahmadzāi are the ruling family of Kalāt, and the term "tribe" is not strictly applicable to them. The same remark applies to the Iltāzāi, who are collaterals of the Ahmadzāi. Both are connected by blood with the Kambrāni tribe, but, having acquired wealth and influence, they have now set up for themselves and claim a distinct origin. The Iltāzāis are the only group among the Brāhuis to whom the Ahmadzāis will give their daughters in marriage, and in consequence it is the wife of the Chief who directs all Iltāzāi affairs and decides all important cases.

The Kambrānis are a younger branch of the Mirwānis; but they, too, have broken away from the parent stock and now claim to be an independent tribe. They are said to be numerically stronger than the Mirwānis; but outside the Ahmadzāis and Iltāzāis they possess little influence. They live in Chāti, Nimargh, and Mangochar in the Sarāwān country, and at Tok in the Jhālāwān country.

**The Bizānjos.**

The Bizānjo is a tribe of great influence among the Jhālāwāns, and is only numerically less than the Muhammad Hasnis and the Mengals. Its head-quarters lie at Nāl, near Wād, and the tribe extends well into Makrān. A few Bizānjos are also to be found in Las Bela. They are looked upon as Jadgāls or Jagdāls, *i.e.*, Jats, by the rest of the Brāhuis, from which we may infer that they are of Scythian origin, and contain the nucleus of some of the oldest races in the country.

**The Gurgnāris.**

The Gurgnāri is included by all authorities in the category of true Brāhuis, that is to say, they are direct descendants of Brāho, or Ibrāhim. Their Chief lives at Chād, near Gidar, and they are principally cattle-owners and graziers.

**The Mengals.**

The Mengals, the strongest of the Brāhui tribes, are divided into two portions—the Mengals proper and the Zaghar Mengāls. I have already alluded to the probable Scythian origin of this tribe and to their connection with the Mins, who are mentioned in the Behistun inscriptions. The Jhālāwān Mengals inhabit the districts of Wad, Wahir, and part of the Kalu Pass. Some are also to be found in Las Bela.

The Zaghar Mengals are one of the most prominent tribes in Chāgai. The correctness of classing them with the Jhālāwān Mengals is doubtful, especially if common blood-feud is taken as the criterion of tribal unity, as the Zaghar Mengals are led by their own Chief, and it is doubtful if they would join their brethren of the south even under exceptional conditions.

Included among the Jhālāwān Mengals are some Chhuttās, who live in the valley of the Hab river, better known as the Levy tracts. Their connection with the Mengals is, however, disputed, the Jām of Las Bela claiming suzerainty over them. Sir Robert Sandeman held the Jām's claims to be correct, and the Chhuttās, who were censused by the Las Bela authorities, have been classed by my instructions as a separate tribe. Owing to the system of enumeration which was followed, it is possible that some of them have been enumerated twice.

**The Muhammad Hasnis.**

The Muhammad Hasnis are also known by the name of Mamāsāni and extend throughout the whole of Western Baluchistan, including Chāgai. They are also to be found in Seistan, Luristan, and along the valley of the Helmand. Alexander is said to have encountered a tribe of the same name in Upper Bactriana.

**Nichāris.**

This tribe gave its name in former days to the Brāhui capital, which is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbāri* as Kalāt-i-Nichāri. Later it became known as Kalāt-i-Baloch. The Nichāris are now numerically insignificant, but are undoubtedly a very ancient tribe.

**The Sājdis.**

The tradition among the Sājdis with regard to their origin is that they came from the north many generations ago, and it would be of particular interest to follow up this clue. The Sājdis are Zikris, otherwise known as Dāis. The Dāi, Sagetæ and Sāki are mentioned by the ancient geographers as Scythian tribes, and a clan called Sāqā is still to be found among the Sājdis. The coincidence of the association of the three names of Dāi, Sagetæ, and Sāqā in the ancient geographers and now is very remarkable.

**The Zehris.**

This is the only other Jhālāwān tribe to which reference is required here. It consists of a number of heterogeneous elements, and takes its name from the valley which is the residence of the hereditary Chief, who is also the head of the Jhālāwān division of the Brāhui confederacy. He is said to be of Afghān extraction. Four of the clans belonging to the tribe, the Khidrāni, Jatak, Musiāni and Sāsoli, though sharing in the good and ill of the Zehris, may be regarded as now forming practically independent units.

**The Dehwārs.**

The Dehwārs are an industrious and inoffensive people, whose name is derived from the fact that they live in *dehs*, or collections of mud houses. They do not migrate annually to the plains like the Brāhuis, among whom they live. They furnish no quota of troops to the Khān of Kalāt, but tacitly accept a position of subordination to the Brāhuis. As is usual in such cases, the hypergamous test applies as between Brāhuis and Dehwārs, and no Brāhui will give them women in marriage. The Dehwārs in Mastung and Kalāt are nearly all cultivators of the lands belonging to the Khān. Those who reside near Kalāt are bound to serve the Khān without pay, provide his guests with necessaries such as fuel and grass, and furnish messengers and couriers when required. The head of the whole body is known as "Arbāb," the headmen of clans as "Maliks," and the headmen of sections as "Rais."

Tradition says that it was chiefly through the assistance of the Dehwārs that the Brāhui Khān acquired Kalāt. Their nucleus is undoubtedly of Tājik origin, and, like the Tājiks, they all speak Persian. These Tājiks or Fārsiwāns still inhabit the northern and western sides of the kingdom of Afghanistan as it is known to us. In their earlier invasions the Arabs drove the Tājiks out of the open tracts; but, like the Afghāns of the Sulemān Range, they remained unsubdued in the more difficult country. Later they appear to have regained possession of the plains, but had again to give way before the Afghāns, as increasing numbers forced the latter to spread out.

In recent times the Dehwārs are said to have assimilated a large number of Afghāns, including Alizāis, from round Kandahar, and Yusafzāis of the same stock as those found north of Peshawar. They also include some Āchakzāis, Āmadunis, *i.e.*, Kākars from the Kach-Kwās Valley, and many other sections with Afghan names, whilst denominations such as Kabulizāi and Mughalzāi speak for themselves.

# BRĀHUI—MUHAMMAD SHĀHI.

[*R. Hughes-Buller, I.C.S.*]

**The constitution of a Brāhui tribe.**

A scheme of the internal structure of a Brāhui tribe will be found in the table below. I have adopted the Muhammad Shāhis because they were the only tribe for which information was easily available. Even as it is, I cannot claim that the scheme is complete, and it is probable that each Dahgānā or section is again subdivided into sub-sections, but I have had no time to complete my enquiries. However, it will, I hope, serve the purpose for which it is intended sufficiently well.

**The Muhammad Shāhis.**

The Muhammad Shāhis are divided into eight *takkars* or clans, the first four of which are alleged to be descendants of the original nucleus of the tribe, while the rest were affiliated to them afterwards. Each of these clans is divided into a number of sections. I have taken the Bambkāzāis as my example of a clan. They are divided into six sections, locally known as *Dahgānā, i.e.,* a group of ten. It is probable that each of these sections is again subdivided into sub-sections, but, as I have said, I have been unable to obtain information on this point.

**The distribution of armed men in the tribe.**

In the general account of the Brāhuis I have described the distribution of men-at-arms on the various tribes which was made by Nāsir Khān the Great. The Muhammad Shāhis were ordered to find 360 armed men, and they proceeded, therefore, to divide the number among their eight *takkars* or clans. Presumably the numerical strength of each of these clans was nearly equal at the time the distribution was made, for it will be seen that the Bambkāzāis alone of all the clans had to find more than forty men. Next, the armed men to be furnished by the clan had to be distributed among the sections, and in this case the internal distribution will be seen to differ considerably. No doubt the reason for this is to be found in the number of armed men being proportioned to the numerical strength of each section. The Chief, it will be observed, is responsible for twenty armed men, but, as a matter of fact, his responsibility was a fiction, and he usually enjoyed the share of land assigned for twenty armed men without having to produce them.

**The division of tribal land.**

Following the distribution of armed men among the clans and sections came the division of the lands which had been acquired in Kachhi. The share of land of each clan was proportioned to the number of armed men it had to produce, and the same system was followed in the case of each *Dahgānā* or section until the individual was reached. Previous to this, however, a portion of land was specially set aside for the Chief, in addition to that to which he was entitled on account of his responsibility for twenty armed men.

No individual is allowed to part with his land or his share of land, and if a section happens to be reduced to such small numbers as to be unable to undertake the burden of supplying the armed men assessed on it, a redistribution of the armed men is made among the remaining sections of the clan. A similar process is followed if a section becomes extinct.

And here it must be mentioned that the land acquired in Kachhi was not actually taken over by the Brāhuis for purposes of cultivation. The Jats, who had cultivated the land in the time of the Kalhorās, continued to cultivate, the Brāhuis merely taking one-fourth share of the produce. For this purpose a *Nāib* or deputy was generally deputed by the tribe to look after its interests and to supervise the distribution of the grain on the threshing floors.

**The tribal leaders.**

Each tribe has its own staff of officers or leaders. The Chief, who is responsible to the Khān, decides, like a Baloch *Tomāndār,* on matters of offence and defence, superintends the division of produce from the common lands, and settles petty disputes. At the head of each clan is a *Mir* or *Moqaddam,* who is responsible to the Chief, and at the head of each section a *Motabar.* Thus, should a certain number of armed men be required, the Chief, in consultation with his *Moqaddams,* would arrange the distribution among the clans, and the *Moqaddam,* with the help of the *Motabars,* would arrange the distribution among the sections. None of these offices appear to be of necessity hereditary, but a process of heredity, combined with selection, takes place. That is to say, the office generally devolves on the person hereditarily entitled to it, but, if found absolutely incompetent, he is superseded by common consent by the individual who possesses not so much the power to rule as the power to lead.

Among the Sarāwān division of the Brāhuis a Chief receives nothing in virtue of his office, beyond the extra share which he holds in the land. In the Jhālāwān country, however, the Chiefs have acquired greater power, and they receive what is known as *māliā* from their tribesmen. This consists in a poll-tax on married men, a share in the flocks, and also a small payment when deciding cases of a civil nature.

The Brāhuis, therefore, consist of a series of confederated groups. The tribes form the Brāhui confederacy, the clans form the tribal confederacy, and the sections form the clans. The lowest unit of all is the family.

**Recruitment from aliens.**

In considering this formation, we must remember that it took its growth from a time when constant fighting was going on either between the confederacy as a whole and outsiders, or between combinations or isolated groups within the confederacy. Artificial means, were, therefore, required to maintain each unit at its necessary strength, and so a system of recruitment from individuals or groups outside the tribe was adopted. Thus, we find the Raisānis who are admittedly Spin Tarin Afghāns, rising to the head of the Sarāwān division of the confederacy, whilst in the case of the Muhammad Shāhi tribe the Khidrānis, Dodāis, the Goharānis and the Kurs are clans who have been affiliated with the tribe. The Sheakzāis among the Rustomzāis, who were originally Baloch, are another instance in point.

But with the process of integration was involved another, *viz.*, disintegration; and so we find groups of tribesmen breaking away from the parent stock and either setting up for themselves, like the Kurds at the head of the Bolān, or attaching themselves to some other tribe. The Rustomzāis who have now, for all practical purposes, severed their connection with the Raisānis, offer a similar example.

Disintegration or fission, followed by absorption into another group, generally takes place on the following lines. A group, or in some cases an individual, dissatisfied with its surroundings, breaks away from the parent stock and comes to settle with some section of another tribe. From this time it is understood that, so long as the new-comers remain with the adopted group, they must undertake their share of its good or ill. After the lapse of a kind of test period, during which the strangers are known as *hamsayah*, admission to the tribe is completed, the strangers receiving a share in land and women in marriage from the adoptive tribe.

**Endogamy.**

There is another feature of maintaining tribal unity of which mention must be made, and this is the system of marriage with a kinswoman as nearly related to the husband as possible, so long as she is outside certain prohibited degrees. The number of these degrees is very small. Such marriages are said to be more in vogue among the Sarāwāns than among the Jhālāwāns, the latter being in the habit of taking *labb* or *walwar*, *i.e.*, a price paid by the bridegroom to the father of the bride.

Among the Sarāwāns a man will, if possible, marry his first cousin, or if one is not available, he will seek out a woman from among his own group. Several reasons may be assigned for this desire of consanguineous marriage. In a primitive state of society there is always a wish among the smaller groups to grow numerically larger, numerical strength meaning an easy means of protection. The loss of a woman, therefore, involves the loss of one who, if retained, will probably add to the numbers of the group. There is also a strong belief in Baluchistan that, while among animals heredity follows the father, among human beings it follows the mother. It is argued, therefore, that there is more hope of the stock remaining pure if a man marries a woman who is nearly related to him.

**The criterion of tribal unity among the Brāhuis.**

The criterion of unity, therefore, which pervades all the groups of a Brāhui tribe, is not common descent but common good or ill. That is to say, when an alien is admitted to the tribe, or when a male child is born within the tribe, he becomes a member of it, "for better or for worse," or, in the words in common use among the tribesmen, he becomes "*Neki aur badi men sharik.*" The tie thus formed is generally cemented by participation in the common land and by permission to marry within the tribe.

To put it in another way: Common blood-feud is the bond of unity throughout, in the confederacy, in the tribe, in the clan, and in the smallest group. Outsiders, such as the Kalhorās of Sind or the rulers of Afghanistan, attack the Brāhuis, and the whole confederacy combines for offence and defence. But no sooner is the common danger passed, than all the units disintegrate and revert to their former condition of independence, tribe taking up its former feud against tribe, clan against clan, or group against group. For this purpose, again, new and well recognised combinations occur between tribe and tribe, between clan and clan, or between group and group. Thus, the Muhammad Shāhi and Sarparrā tribes are in the habit of combining in face of common danger, whilst the four clans of direct descent among the Muhammad Shāhis unite when necessary against the four units of alien extraction. I have noticed similarly recognised combinations in speaking of the Lāsis.

**Blood-feud and its responsibilities.**

It is difficult to determine the cause or causes which involve participation in blood-feud. It may be said, however, that blood-feud involves the rendering of assistance by others, and it commences, therefore, with the group to which an individual belongs. It is only through such assistance that the compensation, whether in blood, cash, women or kind, which must inevitably be demanded for wrong done, can be obtained. It follows that, where a quarrel ending in murder takes place between members of one family, a blood-feud does not necessarily arise, for no one will assist the murderer. This principle has been extended among the Brāhuis, and I am given to understand that blood-feud does not follow where a man is killed by an alien in the course of a private quarrel *on his own field*.

But ordinarily, if an individual of one group is killed by an individual of another group, it is at once incumbent on the group to which the murdered man belongs to take blood for blood. Thus, if the antagonists belong to different groups within the tribe, we have two internal groups engaged in blood-feud, and owing to the system of combinations which I have described, each is likely to be joined by other groups, until the whole tribe is engaged in a fratricidal struggle. Or, if the murdered man is of a different tribe to the murderer, the feud may be taken up by the whole of two tribes, each of which may again be joined by other tribes, so that a small spark soon sets a large conflagration ablaze. Nor is the feud composed until a reckoning of death for death has been made and compensation paid to the group in which the largest number has taken place.

These are the general principles on which common good and ill, *i.e.*, common blood-feud, rests, and although I have dealt with them at length in the case of the Brāhuis only, they also to the Baloch and the Afghāns. They result in a series of combinations, beginning with the family as the smallest unit, continuing through a number of intermediate associations and ending in the confederacy. Of each combination the motto might be: "Union is strength."

**Social precedence among the Brāhuis.**

Among the Brāhuis, the Ahmadzāis, as members of the reigning dynasty, take precedence above all others. Closely connected with them are the Iltāzāis. The social superiority of both of these groups is due to their connection with the ruling family.

At the head of the two large divisions, into which the members of the Brāhui confederacy have been divided by the Khāns of Kalāt, we have the Raisānis as the head of the Sarāwāns,

and the Zarakzāis of the Zehri tribe as head of the Jhālāwāns, but their superiority does not extend socially beyond the group surrounding the Chief of each of these divisions. In other respects social precedence among the Brāhuis seems to follow that observed among the Baloch, the Chief and the group to which he belongs coming first, and after them the *Moqaddams* or *Mirs*, as the heads of their respective sections. Below these social equality is the rule.

As in the case of the Baloch, there are certain groups among the Brāhuis the members of which are looked on as a subject race with whom no self-respecting tribesman will intermix. These are the Dehwārs, who are said to be of Tājik origin, the Loris or blacksmiths, and the Lāngavs and Doms, professional musicians. Even lower in the social scale come slaves and freed slaves. *En passant* it may be remarked that the social status of a slave is not raised by manumission.

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## INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE NICHĀRI TRIBE OF BRĀHUIS.

| Tribe. | Clan. | Section. | Sub-Section. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NICHĀRI* | Ghulāmzāi | (Bahādurkhānzāis) | Nur Muhammadzāis | (a) |
| | | | Mundarzāis | |
| | | | Turkalizāis | |
| | | (Pallizāis) | Wali Muhammadzāis | |
| | | | Shādikhānzāis | |
| | | | Shād Muhammadzāis | |
| | | | Dilmurādzāis | |
| | | | Alihānzāis | |
| | | (Mithanrzāis) | Karamalizāis | |
| | | | Sher Muhammadzāis | |
| | | | Hāji Chākarzāis | |
| | | (Mirozāis) | Husseinkhānzāis | |
| | | | Khān Muhammadzāis | |
| | | | Ghanikhānzāis | |
| | | (Jāmzāis) | Nil | |
| | | (Shāhozāis) | Nil | |
| | | (Dāizāis) | Rustamzāis | (b) |
| | | | Nihangānzāis, also called Dostinzāis. | |
| | | | Bashkhuzāis | |
| | | | Karamzāis | |
| | | | Gohārāni | |
| | | | Nindavzāis | |
| | | | Daulatkhānzāis | |
| | | | Dilshādzāis | |
| | | | Pallizāis | |
| | | | Gondalzāis | |
| | | | Husseinzāis | |
| | | (Shāhizāis) | Khairāzāis | (c) |
| | | | Madagizāis | |
| | | | Gorizāis | |
| | | (Miāndādzāis) | Hāji Shādikhānzāis | |
| | | | Hāji Bhāikhānzāis | |
| | | | Rustamzāis | |
| | | | Hotizāis | |
| | | (Baskhuzāis) | Sobhāizāis | (d) |
| | | | Nindavzāis | |
| | | (Zangizāis) | Gurginzāis | (e) |
| | | | Butavzāis | |
| | | | Lāshkārzāis | |
| | | (Lāskānis) | Gul Muhammadzāis | (f) |
| | | | Dād Muhammadzāis | |
| | | (Turkizāis) | Nil | (g) |
| | Ramadānzāi | (Musāzāis) | Hāji Isākhānzāis | (h) |
| | | | Jamsherkhānzāis | |
| | | | Hāji Kamālkhānzāis | |
| | | | Mallokzāis | |
| | | (Sahādādzāis) | Daulatzāis | |
| | | | Hāji Muhammadzāis | |
| | | | Sahtakzāis | |
| | | (Qāzizāis) | Ghulām Muhammadzāis | (i) |
| | | | Qāsimzāis | |
| | | (Shā-abānzāis) | Lāshārizāis | (j) |
| | | | Lashkarizāis | |
| | | | Bahādurzāis | |
| | | (Haibatzāis) | Yār Muhammadzāis | (k) |
| | | | Allahdādzāis | |
| | | (Afghānzāis) | Siddiqzāis | (l) |
| | | | Khir-hattarzāis | |

* The Nichārī belong to the Jhalawan division of the Brāhuis.

| Tribe. | Clan. | Section. | Sub-Section. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NICHĀRI —*concld.* | Ramadānzāi— *concld.* | (Mammojav) | Qalandarzāis<br>Jamsherkhānzāis<br>Hāji Jangizāis | (*m*) |
| | | (Rāhozāis) | Mehrānzāis<br>Muhammad Hassanzāis | (*n*) |
| | | (Malikhizāis) | Malikhizāis (This is only a small section. No sub-sections) | (*o*) |
| | | (Bhāikhānzāis) | Daryākhānzāis<br>Ganjalizāis<br>Dost Muhammadzāis | (*p*) |
| | | (Nimāzkhānzāis | Yusaffzāis (Two other sections, namely, Alifkhānzāis and Hyātkhānzāis, terminated without issue) | (*q*) |
| | Badinzāi | (Mandigārzāis) | Hāji Hukamdādzāis<br>Shādikhānzāis<br>Māndavzāis | (*r*) |
| | | (Naushirwānzāis) | Lashkarizāis<br>Somāilzāis | |
| | | (Nindozāis) | Nil | (*s*) |
| | | (Pārauddinzāis) | Rahimdādzāis<br>Abdur-rahmānzāis | (*t*) |
| | *Khushdādzāi* | (Hājizāis) | Singozāi<br>Husseinkhānzāi | (*u*) |
| | | (Shā-abānzāis) | Dildārzāis<br>Mirānzāis<br>Mehrānzāis | (*v*) |
| | | (Nākamzāis) | Murādkhānzāis<br>Khodābakhshzāis<br>Miralizāis<br>Dostinzāis | (*w*) |
| | | (Rahmalizāis) | Nindavzāis<br>Khudābakhshzāis<br>Razāizāis | (*x*) |

# 2. Of the Indo-Aryan Tract

## JĀT.

*From Report of the Census of Punjab, 1881, by* SIR DENZIL IBBETSON, *K.C.S.I.*

**Origin.**

**The origin of the Jāt.**—Perhaps no question connected with the ethnology of the Punjab peoples has been so much discussed as the origin of the Jāt race. It is not my intention here to reproduce any of the arguments adduced. Suffice it to say that both General Cunningham and Major Tod agree in considering the Jāts to be of Indo-Scythian stock. The former identifies them with the Zanthii of Strabo and the Jatii of Pliny and Ptolemy; and holds that they probably entered the Punjab from their home on the Oxus very shortly after the Meds or Mands, who also were Indo-Scythians, and who moved into the Punjab about a century before Christ. The Jāts seem to have first occupied the Indus Valley as far down as Sindh, whither the Meds followed them about the beginning of the present æra. But before the earliest Mahomedan invasion the Jāts had spread into the Punjab proper, where they were firmly established in the beginning of the 11th century. By the time of Bābar the Jāts of the Salt-range Tract had been subdued by the Gakkhars, Awāns, and Janjuas, while as early as the 7th century the Jāts and Meds of Sindh were ruled over by a Brāhman dynasty. Major Tod classes the Jāts as one of the great Rājput tribes, and extends his identification with the Getæ to both races: but here General Cunningham differs, holding the Rājputs to belong to the original Aryan stock, and the Jāts to belong to a later wave of immigrants from the North-west, probably of Scythian race.

It may be that the original Rājputs and the original Jāt entered India at different periods in its history, though to my mind the term Rājput is an occupational rather than an ethnological expression. But if they do originally represent two separate waves of immigration, it is at least exceedingly probable, both from their almost identical physique and facial character and from the close communion which has always existed between them, that they belong to one and the same ethnic stock; while whether this be so or not, it is almost certain that they have been for many centuries and still are, so intermingled and so blended into one people that it is practically impossible to distinguish them as separate wholes. It is indeed more than probable that the process of fusion has not ended here, and that the people who thus in the main resulted from the blending of the Jāt and the Rājput, if these two ever were distinct, is by no means free from foreign elements. We have seen how the Pathān people have assimilated Saiyads, Turks, and Mughals, and how it was sufficient for a Jāt tribe to retain its political independence and organisation in order to be admitted into the Baloch nation; we know how a character for sanctity and social exclusiveness combined will in a few generations make a Quresh or a Saiyad; and it is almost certain that the joint Jāt-Rājput stock contains not a few tribes of aboriginal descent, though it is probably in the main Aryo-Scythian, if Scythian be not Aryan. The Mān, Her, and Bhular Jāts are known as *asl* or original Jāts because they claim no Rājput ancestry, but are supposed to be descended from the hair (*Jāt*) of the aboriginal god Siva; the Jāts of the south-eastern districts divide themselves into two sections, *Shivgotri* or of the family of Siva, and *Kāsavgotri* who claim connection with the Rājputs; and the names of the ancestor Bar of the Shivgotri and of his son Barbara, are the very words which the ancient Brāhmans give us as the marks of the barbarian aborigines. Many of the Jāt tribes of the Punjāb have customs which apparently point to non-Aryan origin, and a rich and almost virgin field for investigation is here open to the ethnologist.

**Jāts and Rājputs.**

But whether Jāts and Rājputs were or were not originally distinct, and whatever aboriginal elements may have been affiliated to their society, I think that the two now form a common stock, the distinction between Jāt and Rājput being social rather than ethnic. I believe that those families of that common stock whom the tide of fortune has raised to political importance have become Rājputs almost by mere virtue of their rise; and that their descendants have retained the title and its privileges on the condition, strictly enforced, of observing the rules by which the higher are distinguished from the lower castes in the Hindu scales of precedence; of preserving their purity of blood by refusing to marry with families of inferior social rank, of rigidly abstaining from widow-marriage, and of refraining from degrading occupations. Those who transgressed these rules have fallen from their high position and ceased to be Rājputs; while such families as, attaining a dominant position in their territory, began to effect social exclusiveness and to observe the rules, have become not only Rājas, but also Rājputs or "sons of Rājās." For the last seven centuries the process of elevation at least has been almost at a standstill. Under the Delhi Emperors king-making was practically impossible. Under the Sikhs the Rājput was overshadowed by the Jāt, who resented his assumption of superiority and his refusal to join him on equal terms in the ranks of the Khālsa, deliberately persecuted him wherever and whenever he had the power, and preferred his title of Jāt Sikh to that of the proudest Rājput. On the frontier the dominance of Pathāns and Baloches and the general prevalence of Mahomedan "feelings" and ideas placed recent Indian origin at a discount, and led the leading families who belonged to neither of these two races to claim connection, not with the Kshatriyas of the Sanskrit classics but with the Mughal conquerors of

India or the Qureshi cousins of the Prophet; insomuch that even admittedly Rājput tribes of famous ancestry, such as the Khokhar, have begun to follow the example. But in the hills, where Rājput dynasties, with genealogies perhaps more ancient and unbroken than can be shown by any other royal families in the world, retained their independence till yesterday, and where many of them still enjoy as great social authority as ever, the twin processes of degradation from and elevation to Rājput rank are still to be seen in operation. The Rāja is there the fountain not only of honour but also of caste, which is the same thing in India. Sir James Lyall writes :—

"Till lately the limits of caste do not seem to have been so immutably fixed in the hills as in the plains. The Rāja was the fountain of honour, and could do much as he liked. I have heard old men quote instances within their memory in which a Rājā promoted a Girth to be a Rāthi, and a Thakar to be a Rājput, for service done or money given; and at the present day the power of admitting back into caste fellowship persons put under a ban for some grave act of defilement, is a source of income to the Jāgirdar Rājas.

"I believe that Sir George Campbell has asserted that there is no such thing as a distinct Rājput stock; that in former times before caste distinctions had become crystallized, any tribe or family whose ancestor or head rose to royal rank became in time a Rājput. This is certainly the conclusion to which many facts point with regard to the Rājputs of these hills. Two of the old royal and now essentially Rājput families of this district, *viz.*, Kotlehr and Bangāhal, are said to be Brāhman by original stock. Mr. Barnes says that in Kāngra the son of a Rājput by a low-caste woman takes place as a Rāthi : in Seorāj and other places in the interior of the hills I have met families calling themselves Rājputs, and growing into general acceptance as Rājputs, in their own country at least, whose only claim to the title was that their father or grandfather was the offspring of a Kanetni by a foreign Brāhman. On the border line in the Himalayas, between Thibet and India proper, any one can observe caste growing before his eyes; the noble is changing into a Rājput, the priest into a Brāhman, the peasant into a Jāt, and so on down to the bottom of the scale. The same process was, I believe, more or less in force in Kāngra proper down to a period not very remote from to-day."

The reverse process of degradation from Rājput to lower rank is too common to require proof of its existence. In the eastern districts, where Brāhmanism is stronger than in any other part of the Punjāb, and Delhi too near to allow of families rising to political independence, it is probable that no elevation to the rank of Rājput has taken place within recent times. But many Rājput families have ceased to be Rājputs. Setting aside the general tradition of the Punjāb Jāts to the effect that their ancestors were Rājputs who married Jāts or began to practise widow-marriage, we have the Gaurwa Rājputs of Gurgāon and Delhi, who have indeed retained the title of Rājput because the caste feeling is too strong in those parts and the change in their customs too recent for it yet to have died out, but who have, for all purposes of equality, communion, or inter-marriage, ceased to be Rājputs since they took to the practice of *karewa or widow-marriage*; we have the Sahnsars of Hushyārpur who were Rājputs within the last two or three generations, but have ceased to be so because they grow vegetables like the Arāin; in Karnāl we have Rājput who within the living generation have ceased to be Rājputs and become Sikhs, because poverty and loss of land forced them to weaving as an occupation; while the Delhi Chauhān, within the shadow of the city where their ancestors once ruled and led the Indian armies in their last struggle with the Musalmān invaders, have lost their caste by yielding to the temptations of *karewa*. In the Sikh tract, as I have said, the Jāt is content to be a Jāt, and has never since the rise of Sikh power wished to be anything else. In the Western Plains the freedom of marriage allowed by Islām has superseded caste restrictions, and social rank is measured by the tribe rather than by the larger unit of caste. But even there, families who were a few generations ago reputed Jāts have now risen by social exclusiveness to be recognised as Rājputs, and families who were lately known as Rājputs have sunk till they are now classed with Jāts, while the great ruling tribes, the Siāl, the Gondal, the Tiwāna, are commonly spoken of as Rājputs, and their smaller brethren as Jāts. The same tribe even is Rājput in one district and Jāt in another, according to its position among the local tribes. In the Salt-range Tract the dominant tribes, the Janjua, Manhās, and the like, are Rājputs when they are not Mughals or Arabs; while all agricultural tribes of Indian origin who cannot establish their title to Rājput rank are Jāts. Finally, on the frontier the Pathān and Baloch have overshadowed Jāt and Rājput alike; and Bhatti, Punwār, Tunwar, all the proudest tribes of Rājputāna, are included in the name and have sunk to the level of Jāt, for there can be no Rājputs where there are no Rājas or traditions of Rājas. I know that the views herein set forth will be held heretical and profane by many, and that they ought to be supported by a greater wealth of instance than I have produced in the following pages. But I have no time to marshal my facts; I have indeed no time to record more than a small proportion of them; and all I can now attempt is to state the conclusion to which my enquiries have led me, and to hope to deal with the subject in more detail on some future occasion.

**Position of the Jāts in the Punjāb.**

The Jāt is in every respect the most important of the Punjāb peoples. In point of numbers he surpasses the Rājput who comes next to him in the proportion of nearly three to one; while the two together constitute 27 per cent. of the whole population of the province. Politically he ruled the Punjāb till the Khālsa yielded to our arms. Ethnologically he is the peculiar and most prominent product of the plains of the five rivers. And from an economic and administrative point of view he is the husbandman, the peasant, the revenue-payer *par excellence* of the Province. His manners do not bear the impress of generations of wild freedom which marks the races of our frontier mountains. But he is more honest, more industrious, more sturdy, and no less manly than they. Sturdy independence, indeed, and patient, vigorous labour are his strongest characteristics. The Jāt is of all Punjāb races the most impatient of tribal

or communal control, and the one which asserts the freedom of the individual most strongly. In tracts where, as in Rohtak, the Jāt tribes have the field to themselves, and are compelled, in default of rival castes as enemies, to fall back upon each other for somebody to quarrel with, the tribal ties are strong. But as a rule a Jāt is a man who does what seems right in his own eyes and sometimes what seems wrong also, and will not be said nay by any man. I do not mean, however, that he is turbulent: as a rule he is very far from being so. He is independent and he is self-willed, but he is reasonable, peaceably inclined if left alone, and not difficult to manage. He is usually content to cultivate his fields and pay his revenue in peace and quietness if people will let him do so, though when he does go wrong he "takes to anything, from gambling to murder, with perhaps a preference for stealing other people's wives and cattle." As usual the proverbial wisdom of the villages describes him very fairly, though perhaps somewhat too severely. "The soil, fodder, clothes, hemp, grass, these six are best beaten; and the seventh is the Jāt." "A Jāt, a Bhāt, a caterpillar, and a widow woman, these four are best hungry. If they eat their fill they do harm." "The Jāt, like a wound, is better when bound." In agriculture the Jāt is pre-eminent. The market-gardening castes, the Arāīn, the Māli, the Saini,—are perhaps more skilful cultivators on a small scale; but they cannot rival the Jāt as landowners and yeoman cultivators. The Jāt calls himself *zamindār* or "husbandman" as often as Jāt, and his women and children alike work with him in the fields:—"The Jāt's baby has a plough handle for a plaything." "The Jāt stood on his corn-heap, and said to the King's elephant-drivers, 'Will you sell those little donkeys?'" Socially the Jāt occupies a position which is shared by the Ror, the Gujar, and the Ahir, all four eating and smoking together. He is of course far below the Rājput, from the simple fact that he practises widow-marriage. The Jāt father is made to say, in the rhyming proverbs of the countryside—"Come my daughter and be married; if this husband dies there are plenty more." But among the widow-marrying castes he stands first. The Banya with his sacred thread, his strict Hinduism, and his twice-born standing, looks down on the Jāt as a Sudra. But the Jāt looks down upon the Banya as a cowardly, spiritless money-grubber, and society in general agrees with the Jāt. The Khatri, who is far superior to the Banya in manliness and vigour, probably takes precedence of the Jāt. But among the races or tribes of purely Hindu origin, I think that the Jāt stands next after the Brāhman, the Rājput, and the Khatri.

There are, however, Jāts and Jāts. I shall briefly describe each class in the remarks prefixed to the various sections under which I discuss the Jāt tribes; and I shall here do nothing more than briefly indicate the broad distinctions. The Jāt of the Sikh tracts is of course the typical Jāt of the Punjāb, and he it is whom I have described above. The Jāt of the south-eastern districts differs little from him save in religion; though on the Bikaner border the puny Bāgri Jāt immigrant from his rainless prairies, where he has been held in bondage for centuries, and ignorant of cultivation save in its rudest form, contrasts strongly with the stalwart and independent husbandman of the Mālwa. On the Lower Indus the word Jāt is applied generically to a congeries of tribes,—Jāts proper, Rājputs, lower castes, and mongrels, who have no points in common save their Muhammadan religion, their agricultural occupation, and their subordinate position. In the great western grazing grounds it is, as I have said, impossible to draw any sure line between Jāt and Rājput, the latter term being commonly applied to those tribes who have attained political supremacy, while the people whom they have subdued or driven by dispossession of their territory to live a semi-nomad life in the central steppes are more often classed as Jāts; and the state of things in the Salt-range Tract is very similar. Indeed the word Jāt is the Punjābi term for a grazier or herdsman; though Mr. O'Brien says that in Jātki, Jāt the cultivator is spelt with a hard, and Jāt the herdsman or camel grazier with a soft ṭ. Thus the word Jāt in Rohtak or Amritsar means a great deal; in Muzaffargarh or Bannu it means nothing at all, or rather perhaps it means a great deal more than any single word can afford to mean if it is to be of any practical use; and the two classes respectively indicated by the term in these two parts of the Province must not be too readily confounded.

**Distribution of the Jāts.**

Beyond the Punjāb, Jāts are chiefly found in Sindh where they form the mass of the population, in Bikaner, Jaisalmer, and Mārwār, where they probably equal in numbers all the Rājput races put together, and along the upper valleys of the Ganges and Jamna from Bareli, Farrukhābād, and Gwālior upwards. They are especially numerous in the central Sikh districts and States, in the south-eastern districts, and in the Derajat. Under and among the hills and in the Rāwalpindi division Rājputs take their place, while on the frontier, both upper and lower, they are almost wholly confined to the cis-Indus tracts and the immediate Indus riverain on both sides of the stream. The Jāts of the Indus are probably still in the country which they have occupied ever since their first entry into India, though they have been driven back from the foot of the Sulemāns on to the river by the advance of the Pathān and the Baloch. The Jāts of the western plains have almost without exception come up the river valleys from Sindh or Western Rājputāna. The Jāts of the western and central sub-montane have also in part come by the same route; but some of them retain a traditional connection with Ghazni, which perhaps refers to the ancient Gajnipur, the site of the modern Rāwalpindi, while many of them trace their origin from the Jammu Hills.

The Jāts of the Central and Eastern Punjāb have also in many cases come up the Sutlej valley; but many of them have moved from Bikaner straight into the Mālwa, while the great central plains of the Mālwa itself are probably the original home of many of the Jāt tribes of the Sikh tracts. The Jāts of the south-eastern districts and the Jamna zone have for the most part worked up the Jamna valley from the direction of Bhartpur, with which some of them still retain a traditional connection; though some few have moved in eastwards from

Bikaner and the Mālwa. The Bhartpur Jāts are themselves said to be immigrants who left the banks of the Indus in the time of Aurangzeb. Whether the Jāts of the great plains are really as late immigrants as they represent, or whether their story is merely founded upon a wish to show recent connection with the country of the Rājputs, I cannot say. The whole question is one on which we are exceedingly ignorant, and which would richly repay detailed investigation.

Mr. O'Brien writes as follows of the Jāts of Muzaffargarh :—

**Jāts of the western plains.**

"In this district the word Jāt includes that congeries of Muhammadan tribes which are not Saiyads, Baloches, Pathāns or Qureshis. According to this definition Jāts would include Rājputs. This, I believe, is correct. The Jāts have always been recruited from the Rājputs. There is not a Jāt in the district who has any knowledge, real or fancied, of his ancestors that would not say that he was once a Rājput. Certain Jāt tribes have names and traditions which seem to connect them more closely with Hindustān. Some bear the Rājput title of Rai, and others, though Muhammadans, associate a Brāhman with the Mulla at marriage ceremonies, while the Punwārs, Parihārs, Bhattis, Joyas, and others bear the names of well-known tribes of Rājputāna. The fact is that it is impossible to define the distinction between Jāts and Mussalmān Rājputs. And the difficulty is rendered greater by the word Jāt, also meaning an agriculturist irrespective of his race, and Jātaki agriculture. In conversation about agriculture I have been referred to a Saiyad *Zaildār* with the remark—"Ask Anwar Shāh; he is a better Jāt than we are."

The Jāt tribes are exceedingly numerous. There are 165 in the Sanānwān *tahsil* alone. They have no large divisions embracing several small divisions. Nor do they trace their origin to a common stock. No tribe is pre-eminent in birth or caste. Generally Jāts marry into their own tribe, but they have no hesitation in marrying into other tribes. They give their daughters freely to Baloches in marriage. But the Baloches say that they do not give their daughters to Jāts. This is, however, a Baloch story; many instances of Jāts married to Baloches could be named."

Besides this, the word Jāt, spelt with a soft instead of a hard ṭ, denotes a camel grazier or camel driver. "The camel cannot lift its load; the camelman (Jāt) bites its tail." The fact seems to be that the Baloches who came into the districts of the lower frontier as a dominant race, contemptuously included all cultivating tribes who were not Baloch, or of some race such as Saiyad or Pathān whom they had been accustomed to look upon as their equals, under the generic name of Jāt, until the people themselves have lost the very memory of their origin. It is possible that our own officers may have emphasized the confusion by adopting too readily the simple classification of the population as the Baloch or peculiar people on the one hand, and the Jāt or Gentile on the other, and that the so-called Jāt is not so ignorant of his real origin as is commonly supposed. But the fact that in this part of the Punjāb tribe quite overshadows, and indeed almost supersedes, caste, greatly increases the difficulty. As Mr. Roe remarks:—"If you ask a Jāt his caste he will generally name some sub-division or clan quite unknown to fame." However caused, the result is that in the Derajāt, Muzaffargarh, and much of Multān, if not indeed still further east and north, the word Jāt means little more than the heading "others or unspecified" under which Census officers are so sorely tempted to class those about whom they know little or nothing. A curious instance of the manner in which the word is used in these parts is afforded by the result of some inquiries I made about the Māchhi or fisherman caste of Derāh Ghāzi Khān. The reply sent me was that there were two castes, Māchhis or fishermen, and Jāt Māchhis who had taken to agriculture. It is probable that not long hence this latter will drop the Māchhi, perhaps forget their Māchhi origin, and become Jāts pure and simple; though they may not improbably retain as their *clan* name the old Māchhi clan to which they belonged, or even the word Māchhi itself.

Further to the north and east, away from the Baloch territory, the difficulty is of a somewhat different nature. There, as already explained, the tribes are commonly known by their tribal names rather than by the names of the caste to which they belong or belonged; and the result is that claims to Rājput, or now-a-days not unseldom to Arab or Mughal origin, are generally set up. The line between Jāts and Rājputs is a difficult one to draw, and the question has to be decided for census purposes in a rough and arbitrary manner. Thus the Siāl are admittedly of pure Rājput origin, and they are classed as Rājputs, as they are commonly recognized as such by their neighbours. The Sumra are probably of no less pure Rājput extraction, but they are commonly known as Jāts. As a fact these people are generally known as Siāl and Sumra rather than as Jāts or Rājputs; and the inclusion of them under either of the latter headings is a classification based upon generally reputed origin or standing, rather than upon any current and usual designation. Mr. Purser thus expresses the matter as he found it in Montgomery:—

"There is a wonderful uniformity about the traditions of the different tribes. The ancestor of each tribe was, as a rule, a Rājput of the Solar or Lunar race, and resided at Hastināpur or Dārānagar. He scornfully rejected the proposals of the Delhi Emperor for a matrimonial alliance between the two families, and had then to fly to Sirsa or Bhatner, or some other place in that neighbourhood. Next he came to the Rāvi and was converted to Islām by Makhdum Bahā-ul-Haqq, or Bāba Farid. Then, being a stout-hearted man, he joined the Kharrals in their marauding expeditions, and so his descendants became Jāts. In Kamr Singh's time they took to agriculture and abandoned robbery a little; and now under the English Government they have quite given up their evil ways, and are honest and well-disposed."

Mr. Steedman writing from Jhang says :—

"There are in this district a lot of tribes engaged in agriculture or cattle-grazing who have no very clear idea of their origin, but are certainly converted Hindus. Many are recognized as Jāts, and more belong to an enormous variety of tribes, but are called by the one comprehensive term Jāt. Ethnologically I am not sure of my ground; but for practical convenience in this part of the world, I would class as Jāts all Muhammadans whose ancestors were converted from Hinduism and who are now engaged in, or derive their maintenance from, the cultivation of land or the pasturing of cattle."

The last words of this sentence convey an important distinction. The Jāt of the Indus and lower Chanāb is essentially a husbandman. But in the great central grazing grounds of the western plains he is often pastoral rather than agricultural, looking upon cultivation as an inferior occupation, which he leaves to Arāins, Mahtams, and such like people.

On the Upper Indus the word Jāt, or Hindki, which is perhaps more often used, is applied in scarcely a less indefinite sense than in the Derajāt; while in the Salt-range Tract the meaning is but little more precise. Beyond the Indus, Jāt or Hindki includes both Rājputs and Awāns, and indeed all who talk Punjābi rather than Pashto. In the Salt-range Tract, however, the higher Rājput tribes, such as Janjuā, are carefully excluded; and Jāt means any Muhammadan cultivator of Hindu origin who is not an Awān, Gakkhar, Pathān, Saiyad, Qureshi, or Rājput. Even there, however, most of the Jāt clans are returned as Rājputs also.

Major Wace writes :—

"The real Jāt clans of the Rāwalpindi division have a prejudice against the name Jāt, because it is usually applied to camel-drivers, and to the graziers of the *bār* whom they look down upon as low fellows. But there is, I think, no doubt that the principal agricultural tribes, whom we cannot class as Rājputs, are really of the same race as the Jāts of the Lower Punjāb."

The Jāt in these parts of the country is naturally looked upon as of inferior race, and the position he occupies is very different from that which he holds in the centre and east of the Punjāb. Mr. O'Brien gives at page 78 of his Multāni glossary a collection of the most pungent proverbs on the subject, of which I can only quote one or two:—"Though the Jāt grows refined, he will still use a mat for a pocket-handkerchief." "An ordinary man's ribs would break at the laugh of a Jāt." "When the Jāt is prosperous, he shuts up the path (by ploughing it up): when the Kirār (money-lender) is prosperous, he shuts up the Jāt." "Though a Jāt be made of gold, still his hinder parts are of brass." "The Jāt is such a fool that only God can take care of him." The Pathān proverbs are even less complimentary :—"If a Hindki cannot do you any harm, he will leave a bad smell as he passes you." "Get round a Pathān by coaxing; but heave a clod at a Hindki." "Though a Hindki be your right arm, cut it off." "Kill a black Jāt rather than a black snake." The Jāt of Derāh Ghāzi is described as lazy, dirty, and ignorant.

**Jāts of the Sikh tract.**

But directly we leave the Salt-range behind us and enter the Lahore and Amritsar divisions—directly, in fact, we come within the circle of Sikh influence, as distinguished from mere political supremacy, we find the line between Jāt and Rājput sufficiently clearly marked. The Jāt, indeed, here as elsewhere, claims for himself Rājput origin. But a Varaich does not say that he is now Rājput. He is a Jāt and content to be so. The fact is that within the pale of Sikhism Rājputs were at a discount. The equality of all men preached by Guru Govind disgusted the haughty Rājputs, and they refused to join his standard. They soon paid the penalty of their pride. The Jāts, who composed the great mass of the Khālsa, rose to absolute power, and the Rājput who had despised them was the peculiar object of their hatred. Their general policy led them to cut off such poppy-heads as had not sprung from their own seed; and their personal feeling led them to treat the Rājput, who as a native-born leader of the people should have joined them, and who would, if he had done so, have been a very important element of additional strength to the cause, with especial harshness. The old Settlement Reports are full of remarks upon the decadence, if not the virtual disappearance, of the Rājput gentry in those districts where Sikh sway was most absolute. Thus the Jāts we are considering are far more clearly marked off from the Rājputs than are those of the western plains, where everybody is a Jāt, or of the Salt-range Tract, where everybody who is not an Arab or a Mughal calls himself a Rājput; indeed there is, if anything, a tendency here to call those Jāts who are admitted to be Rājputs further west. Only on the edge of the group, on the common border-line of the Sikh tract, the Salt-range, and the great plains, do the Mekan, Goudal, Rānjha, and Tārar claim some to be Jāts and some to be Rājputs.

The most extraordinary thing about the group of Jāt tribes found in Siālkot is the large number of customs still retained by them which are, so far as I know, not shared by any other people. They will be found described in Mr. Roe's translation of Amin Chand's *History of Siālkot*, and I shall notice one or two of them in the following paragraphs. Nothing could be more instructive than an examination of the origin, practice, and limits of this group of customs. They would seem to point to aboriginal descent. Another point worthy of remark is the frequent recurrence of an ancestor Mal, which may perhaps connect this group of tribes with the ancient Malli of Multān. Some of their traditions point to Sindh; while others are connected with the hills of Jammu. The whole group strikes me as being one of exceeding interest, and I much regret that I have no time to treat it more fully.

The group of Jāts we have now to consider are the typical Jāts of the Punjāb, including all those great Sikh Jāt tribes who have made the race so renowned in recent history. They occupy the central districts of the Punjāb, the Upper Sutlej, and the great Sikh States of the Eastern plains. All that I have said in the preceding section regarding he absence of any wish on the part of the Jāts of the Khālsa to be aught but Jāts, applies

here with still greater force. A Sidhu claims indeed Rājput origin, and apparently with good reason. But he is now a Sidhu Jāt, and holds that to be a prouder title than Bhatti Rājput. The only tribe among this group of which any considerable numbers have returned themselves as Rājputs are the Virk ; and among them this has happened only in Gujrānwāla, on the extreme outskirts of the tract. These men are the backbone of the Punjāb by character and physique as well as by locality. They are stalwart, sturdy yeomen of great independence, industry, and agricultural skill, and collectively form perhaps the finest peasantry in India. They are essentially husbandmen, and the standard of agricultural practice among these at any rate of the more fertile northern districts is as high as is reached in any portion of the Province. I would call special attention to the curious traditions of the Bhular, Mān, and Her tribes, an examination of which might produce interesting and valuable results.

**Jāts of the eastern sub-montane.**

The small group of Jāts which I shall next describe lie to the north of the Sikh Jāts just discussed, all along under the foot of the hills, from Ambāla to Gurdāspur. There is no definite line of demarcation between them and the Sikh Jāts to the south, or the Jāts of the western sub-montane to the west : and perhaps the only real distinction is that, speaking broadly, the first are Hindus, the second Sikhs, and the third Musalmāns, though, of course, followers of all three religions are to be found in almost every tribe. In character and position there is nothing to distinguish these tribes save that they have never enjoyed the political importance which distinguished the Sikh Jāts under the Khālsa. There is no confusion between Jāts and Rājputs, though the reason of the precision with which they are distinguished is exactly the opposite of that already discussed in the case of the western sub-montane and Sikh Jāts. In the Sikh tract the political position of the Jāt was so high that he had no wish to be called Rājput : under the hills the status of the Rājput is so superior that the Jāt has no hope of being called Rājput. The only one of these tribes of which any considerable number have returned themselves as Jāts as well as Rājputs is the Manj, and that only in Gurdāspur on the extreme confines of the tract.

**The Jāts of the south-eastern districts.**

The last group of Jāt tribes that I have to discuss is that which occupies the Jamna districts, Jind, Rohtak, and Hissār. They call themselves Jāt, not Jat, and are the same people in every respect as the Jāt of the Jamna-Ganges Doab and the lower Jamna valley, differing, however, in little save religion from the great Sikh Jāt tribes of the Mālwa ; though perhaps the latter, inhabiting as they do the wide unirrigated plains of the central States, are of slightly finer physique than their neighbours of the damper riverain. The eastern Jāts are almost without exception Hindu, the few among them who are Musalmān being known as Mula or "unfortunate," and dating their conversion almost without exception from an ancestor who was taken as a hostage to Delhi and there forcibly circumcised. Indeed these men were not unfrequently received back into caste on their return from captivity, and their descendants are in this case Hindus, though still known as Mula. Their traditions show them to have come up either from Bikaner and Rājputāna, or northwards along the Jamna valley, and very few of them appear to have come from the Punjāb to the Jamna. The Jāts of Gurgāon indeed still look upon the Rājā of Bhartpur as their natural leader, and the fall of Bhartpur made such an impression on their minds that old men still refer to it as the era from which they date events.

The Jāt of these parts is, if anything, even a better cultivator than the Sikh Jāt ; and that chiefly because his women assist him so largely in the field, performing all sorts of agricultural labour, whether light or heavy, except ploughing, for which they have not sufficient strength, and sowing, which is under all circumstances a prerogative strictly confined to the male sex. Directly we leave the south-eastern districts, and pass into the Sikh tract, women cease to perform the harder kinds of field-work, even among the Jāts : while in Musalmān districts they do not work at all in the fields. So essentially is the Jāt a husbandman, and so especially is he *the* husbandman of these parts, that when asked his caste he will quite as often reply *zamindār* as Jāt, the two names being in that sense used as synonymous. The social standing of the Jāt is that which the Gujar, Ahir, and Ror enjoy ; in fact these four castes eat and smoke together. They stand at the head of the castes who practise *karewa* or widow-marriage, a good deal below the Rājput, but far above the castes who grow vegetables, such as Arāin and Māli. If the social scale is regulated by the rules of the Hindu religion, they come before Banyas, who are admittedly better Hindus. But the manly Jāt despises the money-grubbing Banya, and all other castes and tribes agree with him.

In the extreme south-eastern corner of the Punjāb the Jāts who have come in from the north and west, from Rājputāna and the Punjāb are known as Dhe, to distinguish them from the original Jāt tribes of the neighbourhood, who are collectively called Hele, the two sections abstaining from inter-marriage and having in some respects different customs. In Sirsa, again, that meeting place of races, where the Bāgri Jāt from the Bikaner prairies, the Sikh Jāt from the Mālwa, and the Musalmān Jāt from the Sutlej valley, meet the Jāt of Hissār, the last are distinguished as *Dese* or local and the Musalmān Jāts as *Pachhāde*, or western, but these terms appear to be unknown to the people in their respective homes. There superiority of the Sikh and *Dese* Jāts over the stunted Bāgri and the indolent, ener Jāt of the Sutlej is most strikingly apparent.

## INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE JĀTS.

### WESTERN PLAINS.

#### WESTWARDS OF THE VALLEY OF JAHLAM-CHANĀB.

Tahim.
Bhutta.
Langāh.
Chhina.
Sumra.

#### EAST OF THE VALLEY OF JAHLAM-CHANĀB.

Chhādar.
Sipra.

#### WESTERN SUB-MONTANE TRACT.

Tarar.
Varaich.
Sahi.
Hinjra.
Chima.
Bajwa.
Deo.
Ghuman.
Kahlon.
Sarai.
Goraya.
Dhotar and Lodike.
Chatta.

#### SIKH TRACT.

Dhillon.
Virk.
Sindhu.
Bhular.
Man.
Her.
Buttar.
Odi.
Bal.
Pannun.

#### SIKH TRACT *-contd.*

Mahal.
Aulak.
Gil.
Sidhu.
Barar.
Dharival.
Sara.
Mangat.
Dhindsa.
Gandhi.
Chahil.

#### EASTERN SUB-MONTANE TRACT.

Manj.
Randhawa.
Kang.
Sohal.
Bains.
Buta.
Ithwal.

#### SOUTH-EASTERN DISTRICTS.

Ghatwal.
Dagar.
Jakhar.
Sangwan.
Sahrawat.
Dehia.
Golia (or Gawālia).
Rathi.
Khatri.
Dalal.
Ahtawat.
Deswal.
Dhankar.
Phoghat.
Sangwan.
Pawania.
Bahniwal.
Nain.

# 2. Of the Indo-Aryan Tract.

## RĀJPUTS.

[*H. H. Risley, C.I.E. I.C.S.*]

Kshatriya, Chhatri, Chhettri, the fighting and land-holding caste of Northern India, who claim to be the modern representatives of the Kshatriyas of classical tradition, and who are in many cases entitled to appeal to their markedly Aryan cast of feature in support of their claim. Besides these Aryan Rājputs, the large group designated indifferently by the name Rājput or Chhatri includes many families of doubtful or non-Aryan descent, whose pretensions to membership of the twice-born warrior caste rest solely upon the circumstances that they have, or are supposed to have, some sort of proprietary dominion over land. It would be out of place to attempt to give here an exhaustive account of the Rājput community as it exists in Rājputānā and North-Western India. The peculiar characteristics of the pure-blooded Rājput have been described by several competent observers. Among the most conspicuous are a pride of blood, which delights in endless genealogies and ranks every one according to descent; a strong passion for field sports, combined with an equally pronounced distaste for peaceful and prosaic means of earning a livelihood; and an exaggerated idea of the saving virtues of ceremonial purity and precision in the matter of food and drink. **Origin.**

The traditions of the tribe go back to the dateless antiquity in which so many royal pedigrees seek refuge. According to the usually accepted version there are two branches of Rājputs—the Surajbansi or Solar race and the Chandrabansi or Lunar race. To these must be added the four Agnikulās or Fire tribes. Surajbansi Rājputs claim descent from Ikshwāku, son of the Manu Vaivaswat, who was the son of Vaivaswat, the sun. Ikshwāku, it is said, was born from the nostril of the Manu as he happened to sneeze. The elder branch of the Solar race sprang from Ikshwāku's eldest son Vikukshi, and reigned in Ayodhyā at the beginning of the second or *Tretā yuga*. Another son named Nimi founded the dynasty of Mithilā. The Lunar race affect to be descended from the moon, to whom they trace through Ayus, Pururavās and Budha or Mercury, the son of Soma by Rohini or by Tārā, wife of Brihaspati. The Agnikulās or Fire tribes are supposed to have been brought into existence by a special act of creation of comparatively recent mythological date. After the Kshatriya had been slain by Parasu Rāma, gods and men, and more particularly the Brāhman, began to feel the consequences of the loss of their natural protectors. The earth was overrun by giants and demons (Daityās and Asurās), the sacred books were held in contempt, and there was none to whom the devout could call for help in their troubles. Viswāmitra, once a Kshatriya, who had raised himself to be a Brāhman by the might of penance, determined to revive the race that had been exterminated, and moved the gods to assemble for this purpose on Mount Ābu in Rājputānā. Four images of *Dhuba* [*Cynodon dactylon*] grass were thrown into the fire fountain, and called into life by appropriate incantations. From these sprung the four Fire tribes, Pramar, Sulanki, Parihār and Chauhān. **Traditions.**

Turning from mythology to fact, the first point to be noticed about the Rājput tribes is that, in theory at any rate, it has no endogamous sub-divisions. All Rājputs are supposed to be of one blood, and no distinctions are formally recognized among them as forming a conclusive bar to inter-marriage. The groupings Surajbansi, Sombansi and Agnikula refer only to traditions of origin, and there is nothing to prevent a man belonging to one of these divisions from marrying a woman who belongs to another sub-division. It is no doubt the case that some exogamous divisions are of higher rank than others, and that to give a daughter in marriage into one of these groups degrades her family in respect of future marriages for a period of seven years. But with a few doubtful exceptions in outlying districts, the principle of hypergamy has not been pushed to the point of forming strictly endogamous groups.

The original septs of the Rājput tribe appear to be for the most part of the territorial type, that is to say, their names seem to denote the tract of country in which the sept or its founder had their earliest habitat. Sesodia and Bhadauria may be taken as examples of this type. Other names again, such as Jadubansi, clearly refer to descent from particular families or stocks. In addition to their original septs, long lists of which are given below, the Rājputs of Bihār also recognise the Brahmanical *gotrās*, and the tendency is for the latter series to supplant and take the place of the latter. Usually where the original sept names are still held to govern inter-marriage, the rule is that a man may not marry a woman who belongs to the same sept as his father or his mother, and the prohibition is often extended to the septs of the paternal and maternal grandmothers. Notwithstanding this rule a case has been brought to my notice in which the son of a Salanki Rājput of Bihār married a woman of the Chānuel sept, although his father had married into the same sept. At the time of the betrothal a question was raised as to the correctness of the procedure, and the Brāhmans held that, as the son's betrothal, though of the same tribal sept as his mother, belonged to a different Brāhmanical *gotrā*, the rule of exogamy would not be infringed by the marriage. The standard formula for reckoning prohibited degrees is also recognized by the Bihār Rājputs, who in theory considered it binding down to several generations on the father's, and five on the mother's side. A man may marry two sisters, but he must take them in the order of age, and he cannot marry the elder sister if he is already married to the younger. **Internal structure.**

**Isogamy and hypergamy.**

In theory, as has been already stated, the whole body of Rājputs constitutes a single tribe divided into a very large number of septs or clans of descent, each of which is supposed to be descended from a common ancestor. Marriage within the sept is of course interdicted to its members, and in theory a Rājput belonging to any given sept has the whole community to choose from in seeking a bride for his son or a bridegroom for his daughter. In fact, however, the field of selection is greatly restricted by the operation of the laws of isogamy and hypergamy. In a society so organised as to give the fullest play to the idea of purity of descent and the tradition of ceremonial orthodoxy, it must needs be that offences should come and should be deemed to affect not only the offender himself and his family in the narrower sense, but also his entire sept which is conceived as an enlarged family. Thus in course of time is developed an infinite series of social distinctions giving rise to complicated and burdensome obligations in respect of marriage. In the case of the Rājputs these distinctions have not led to the formation of endogamous groups, as commonly happens among other castes, nor have they hardened into fixed hypergamous groupings, such as are exemplified by the Kulinism of Bengal. But running through the entire series of septs we find the usages of isogamy and hypergamy which have exercised and continue to exercise a profound influence on Rājput society. Isogamy or the law of equal marriage is defined by Sir Denzil Ibbetson as the rule which arranges the septs of a given locality in a scale of social standing and forbids a father to give his daughter to a man of any sept which stands lower than his own. Hypergamy or the law of superior marriage is the rule which compels him to wed his daughter with a member of a sept which shall be actually superior in rank to his own. In both cases a man usually does not scruple to take his wife, or at any rate his second wife, from a sept of inferior standing. It will be readily seen how the working of these rules must have given rise to all sorts of reciprocal obligations as between septs, and must have restricted the number of available husbands in any particular locality. The men of a higher sept can take their wives from a lower sept while a corresponding privilege is denied to the women of the higher sept. Hence results a surplus of women in the higher septs and competition for husbands sets in, leading to the payment of a high price for bridegrooms, and enormously increases the expense of getting a daughter married. Under these circumstances poor families are under a strong temptation to get rid of their female infants by poison or intentional neglect in order to be saved the expense of finding them suitable husbands or the disgrace of being compelled to marry them to men of lower degree.

**Marriage.**

The demand being for husbands, not for wives, it follows that the negotiations leading to marriage are opened by the father or guardian of the girl, who sends his family priest and family barber to the boy's house to make inquiries and to answer any questions that may be asked. Sometimes a professional match-maker, *aguā* or *ghatak*, is employed. In any case these preliminary negotiations are known as *aguāi barṭuhari*. If these results are satisfactory, and the girl's family find that their offers are likely to be accepted, the same emissaries pay a second visit to the boy's house, accompanied by the girl's father and bringing with them her horoscope, which is compared by the Brāhmans of the two families with the horoscope of the boy in order to ascertain whether the match is likely to be auspicious. When this point has been satisfactorily settled the question of the bridegroom-price (*tilak* and *dahej*) to be paid by the girl's family is discussed, and a certain proportion of it, usually half, is paid on the spot by way of clinching the bargain. This is called *bar chhenka* or *phaldān* and by receiving it the boy's people are deemed to bind themselves to marry him to no other woman. Sometimes the father of the boy also pays a small sum (*sagan*) as earnest-money to the family of the girl. This practice however is said to be unusual, and is only resorted to when it is thought that the girl's family may be disposed to evade fulfilment of their obligations. The first instalment of the *tilak* or bridegroom-price is paid by one of the girl's relations to the boy himself in the presence of the family Brāhman. At the same time a cocoanut is presented to him and a mark (*tilak*) is made with curds on his forehead. Both the gift and the mark are supposed to bring good luck. The balance of the bridegroom-price is paid in two equal instalments later on, one before and one after the marriage. On the occasion of paying the first instalment of *tilak*, presents are made to the Brāhmans and barbers who have taken part in the proceedings, and a date is fixed for the celebration of the marriage, an interval of fifteen days being usually allowed.

A few days before the wedding *dhanbatti* takes place, a barber is sent from the girl's house to the boy's with a present of unhusked rice. The boy's guardian takes this, mixes with it some rice of his own, and has the mixture parched. Two days before the wedding the women of the family scatter this parched rice about in the courtyard, singing songs which are supposed to bring good luck. On the next day, that is the day before the wedding, the rite of *ghidhāri* is performed in the houses of the bride and bridegroom separately. The parents and nearest relations of the latter put on yellow clothes, and in the presence of the family priests worship Ganesh, the deity who presides over success in life. The bridegroom is then smeared with oil, turmeric, and *ghi*, offerings are made for the family gods, and the hair of the bridegroom's mother or his nearest female relative is anointed with oil. The same ceremony is gone through in the house of the bride, the only difference being that her family clothe themselves in red for the occasion. On the day of the marriage, but before the wedding procession is arranged, the ceremony of *belonki mangna* is often, though not necessarily, performed. The parents of the betrothed couple distribute cakes to the neighbours, demanding in return small presents of money (*belonki*).

The marriage procession is formed at the house of the bridegroom, and makes a somewhat noisy progress to the house of the bride. There the entire party is entertained. The bride and bridegroom are seated under a *marwa* or wedding canopy, and after the recital of appropriate *mantrās* or texts, the family priest of the bride's household fills the bridegroom's right hand

with *sindur*, and makes a mark with it on the bride's forehead, the women of the family meanwhile singing songs to celebrate the event. Among the Rājputs of Tirhut this is deemed the binding portion of the ritual, and the practice of walking round the sacred fire, usually considered essential in the marriage of the higher castes, is said to be unknown. The married couple then leave the *marwa* and go to the *kohbar* or house, where the family deity has been placed for the occasion. They worship and make offerings to him, and this concludes the marriage. The bridegroom then returns to the *janwāsā* or lodgings reserved for his party, while the bride remains in her own house. Early next morning they are brought out and each is made to chew betel with which has been mixed a tiny drop of blood drawn from the other's little finger. This usage in which we may trace an interesting survival of primitive ideas is called *sineh jorua*, the joining of love. When it is over the bride is taken to her husband's house where she remains. On the fourth day after her arrival she and her husband stand together on a yoke such as is used for oxen, and a washerwoman pours water over them. This symbolical washing is supposed to be the first occasion on which the couple see each other by daylight after marriage. Among the Rājputs of North-Western India, and in some parts of Bihār, the bride and bridegroom do not live together until after a second ceremony (called *gaunā*, or with reference to the bride's 'going' to her husband's house) has been performed, which may take place one, three, five or even seven years after the marriage, and is fixed with reference to the physical development of the bride. In Tirhut, however, the custom of premature consummation, mentioned by Buchanan as prevalent among the Rājputs of Bihār, seems to have been introduced, and it is said to be unusual for a bride to be kept at home until she attains puberty. Another custom connected with marriage, which students of comparative ethnography will also recognize as a survival of more primitive ideas, may be referred to here. In Rājput families of Tirhut it is considered contrary to etiquette for a young married couple to see each other by day so long as the husband's parents are alive, and in particular they must avoid being seen together by the husband's parents, and must not speak to one another in their presence. It is of course extremely difficult to ascertain how far a rule of this sort is actually observed, but I am assured that young married couples are very careful to avoid infringing it, although as they grow older their solicitude on this point is apt to wear off.

The remarriage of widows is strictly forbidden among the Rājputs of Bihār. Divorce is also prohibited, and when a woman is taken in adultery, she is summarily expelled from the caste, and either becomes a prostitute or joins herself to some religious sect of more or less dubious morality. In certain cases, however, where a married couple find themselves unable to live in harmony together, a separation is arrived at by mutual consent, each agreeing to look upon the other as a parent. In such cases the wife returns to her father's house, and the husband marries again. This is not, however, looked upon as a divorce.

**Religion.**

Rājputs are orthodox Hindus, and worship the Hindu divinities favoured by the sect to which they happen to belong. By the Surajbansi division, special honour is done to the sun; whom they regard as their eponymous ancestor. Among minor gods Bandi and Narsingh appear to be most in favour. Ancestors are worshipped with offerings of milk, flowers and rice. Mondays and Wednesdays are believed to be the most propitious days for this worship. On the 15th day of Asin married women offer cakes and oil to the souls of their mother-in-law, grandmother-in-law and great grandmother-in-law. This custom, known as the *Jitiya puja*, has obviously been copied from the *srāddh* celebrated in honour of the three immediate ascendants. The popular explanation of it is that it is intended to express the gratitude that every married woman ought to feel for her good fortune in getting a husband. Mr. Grierson, in Bihar Peasant Life, speaks of the *Jitiya puja* as "a fast and worship performed by women on the 8th of the dark half of *Kārtik* (late in October) for the benefit of their children." Further inquiry on the subject would perhaps bring out points of interest and might clear up the discrepancy of date.

**Disposal of the dead.**

For religious and ceremonial purposes Rājputs employ Brāhmans, who are received on equal terms by other members of the sacred order. The dead are burned and the ashes thrown into the Ganges or one of its tributaries. *Srāddh* is performed on the thirteenth day after death, and on the fourteenth a feast is given to the Brāhmans of the neighbourhood. It is followed by the *barki srāddh* on the first anniversary of the death, when the members of the dead man's family shave their heads and faces, and present a *pinda* to the deceased, while the Brāhmans recite *mantrās*. Then the priests and the members of the family partake of a feast. It is said to be a tradition that the expenditure on this ceremony must not exceed half of that incurred on the original *srāddh*. After the *barki*, the *tarpan* or *nit-tarpan*, a daily offering of water is presented regularly by all the sons of the deceased, and particularly by the eldest. This practice, however, is observed only by highly educated Rājputs, who know their religious obligations in this matter. On the first fifteen days of *Bhādarpala* the *pitri paksh* or ancestor's fortnight is observed with offerings of water to all deceased ancestors. If a man dies sonless, leaving a wife and daughter, the *srāddh* and the *barki* are performed by one of them, the other ceremonies being omitted. Failing these the nearest agnate *gotia* will take upon himself these pious duties. In the event of a man dying away from his people and being burned or buried without the proper rites, his body is burned in effigy by his relatives, and the other ceremonies are performed in the usual fashion. When a man has died a sudden or violent death, it is thought right for his son to make a pilgrimage to Gayā and perform the *srāddh* ceremony there in order to secure the repose of his soul.

**Occupation and social status.**

The high-flown titles—Bhupāl, Bhupati, Bhusur, Bahujā—in use among Rājputs, and the name Chhatri itself indicate the exalted pretensions of the tribe and their traditions concerning their original occupation. Many Rājputs still cling to the belief that governing and

bearing arms are their proper business in life; and these notions lead them to regard education, and more especially the higher education, in much the same light as a medieval warrior looked upon the clerkly studies of his time. For this reason the Rājputs as a body have rather dropped behind in the modern struggle for existence, where book learning counts for more than strength of arm, and the more intelligent members of the tribe are quite conscious that their position is by no means what it was in the classical ages of Hindu tradition. Their relations to the land still help them to maintain a show of respectability and importance. Many of them are *zamindārs*, and those who hold cultivating tenures claim in virtue of their caste a remission of rent of their homestead lands. The *jeth-raiyat* or headman of a Bihār village is frequently a Rājput. He collects the rents and receives in return a yearly allowance, known as *pagri*, from the *zamindār*. Rājputs are never artisans, and it is unusual to find them engaging in any kind of trade. In theory their social status is second only to that of the Brāhman, but in Bengal Proper, where great Rājput houses do not exist, popular usage would, I think, place them below the Baidya and the Kāyasth. Even in Bihār the Bābhans claim precedence over Rājputs on the ground that they themselves will not touch the handle (*parihath* or *lagna*) of the plough, and that they use the full *upanayan* ritual when investing their children with the *janeo* or sacred thread, whereas the Rājputs plough and milk cows with their own hands, and shuffle on the *janeo* in a rough-and-ready fashion when a boy gets married

In respect of diet the Rājputs conform generally to the practice of high caste Hindus. The flesh of the goat, the deer and the hare, the pigeon, quail and ortolan may alone be eaten, and these animals, if not killed in hunting, must be slaughtered in a particular way (*jhatāka*): by cutting the head off at a single stroke. Fish is lawful food. Wine is supposed to be forbidden. As regards the taking of food from members of other castes, the following rules are in force:—

A Rājput cannot take *kachchi* food, *i.e.*, rice or *dāl* or anything that is cooked with water, from any one but a Brāhman. *Pākki* food, such as parched grain, sweetmeats and the like, he may take from a man of any caste higher than his own or from a Dhānuk, Kurmi, Kāhār, Lohār, Bārhi, Kumhār, Goāla, Mallāh, Hajjām, Māli, Sonār, Lāheri, or Gareri, provided that no salt or turmeric has been used in the making. These condiments he will add himself. Water is governed by the rules applicable to *pakki* food. Rājputs may not use the *hukāhs* of any other caste, but may smoke tobacco prepared by men of any caste except the Dosādh, Dom, Chamār, Musāhar and Dhobi.

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## INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE RĀJPUT.

**RĀJPUT, Kshatriya, Chhatri or Chhetri, Bāhuja, Bhupāl, Bhupati, Bhusur.**

TITLES:—Bābu, Baraik, Barman, Khān, Malik, Mandal, Rāi, Rāut, Sāmant, Singh, Sipāhi, Thākur.

| Sub-tribes. | Septs. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *In Bihar*— | | | |
| Suryabansi. | Amaithiā | Kachhwāh. | Rānā. |
| Surajbansi. | Baghail or Baghel. | Kākan. | Ranauni. |
| | Barāhi. | Kanwar. | Sāngir. |
| | Baraiā. | Karnwār. | Sarniā. |
| | Bargāir. | Khāti. | Sirnait. |
| | Besāin.[1] | Kinwār. | Sirniā. |
| | Bhadariā. | Kulchuliā. | Sisodhiā. |
| | Bharsuriā. | Kulhariā. | Somwār. |
| | Birwā. | Kurminiā. | Sukalnaki. |
| | Chandail. | Maulwar. | Sukarbār. |
| | Chaubariā. | Nikumbh. | Surkhi. |
| | Chaubhān. | Nimundih. | Surwār. |
| | Dandwār. | Pamār. | Tarwār. |
| | Gaharwār. | Parihar. | Tilautā. |
| | Gautam. | Raghubansi. | Tongar. |
| | Harihobans. | Rāhtaur. | Ujain. |
| | Jasatbār. | Raksāin. | |
| Chandrabansi. | Bais. | Kailwār. | Oh-Ār. |
| Sombansi. | Banaudhiā. | Kapur. | Sabarniā. |
| | Barnār. | Kausik. | Sakarwār. |
| | Budhbansi. | Kusbansi. | Sengar. |
| | Damarwār. | Mahraur.[1] | Subansi. |
| | Dangar. | Narauni. | Sulankhi. |
| | Eh-Ār. | Nauthni or Lautni. | Tekha. |
| | Gahlaut. | Nisān. | Tetiā. |
| Agnikul. | | | |
| Bhojpuriā. | | | |
| Jadubansi. | | | |

[1] Besāin, Chaubhān, and Mahraur cannot intermarry, being supposed to be descended from the same ancestor.

| Sub-tribes. | Septs. | |
|---|---|---|
| *In Chota Nāgpur—* | | |
| **Mālwe or Mār-Rājput.** | **Chaudhriā.**<br>**Mahto.** | **Māli.** |
| *In Bardwan Division—* | — — | — |
| **Bālgori.** | | |
| **Baradāi.** | | |
| **Mulki.** | | |

The following septs are common to all the sub-tribes of Rājputs in Bihar :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Āhir-Pāṭk.** | **Gaudhaniā.** | **Maunas.** |
| **Ataiā.** | **Gaulāni.** | **Mehrá.** |
| **Āthral.** | **Gaura.** | **Mehri.** |
| **Bāchhil.** | **Gehuanā.** | **Mendru.** |
| **Banāmpur.** | **Hārā.** | **Nāgbansi.** |
| **Banāphar.** | **Huddā.** | **Nimri.** |
| **Bardhiā.** | **Jādan.** | **Pachhaniā.** |
| **Bardiā.** | **Jādawār.** | **Pachtariā.** |
| **Barhwatiā.** | **Jadubansi.** | **Pailwār.** |
| **Barniā.** | **Kachnariā.** | **Pālki.** |
| **Basbariā.** | **Kakir.** | **Phetiā.** |
| **Bashariā.** | **Kālhans.** | **Pundul.** |
| **Beruār.** | **Kāmar.** | **Purubansi.** |
| **Bhadaniā.** | **Kanakwār.** | **Rachhuāni.** |
| **Bhalesultān.** | **Kandwār.** | **Raikwār.** |
| **Bhandāri.** | **Karangarhyā.** | **Rājkuar.** |
| **Bharchuihā.** | **Karcholiā.** | **Rajwār.** |
| **Bhatgāinā.** | **Karjhuliā.** | **Rekhaur.** |
| **Bhora.** | **Karmwār.** | **Raksel.** |
| **Bhuthā.** | **Karsā.** | **Rankwār.** |
| **Bichila.** | **Khānnā.** | **Rorah.** |
| **Bijhuniā.** | **Kharbahiā.** | **Sankarwār.** |
| **Binriā.** | **Khāt.** | **Segul.** |
| **Bisokiā.** | **Khechar.** | **Sihogiā.** |
| **Bundelā.** | **Korwār.** | **Silewār.** |
| **Chakwān.** | **Kuchhainā.** | **Sinduriā.** |
| **Chalhuk.** | **Kukā.** | **Singhiniā.** |
| **Dhān.** | **Kukurbans.** | **Sirmaur.** |
| **Dhaul.** | **Kundail.** | **Sirnet.** |
| **Dhekhā.** | **Kusbhabāni.** | **Sisoniā.** |
| **Dhor.** | **Lahtaur.** | **Sombansi.** |
| **Dikshit.** | **Lāhuliā.** | **Sukulbans.** |
| **Donwār.** | **Lākat.** | **Surnair.** |
| **Dorowār.** | **Lohtamiā.** | **Taiā.** |
| **Durgbansi.** | **Lukum.** | **Tāmār.** |
| **Gāigwār.** | **Madhwāl.** | **Tannān.** |
| **Gāin.** | **Mahuār.** | **Taunr.** |
| **Gajkesar.** | **Māndiār.** | **Tendun.** |
| **Gandhauriā.** | **Maralbai.** | **Tiār.** |
| **Ganhwariā.** | **Marhwār.** | **Tilakchandi.** |
| **Gargbansi.** | **Mariar.** | **Ulit.** |
| **Garhwār.** | **Maunachh.** | |

The Rājputs also use the Brahmanical *gotras* or sections, of which the following are generally found in the caste :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Baiāghrapad.** | **Kāsyapa.** | **Parāsara.** |
| **Bātsya.** | **Kausika.** | **Prasidha.** |
| **Bhāradwāja.** | **Nāg.** | **Sāndilya.** |

# 3. Of the Scytho-Dravidian Tract.

## PRABHU.

[*Bombay Ethnographic Survey.*]

**Name.** This caste is also called "Chāndra Seniya Prabhu" and incorrectly Parbhu.

**Distribution. Internal structure.** It figures in the Sanads and State papers of past dynasties under the form Prabhu. The caste is distributed throughout the Presidency, but the greater portion are residents of Thana and Kolaba districts, or Bombay City. The total for the Presidency at the census of 1901 was 21,941, of which 5,162 were found in Thana, 5,782 in Kolaba and 2,922 in Bombay City.

There are the following exogamous divisions :—

**GOTRAS.**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (1) Kāshyapa. | (10) Garga. | (18) Bhāgur. |
| (2) Krip. | (11) Bhārdvāja. | (19) Sānkhyāyan. |
| (3) Dewal. | (12) Gautam. | (20) Maitrāyan. |
| (4) Vaidhruva. | (13) Jamdagni. | (21) Gandhamādan. |
| (5) Bhārgawa. | (14) Vasishta. | (22) Vyāghra. |
| (6) Shāndilya. | (15) Bhrigu. | (23) Kapil. |
| (7) Paingya. | (16) Agasti. | (24) Pulaha. |
| (8) Atri. | (17) Raibhya. | (25) Samir. |
| (9) Visvāmitra. | | |

The "*Gotras*," unlike those of the Brāhmans, do not indicate that a family included in any one of them is the descendant of the particular *Rishi* whose name it bears, but the members of the *Gotra* claim to be merely disciples of the eponymous *Rishi*.

The caste claims to rank as Kshatriya and to be one of the three twice-born castes the members of which are authorized to perform the *Upanayana* ceremony. The custom of not allowing marriage in the same *Gotras*, therefore, is obeyed out of reverence for the *Rishis* whose guidance was required in early times as *Gurus* for performance of the *Upanayan* ceremony by the ancestors of this community.

There are no endogamous divisions. Formerly Davne Prabhus were considered to be an endogamous sub-division and did not inter-marry, though they might take food, with the Chāndra Seniya. But after satisfying themselves that the Davne Prabhus were originally Chāndra Seniya Kāyastha Prabhus who had gone to Daman to reside, and had thus acquired the name Davne, the Chāndra Seniya branch resumed marriage connections with this division. They are now treated on an entirely equal footing. The re-union of the branches is of comparatively recent date, and may be taken to exemplify an interesting tendency in certain societies towards the removal of barriers due to geographical causes, barriers which improved means of communication is likely, in many instances, to undermine. A member of the caste must marry within the caste, and outside the *Gotra* or exogamous sub-division. Intermarriage is forbidden between those who are related as *Sapindās*. This relationship extends to six degrees when the common ancestor is a male, and to four degrees when this common ancestor is a female. In reckoning degrees of relationship, the person under consideration is excluded. Thus, beginning from the bride or bridegroom, six or four degrees exclusive of the couple, *i.e.*, six for the male ancestor and four in case of a female, must be counted without encountering a common progenitor, if marriage between the parties is to be permitted.

**Traditions of origin.** The caste claims descent from Chandrasena, a Kshatriya king of Oudh. According to the Renukā Mahātmya of the Padma (?) Skandha Purān it is alleged that after Parashurām, in fulfilment of his vow to destroy all Kshatriyas, had killed Arjuna and King Chandrasena, he discovered that Chandrasena's wife had taken refuge with Dālabhya, one of the Rishis or Seers, and that she was with child. To carry out his vow Parashurām went to the sage, who asked him to name the object of his visit, assuring him that his wish would be fulfilled. Parashurām replied that he wanted Chandrasena's wife. The sage without any hesitation brought the lady and Parashurām delighted with the success of his scheme promised to grant the sage anything he might ask. The sage asked for the unborn child, and Parashurām agreed to give him the child, on the sage engaging that it and its offspring should be trained as clerks, not as soldiers. The child was named Som Rāja and his sons Vishwanātha, Mahādeo, Bhānu, and Luxumidhar and their descendants were called Prabhu. They were called Kāyastha Parbhu by the Sudras who could not pronounce the word Prabhu, and Brāhmans, taking advantage of this mispronunciation, declared that their true name was Parbhu, that is, bastard or people of irregular birth. The word, however, is spelt Prabhu in letters and deeds granted to those of the community who served the Sātāra and Peshwa governments; and it must be noted that the claims of the Prabhus to the position and rites of Kshatriyas were admitted even as recently as in the days of the Peshwās.

The descendants of Chandrasena are believed to have ruled over Oudh and all old documents agree in placing the original home of this caste in Oudh. There is further evidence on this point of origin in the admitted fact that the original sanctuary of the goddess "Vinzāi" or Vindhyāchalawāsini worshipped by some families of the community is situated on a hill known as Vindhyāchal situated near Mirzāpur in the United Provinces. In this same province the

celebrated hermitage of the sage Dālabhya, who was the proverbial protector of the caste from the persecution of Parashurām, in memory of which fact the caste has adopted a common *Gotra* Dālabhya in addition to the special one, is situated on the banks of the Ganges, 16 miles from Rāibareli and 14 miles to the north of Fatehpur. From Oudh some Prabhus seem to have gone to Nepal and Kashmir, while some took refuge at Mount Abu. Others again settled near Tāl Bhopāl and a few in Prabhās. Although the Prabhus found in Nepal and elsewhere have no social intercourse with the Kāyastha Prabhus of Western India, it seems probable from the foregoing account that they are all come from one stock. They all claim a Kshatriya origin. Those who sought an asylum in Kashmir established their position there and acquired estates for the service they rendered to the State. The author of the Rājatarangini, a Sanskrit historical poem which narrates the history of Shriharsha and other Kashmir kings, was the son of a Prabhu minister of Kashmir, Mahāmātya Champak Prabhu. This suggests that the ministers of Kashmir were styled Prabhu, *i.e.*, lord, a synonym for Kshatriya. Nearly eighty Prabhu families are said to have come from Oudh to Tāl Bhopāl, and the author of the Prabhuratnamāla and other antiquarians are of opinion that the Gupta dynasty which ruled over Central India for more than eight centuries sprang from this stock. The surnames of some families such as Gupte, Rāje, Pradhān, Chaturbal *alias* Chaubal, Ranadip *alias* Randive, Dalapati *alias* Dalavi, Thākur *alias* Thākare, and others seem to have been adopted by those families from the positions they held in the Gupta period, just as the surnames of Chitnis, Fadnis, Potnis, Kārkhānis, Sabnis, Jamenis, and others seem to have been accepted by some families from the occupation or office they held under the Marātha rule. The Guptas had established their power in 319 A.D. and made their capitals at various places. That their rule spread over a great part of the country is proved by the stone-inscriptions, and coins and copper plates found at various places. That this Gupta dynasty had connection with this branch of the Haihaya Kshatriyas is suggested by the fact that their coins bear the mark of the goddess Saraswati riding on a peacock with a *trishul* or trident in her hand, a goddess held in great reverence by the caste to this day. Cunningham also says that the Gupta kings of Mahākosal were Haihaya kings of the Lunar Dynasty. He is successful in tracing a family which, though calling itself Thākur, claimed to be Kshatriyas of the Haihaya branch of the Lunar Kshatriya race which ruled over Mahākosala. Instances of names such as Guptas or Gupte and Thākurs *alias* Thākare are common. A Haihaya prince of the Lunar Kshatriya race is considered an ancestor of the caste giving fresh ground for the belief that the caste may originally have been connected with the Gupta dynasty. The Silhār and other kings in the Deccan and southern parts of India once admitted the suzerainty of the Guptas. Many Prabhus held high posts at the courts of the Silhār princes and controlled the civil and military administration of the country. In a stone-inscription found at Cheul, dated 1088 A.D., the name of one Velji Prabhu is found. In the same way in a stone-inscription of the time of a Silhār prince Aparāditya, dated 1182 A.D., it is mentioned that Anant-rāya Prabhu was the officer who governed Sahāsashti, now Salsette, *pargana* or tāluka; and the Prabhus have a Sashtikar family among them. The inscription is said to have been written by a Kāyastha by name Vālig Pandit. Pandit in those days meant a writer. The Prabhus who settled about this time in the Konkan, Māval and Mahārashtra controlled the civil administration of the country. These were the people who kept the accounts of the land revenue and were entitled Deshapandits. The word Deshapandita was afterwards changed into Deshapānde. These Deshapandits now known as Deshapāndes, had to colonise the waste lands in the country and were also held responsible for the civil administration and the revenues of the land. It was their business to write the documents pertaining to the land as is the practice even now. It is therefore not unnatural that the stone-inscription above referred to should have been written by Vālig Pandit of the Kāyastha Prabhu caste. Almost all Deshapandits or Deshapāndes in the Māval and Konkan are Kāyastha Prabhus.

The history of their *Watans* or hereditary land grants of Prabhu families also shows that they were acquired before the Mahomedan power was introduced and established in the Konkan and the Deccan. The fact that the Purān "Sahyādri Khand," which is said to have been written about the 10th century, makes mention of the Chāndraseniya Prabhus as Kāyasthas to signify their new profession is also corroborative evidence of the fact that the Chāndraseniya Kāyastha Prabhus had settled on the slopes of Sahyādri mountains at or about this period. There is another inscription of the time of the Silhār princes. It is a grant made by a Silhār king, Hirāpāl, to a Brāhman, and the name of his minister, Lakshman Prabhu, is mentioned in it. From the genealogies of some of the families in this community, we learn that the ancestors of some of them served the Kings of Chitor and other Rājput dynasties. The name of Shripat Prabhu of the ancestors of the Sātāra Chitnis family is inscribed upon the pillar at Chitor in connection with a victory gained by Rānā Lukshman Sinha. This information is also given in the genealogy in the possession of the family. There is an endorsement on it that the genealogy is embodied with the genealogies of forty other families in the *Vansha Vriksha* which is in the records of the Rājā of Sātāra. The Konkan, that is the Thāna and Kolāba districts, the old northern boundary of Ratnāgiri, the Māval, *i.e.*, the slopes of the Sahyādri including Poona, Sātāra, Kolhāpur, Daman and Baroda State, are the chief centres of this community, and it is generally believed that these places with the exception of Baroda were the first settlements of the caste when they came from the north. The representatives of the caste in the Baroda State are so numerous that, were it not for the history of the Marāthas which does not support such a conclusion, it might be inferred that this caste settled there during their progress from north to south. It would be interesting to discover which of the places already mentioned were first selected by the community when they came from the north, and at what period the immigrants

arrived. It is a common saying among the old men of the community that their ancestors arrived in numbers from Chitor and the vicinity to settle in the Konkan and Māval, and joined those who had already settled there when Māndavgad was sacked by Alla-ud-din in 1295. In the year 313, when the Gupta Emperors took Mālva from the Shaka kings and there established their rule, the fort of Māndu must have passed into their hands; though evidence on the point is wanting, there is ample proof that the Guptas had full sway over the country up to the borders of Khāndesh. Various branches of the Guptas were established in this tract of country. The Guptas of Mahākosal are well-known to be one of them. This house was connected with the kings of Vakātak or Vindhya Shakti. In the same way there may have been some connection between the Kings of Māndavgad and the Guptas. From an inscription found at the Ajanta Caves and Toran-Mal, it appears that Pravarsen, son of Prabhāwati Gupta, the daughter of Shri-dev Gupta, was lord of the fortress Toran-Mal. The Vindhya Shakti princess, of whom this Pravarsen was born, subsequently became very powerful, and extended her rule over Mālva as far as the confines of Khāndesh. The caste was at one time widely diffused in the west and south of India. There are instances of families who even now say that they formerly inhabited Hyderābād, in the Deccan, and came to this side after the establishment of Marātha rule. The Tāmhanes and Fanases originally served the Mahomedan Emperors at Bedar and Bijāpur. They subsequently entered the service of the Nizām and then came over to the Marāthas. *Sanads* in their possession prove this. There are families living in the Nizām's territory who claim to be Kshatriya Kāyasthas and follow the Vedic religion. They allege that they came from the north and took service with the Musalmāns. Some Prabhus in the Karnātak have adopted the Jain religion, but they still style themselves Prabhu and are the holders of estates such as Deshmukh or Deshpānde *Vatans*. They are known as Desāis. From this it may fairly be concluded that the Kshatriya Prabhus, nick-named Kāyasthas, who were able to maintain communication with their caste-fellows in the Konkan or Māval, formed one caste known as Chāndra Seniya Kāyastha Prabhus.

**History.** The history of this caste is readily traceable since the introduction of Mahomedan rule in the Deccan. They served that government diligently in civil and military affairs. Peace was secured in the country by the Mahomedan rulers by renewing the *Vatans* of the Deshmukhs and Deshpāndits or Deshpāndes in ratifying their grants. After the great famine in 1396, very signal service to the country was rendered by these Deshmukhs and Deshpāndes by re-colonising it and by helping in the restoration of peace. At this time they had to perform military service in order to quell the rebellious mountainous tribes. The Emperor of Bedar sent Mulk-ultijār in 1429 with an army to help these Deshmukhs and Deshpāndes in the settlement of the country. Titles were bestowed upon some of the Deshmukhs which are enjoyed by those families to this day. The title *Abhangrāo* (invincible) of the Parbhu Deshmukh at Atwane, and the title of *Sarjerao* (distinguished) of the Deshmukh of Nāte, as well as the title *Adarrao* (worthy of high respect) of the Prabhu Deshpāndes of Māval are well-known. In this way they helped the Mahomedan rulers in maintaining civil order and protecting the fortresses from foreign aggression. The *vatans* continued to the Chaubals of Cheul, Nādkars of Māhād, Deshmukhs of Nāte and Nizāmpur in the Konkan, and Vaidya and Dighes of the Māvals, and many other Deshpāndes and Kulkarnis bear ample historical testimony to the fact. We find the name of one Parasharām Prabhu Karnik in a *Sanad* as far back as about 1426 granted by the Emperor of Bedar to the Vajaseniya Brāhmans. He was a courtier of the Emperor and was appointed to settle the disputes of the Brāhmans.

The caste distinguished itself during the Marātha rule, and was one of the chief sources of the strength of Shivāji and his successors. Murār Bāji Deshpānde of Māhād, Vishvāsrao Nānāji, Bābāji Boāji, Dādji Raghunāth and others were eminent military and civil Prabhu officers of Shivāji. Bālāji Āoji Chitnis was his chief adviser and secretary. Shivāji was favourably disposed to the caste. On one occasion he dismissed all the Brāhmans who held high posts and engaged Kāyastha Prabhus in their places, and in reply to complaints he remarked that while all the Musalmān places of trust held by Brāhmans had been given up without a struggle, those held by Prabhus had been most difficult to take, and that one of them, Rājpuri, had not yet been taken. The brothers Lingo Shankar and Visāji Shankar helped Rājarām in safely conveying his family to Jinji. Khando Ballāl played a great part in Marātha history in the reorganization of the Marātha power. Prayāgji Anant, the ancestor of the famous Rāoji Apāji of later Marātha history, defended the fort of Sātāra, and Mahādaji Bāji, brother of the illustrious Murār Bāji Prabhu and the ancestor of the Sārdār Potnis family, recovered Sinhgad and other places from the Musalmāns when Rājāram was at Jinji. These and others were the chief supporters of the new Hindu dynasty that was established in Mahārāshtra. The *Sanads* granted by the Nizām to Vyankat Prabhu Tāmhane testify to the gallant service he rendered to the State with five thousand horse in several campaigns. Vyankat Prabhu was granted in his old age the Faujādri Mahāl Jāghir of the districts of Fatiābad (now Dharur) and Khujista Buniad (now Aurangābad). His sons Lakshman, Mahādeo, and Govind succeeded to the *Jāghir*. Of these sons, Lakshman Prabhu was afterwards very useful to the Bhoslās of Nāgpur and Akalkot in the establishment of their power. Even during the rule of the Peshwās the warlike brothers Sakhārām Hari and Bāburao Hari Gupte, of whose unswerving loyalty to their master Nānā Fadanavis was extremely jealous, and Nilkanthrāo Pāge played a conspicuous part in the maintenance of Marātha rule. Murār Rāo Daulat rendered gallant service to Sindia in capturing Gulām Kadir of Delhi, upon which the well-known "Diwāni Mutālki Sanad" was obtained from the Emperor of Delhi; Rāoji Appāji made the Gāekwār's rule secure in Gujarāt; Vithalrāo Devāji's name is still held in great reverence and respect in Kāthiāwār; Bāpuji Raghunāth Dighe was a popular Divān

at Dhār. At the present day members of the Prabhu caste hold places of trust both in Native States and under the British Government to whom they have always exhibited conspicuous loyalty.

**Marriage.**

As a rule girls must be married after the completion of the eighth year and before attaining puberty, the boys generally being from four to six years older. Polygamy is allowed, but it is resorted to mainly in cases of failure of male issue. It is highly unpopular and has very largely died out. Polyandry is strictly prohibited. The first of the eight forms of marriage, known as Brahma, is followed by this community, and the procedure is conducted according to the Rig Prayoga. The Brahma form consists in the gift of the daughter clothed only with a single robe to a man presumably learned in the "Vedas" whom her father voluntarily invites and respectfully receives. In the actual marriage ceremony there are numerous stages of which the following are the principal:—

(1) "**Vāgnischaya,**" *i.e.*, settlement by word.
(2) "**Simāntpujan,**" *i.e.*, reception and adoration of the bridegroom at the entrance of the town.
(3) "**Vadhugrihagaman,**" *i.e.*, going to the place of the bride.
(4) "**Madhuparka,**" *i.e.*, a respectful offering made to a guest or the bridegroom on his arrival at the door of the father of the bride.
(5) "**Parasparanirikshan,**" *i.e.*, the ceremony of gazing at each other through the screen called "**Antarpat,**" and of garlanding the bridegroom by the bride.
(6) "**Kanyādān,**" *i.e.*, the ceremony of giving away the girl in marriage.
(7) "**Vivāhahoma,**" *i.e.*, offering of oblation by throwing *ghi* into the consecrated fire in honour of the marriage.
  (*a*) "**Pānigrahana,**" *i.e.*, ceremony of taking by the hand.
  (*b*) "**Lājāhoma,**" *i.e.*, throwing parched grains into the consecrated fire.
  (*c*) "**Saptapadi,**" *i.e.*, the ceremony of bride and bridegroom walking together seven steps round the sacred fire after which the marriage becomes irrevocable.

The *Vivāhahoma* ending in *Saptapadi* is the operative and essential portion of the ceremony. On completion of the last step the actual marriage is considered to be complete. While using the Brahma form the Prabhus have retained certain special customary observances which go to prove or rather to keep in remembrance their "Kshatriya" origin, such as:—

(1) The marriage of the Prabhus must necessarily be in a *mandap* (pendal) and in the presence of all relations and friends like the *Swayamwar* in a *Sabha* of the olden Kshatriya period, whereas the Brāhmans perform their marriages in the inner part of the house.
(2) Two unsheathed swords are crossed over the head of the couple from behind.

The remarriage of widows is not permitted nor is divorce allowed. A woman may be abandoned by her husband on the ground of misconduct or of a change of religion, etc., a wife so renounced cannot marry again. A man can be divorced by his wife for a change of religion, but she cannot marry again in such a case.

**Inheritance.**

The Hindu law of inheritance is followed by the caste.

**Religion.**

The members of the caste follow the Vedic form of religion, and are *Shaivas*. They worship Siva in preference to other members of the Hindu Trinity, a usage based on immemorial custom and the assumed superior potency of this deity. They are followers of the *Advaita* school of Śankarāchārya, but also worship Vishnu, Ganpati, and other gods. Such of the minor gods as are admittedly manifestations of the supreme spirit are recognized by the Prabhus. Khandoba and Bhairao are regarded as incarnation of Siva, and the goddesses Ekavirā, Vinzāi, Vyāghrāmbari as manifestations of Pārvati, the wife of Siva. Brāhmans are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes and for the recitals of *mantras*, but the actual ceremony is performed by the members of the community. These priests are received on terms of equality by other Brāhmans. No other class of Hindus can serve them as priests. Prabhus burn their dead, but infants who have not cut their teeth as well as persons dying of small-pox are buried. The ashes, whenever possible, or a few bones at least are finally disposed of in holy waters. In the case of burial the head is placed towards the south. The *Shrāddhas* and funeral obsequies are the only ceremonies performed for the salvation of ancestors. No particular ceremonies are prescribed for the propitiation of childless ancestors or persons who have died a violent death. The funeral obsequies are performed during the first thirteen days after death. Oblations of cooked rice are offered every day in consequence of which the soul of the dead attains a spiritual body limb by limb till on the thirteenth day it is enabled to start on its journey. During the first year after death the offering is repeated every month as the soul accomplishes each portion of its journey. In twelve months the journey ends and a *Shrāddha* ceremony is performed on an extensive scale on the anniversary of the death. This ceremony is repeated on each successive anniversary. In the dark half of Bhādrapada a *Shrāddha* ceremony technically called *Paksha* or *Mahālaya* Shrāddha is performed for the benefit of the deceased on the day of the month on which he died. If the *Mahālaya Shrāddha* is not performed on the proper date within the fortnight, it may be postponed till any day before the sun enters Vrischik or Capricorn. The *Mahālaya Shrāddha* of a person dying a violent death is performed on the thirteenth of the fortnight which is called *Ghāyāl Trayodashi, i.e.*, the thirteenth day for a violent death. Besides this, daily oblations of water are offered to the dead after "*Sandhya*" adoration. The leading rite in the *Shrāddha* is the offering of the funeral ball made of cooked rice. Three such

balls are offered to the three paternal ancestors, three to the three maternal ancestors, and the rest of the ancestors receive a smaller ball, while the remote relations only receive oblations of water.

The caste is not named after any animal, plant, weapon, or implement. Arms are now worshipped on the *Dassara* holiday which is the commencement of the military year, an apparent survival of a worship appropriate to warlike times. On the fifth day after the birth of a child sword and pen, paper and ink are worshipped, the sword being the symbol of the Kshatriya origin and the pen, paper, and ink that of the present occupation of a writer. The cow is regarded as sacred and is worshipped. It is not used for labour of any kind and is universally regarded as a symbol of the deity Gāyitri. The only other animal worshipped by the Prabhus like other Hindus is the serpent. The serpent worship has a legendary justification in the ancient myth that the earth rests on the hood of a thousand headed cobra, called "Shesh" whose mighty coils form also the resting place of the great Lord of the Universe. In honour of this Indian Atlas, the divine cobra, the cobras are worshipped once in every year on Nāgpanchami day, and in some families a golden image of a cobra is chosen as object of special worship, along with the Shivlingam (where it represents Vāsuki).

*Tulas, Pimpal, Vad, A'vali, Shami, Umbar* are considered sacred trees and are worshipped generally on particular days assigned for the worship of each of them. The *tulas* is found before every "Hindu" house and is daily worshipped by women.

**Occupation.** The original occupation of a Prabhu was that of a soldier until by force of circumstances he became a writer. Between these extreme traditions of war and peace they continually worked in politics and rose to be great generals, ministers, politicians and secretaries. They have not given up these occupations up to the present time and they either serve in the army in high capacities in the Native States, or are Government servants. The only new professions which they hitherto have been induced to take up are those of lawyers, doctors, and engineers. A great number hold responsible posts under the British Government, and in the Native States, or are eminent professional men. Some of them are *Jāghirdārs, Ināmdārs* and land-owners.

Some of them are agriculturists being—

(1) "*Khots*" analogous to Zamindārs.
(2) Tenure-holders such as Deshmukhs, Deshpāndes, Pātils, Kulkarnis, Mirāsdārs, Ināmdārs, Jāghirdārs, Mokāshis, Nādgoudās, Sar-Deshmukhs, and Mālguzārs.
(3) Occupancy or non-occupancy *rāyats* claiming partly or wholly remission in respect of the grant for the land they hold.
(4) There are no nomadic cultivators.
(5) There are no landless day-labourers.

Formerly the *Sword* and now the *Pen* can be deemed to be the implement characteristic of this caste.

**Food.** The caste does not eat the leavings of any people, not even their own. The Prabhus of the present day are, as a rule, vegetarians, and in public dinners of the caste animal food of every kind is strictly excluded. But in private dinners mutton and fish with scales appear on the table. Prabhus living up-country very rarely eat flesh. As regards wine and other alcoholic drinks, many of the caste allow them, but only in private. The caste does not eat *Kachi, Pakki,* drink or smoke with any lower caste. No Prabhu would smoke a cigar or cheroot or pipe, etc., used by his caste fellow, much less by a man of any other caste. The Brāhmans generally do not object to take *pakki* food from the hands of Prabhus. Except from vegetarian Brāhmans of Mahārāshtra, the Chāndra Seniya Kāyastha Prabhus will not take *Pakki, Kachi* or water from any other caste.

Gujarāti Brāhmans are sometimes employed at some places by local custom as water-bearers, but not as cooks.

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## INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CHĀNDRASENI PRABHUS.

The *Gotras* and *Kulās* (ancient) and family surnames with their modified variations forming exogamous groups.

### *Gotras.*

**Kāshyapāchārya.**
**Garude,** The eagles among men.
**Gupte,** The masters of valleys, or caves.
***Bahire,** The deaf.

**Kripāchārya.**
**Donde,** The big bellied.

**Kapilāchārya.**
***Kāmathe,** (Kāle) Head of the Kāmāthis or camp followers.

**Kripāchārya.**
**Dikshit,** (Dighe) Performers of the Yajna.

**Raibyāchārya.**
**Gadakari,** Governors of forts.
***Rāvara,** Heads of the Rāvs (*Rāv* + *Vara*).

**Devalāchārya.**
**Kshipre,** (Kshatriya, Rāje) Rulers or residents of the Kshipra valley.
***Shathe,** The cunning.

**Agastyāchārya.**
**Jayavant,** The victorious.
**Shringārpure,** (Tungāre) Residents, or rulers of Shringārpur.
**Jāvalekar,** (Jāvale) Residents of Jāval.

**Bhārgavācharya.**
**Karnātaki,** (Karnik) Residents of Kanara.
**Pradhān,** Ministers.

**Shānkhyāyanāchārya.**
**Ranadive,** Lights of the battle-field.

***Gotras*—concluded.**

**Shānkhyāyanāchārya—*concluded.***

**Sule,** Owners of the *sul*, or hangmen.
**Sātpute,** Seven brothers.
**Pātankar,** Residents of Pāttan.

**Vashishthāchārya.**

**Tāmhane,** (Tāmbe) Tāmhan is a sacrificial pot. *Tāmbe* means copper.

**Gautamāchārya.**

**Phanase,** Jack fruit. (Rough outside and sweet within.)

**Jamdagnyāchārya.**

***Khātik,** Butchers—merciless marauders.

**Maitrāyanāchārya.**

**Bendre.** (Durve).

**Kaushikāchārya.**

**Vaidya,** Physicians.
***Pangule,** Lame.
**Korde,** Dry.

**Gandhamādanāchārya.**

**Likhite,** Writers.

**Vyāghrāchārya.**

***Vivāde,** (Helbhāt) Holders of discussion.

**Pulhāchārya.**

**Davane,** Residents of Daman.

**Samirāchārya.**

***Vaghule,** (Vāghal) Tigers.

**Shāndilyāchārya.**

**Chitre,** Painters, or beautiful like a picture.

**Atreyāchārya.**

**Mohile,** Enamoured.
***Vakhāre,** Keepers of store houses, or commissariat godowns.

**Naidhruvāchārya.**

***Muke,** Mute.

**Gargāchārya.**

***Ulkand,** Shooting stars.

**Bhāguryāchārya.**

**Bhise,** Lotus stocks.

**Bhārdvājāchārya.**

**Chaubale,** (Chaubal, chāvak) Commanders-in-Chief.

**Paingyāchārya.**

**Khale,** Shrouded like the moon behind the clouds.
***Tivekar,** (Tilekar) Residents of Tive or Tile.
***Devupātre,** Givers, bestowers of favours.

* Extinct or obsolete, although found in ancient texts. Possibly changed into official or titular names acquired from time to time, which are often taken in addition to the ancient family names as follows:—

**Abhangrāv,** Tenacious, or invincible.
**Ādar-rāv,** The respectable, high.
**Adhikāri,** "Authority."
**Chitnis or Chitnavis,** Secretary.
**Deshmukh,** Chief Revenue Officer.
**Despānde,** Revenue Officer.
**Divān,** Minister.
**Daftaradār,** Chief Accountant.
**Farāṣkhāne,** Head of the palace "*farāskhāna.*"
**Hajirnis,** Keeper of the roll.
**Jamenis,** Accountant.
**Kārkhānis,** Departmental heads.
**Kotwāl,** Police officers.
**Kulkarni,** Village Accountant.
**Kathiāwād-Diwānji,** Minister for Kāthiawad.
**Khāsgivle,** Hereditary ministers of the regal Jahāgir.
**Mulki.** Revenue Officers.
**Ināmdār,** Free tenancy landholder.
**Mokāshi,** Sub-Divisional Officer.
**Muzumdār,** Revenue Officer.
**Nāzar,** A Judicial Officer.
**Potnis,** Treasurer.
**Sarjerāv,** Distinguished.
**Subnis,** Accountant.
**Tipnis,** Customs Officials.

—Or into territorial names assumed in addition to the titular names as:—

**Alibāgkar,** Officers.
**Ambedkar,** Jahāgirdār.
**Ambegāvkar,** Ināmdār.
**Andurkar,** Landlords.
**Anjurkar,** Landlords.
**Asirkar.** Officers of the fort of Asir.
**Dahānukar,** Hereditary Patel.
**Dhārkar,** Minister and Jahāgirdār.
**Junnarkar,** Landlords.
**Khārkar,** Landlords of Khār.
**Kanekar,** Landlords.
**Medhekar,** Landlords.
**Mahādkar,** Landlords.
**Mulherkar,** Landlords.
**Ovalekar,** Ināmdār.
**Pālkar,** Landlords.
**Penkar,** Residents of Pen.
**Sāshtikar,** Officers of the Fort of Salsette.
**Sātārkar,** Resident State servants.
**Shrivardhankar,** Residents.
**Thānekar,** Landlords.
**Talekar,** Landlords.
**Vilekar,** Jahāgirdārs.

# 3. Of the Scytho-Dravidian Tract.

## MARĀTHĀS. (PROPER.)

*From the Bombay Gazetteer by* SIR JAMES CAMPBELL, *K.C.I.E.*

**Constitution.** The Kolhāpur Marāthās have a special interest, as their head, the Mahārāja of Kolhāpur, is the only representative of Shivāji, the founder of the Marāthā power. As in other parts of the Bombay Deccan, the fighters among the Marāthi-speaking middle classes claim to be called Marāthās. Some families perhaps have an unusually large strain of northern or Rājput blood, but as a class Marāthās cannot be distinguished from Marāthi-speaking Deccan Kunbis with whom all eat and the poorer inter-marry. The names in common use among men are Chandrarāv, Jānojirāv, Mānājirāv, Pratāprāv, Suryājirāv, and Udājirāv, and among women Bāyajābāi, Hansābāi, Lālubāi, Pritābāi, Rājasbāi, and Sakvārbāi. Many men affect Rājput names as Jaysing, Rāmsing, and Phattesing, and others have Kunbi names as Esba, Gyānba, and Nārba. Kolhāpur Marāthās claim to belong to four branches or *vanshas*, *Brahma vansh* or the Brahma branch, *Shesh vansh* or the Serpent branch, *Som yansh* or the Moon branch, and *Surya vansh* or the Sun branch. The following are said to be the surnames in commonest use among Kolhāpur Marāthās: Bhonsle, Chavān, Gāvde, Ghātge, Ghorpade, Gujar, Ingle, Jagdale, Kadam, Kāle, Kharde, Magar, Mohite, Nalāvde, Phadtare, Povār, Rananavre, Sālunke, Shende, Sinde, Sisode, Sitole, Suryavanshe, and Yādav. Besides its surname, every Marāthā family has its *devak* or family guardian, of which as complete a list as could be obtained is given below. In matters of marriage the guardian is more important than the surname and sameness of surname alone does not bar marriage. As a rule Marāthās are middle-sized, regular-featured, and better made than Marāthā Brāhmans; a few are handsome and warlike, but as a rule except that they are fairer and better mannered they cannot be known from Kunbis. The women are often fairer and slenderer than Kunbi women. Both at home and abroad they speak Marāthi almost as correctly as Brāhmans, and some of them speak Kānarese fluently but not correctly. As a rule Marāthās live in fairly aired and lighted middle-class houses, two or three storeys high, with stone and burnt brick walls and tiled roofs. The entrance door, which is often spacious and imposing and furnished with a small room called *devdi* for guards or watchmen, opens on a yard in which is a cattle shed and a stable for horses. One or two rooms in the upper storey and one or two in the ground floor are whitewashed and well painted and decorated with pictures of Ganpati and Shiv, and fancy pictures of gymnasts wrestling, of a warship, or two tigers and a huntsman. These rooms are used for receptions and business. Other rooms are set apart for dining, keeping stores, sleeping, and cooking; and at the back of the house is a sweet *basil* or *tulas* pillar. Except a few special apartments the house is seldom clean or tidy. The houses of poor Marāthās are smaller and have fewer rooms. All eat flesh and fish. The well-to-do eat mutton or fowls daily. Middle-class families use them about once a week, while the poor use them only occasionally on *Dasara* in September-October and *Shimga* in March, and during marriages. Marāthās seldom use liquor, though no caste rule forbids either liquor or narcotics. They eat the usual kinds of flesh except beef and pork. At the houses of the well-to-do the food is cooked and served generally by servants called *savalekaris* or clean men, and in middle and poor families the women cook and serve the food. Before dining Marāthās are careful to bathe and put on a fresh-washed cotton waistcloth. Women take their food after the men, but the Brāhman practice of eating from their husband's plate is not strictly kept.

**Characteristics.** As a class Marāthās are simple, frank, independent and liberal, courteous, and, when kindly treated, trusting. They are a manly and intelligent race, proud of their former greatness, fond of show, and careful to hide poverty. The Marāthā is proverbially *dauli* or fond of show. A Marāthā may dress in a rag at home but he has always a spare dress which he himself washes, keeps with great care, and puts on when he goes to pay a visit. He hires a boy to attend him with a lantern at night, or to take care of his shoes when he goes into his friend's house and hold them before him when he comes out. They say that war is their calling and few Marāthās of good family, however well educated, willingly take service as clerks. They never keep shops. As a rule a well-to-do Marāthā has in his service a Brāhman clerk called *divānji* or minister, who often takes advantage of his master's want of education to defraud him, sometimes ending in making his master his debtor. Marāthā women are kind, affable, and simple, and, with few exceptions, are good wives and managers. Marāthās are husbandmen, grantholders, landowners, and State servants. Besides the Mahārāja of Kolhāpur several Marāthās are chiefs or *sansthāniks*. A Marāthā almost never rises early and seldom goes out in the morning. He rises about seven or eight, washes, and attends to business if he has any or idles till ten, chewing tobacco, smoking, and talking. About half past ten he bathes, dresses in a freshly-washed cotton cloth, marks his brow with white or red sandal; bows before the family gods which the priest has already worshipped, repeats the names of the deities Ambābāi, Ganpati, Pāndurang, and Shankar, and bows after each name. Religious Marāthās pass an hour or two in reading sacred books as the Gurucharitra or Life of Dattātreya, Dnyānoba's commentary on the Bhagvatgita, Shiv's play or Shiv Lilā, and Rukmini's choice or the Rukmini Svayamvar. Most of them lay sandal and flowers on their gods and drink the holy water or *tirth* used in washing the god's feet. Then the male members of the family sit in a row and take their food. After dinner they chew betel, smoke tobacco, and enjoy a short midday rest. They rise at three, and play at cards, dice or

chess. In the evening they drive, ride or walk, or visit a friend, return about eight or nine, and retire to bed at ten or eleven. Marāthās who have estates to manage lead regular, fairly busy lives; those who have no special business pass a life of monotonous weariness in idle talk, betel-chewing, and smoking. Many are fond of hunting, and hunt and shoot several days in every month. Others spend much of their leisure under the influence of opium and hemp-water. Marāthā women seldom leave the house, and in well-to-do families, as they have neither to cook nor to mind the house, they have much leisure. A Marāthā matron generally spends her morning in washing, combing, and decking her hair with flowers, in feeding her children, and in bathing. Elderly Marāthā women water the sweet basil plant and lay sandal and flowers before Bālkrishna or Mahādev, but young women are generally careless about religious rites. After their midday meal they hear a *Purān* or holy book read by a priest, take a midday nap, look after the children, talk, play with dice and sometimes with *sāgargotās* (the seeds of *Cæsal pinia bonducella*), chew betel and tobacco, sup after the men, and retire about ten. Some Marāthā women embroider, and a few have learnt to read and write.

History.

The name Marāthā which rose to importance under Shāhāji (1594-1664) and his son Shivāji (1627-1680) in the seventeenth century and under the Peshwās became famous throughout India in the eighteenth century, has a threefold application. It is applied first to the section of India south of the Narbada and north of the Karnātak in which the Marāthi language is spoken; second to the whole Marāthi-speaking population; and third, in a narrower and more correct sense, to the bulk of the old fighting and now cultivating middle class of the country whose language is Marāthi. The generally received origin of the name Marāthā, an explanation which has the support of Mr. Fleet and Dr. Bhagvānlāl, is that it comes from Mahārāstra, the Great Country, a name which the early Sanskrit-knowing settlers in Upper India are supposed to have given to the unknown land to the south of Hindusthān. To this explanation the chief objection is the absence of any reason why the people of Northern India should honour the south of India with the name of Great Country or why if the name Great Country was at first applied to the whole Peninsular India, it should come to be restricted to the present Marāthi-speaking portions of the peninsula. If any people can be found with a suitable name it seems more likely that the country took its name from the people than that the people took their name from the country. This view was held by the late Dr. John Wilson who proposed to trace Mahārāshtra to Mhār-rāshtra, the land of the Mhārs. But though the Mhārs are a large and important class in the Marāthi-speaking country their depressed state makes it unlikely that the country should have been called after them. One derivation, which has the approval of Professor Bhāndārkar, remains that Mahārāsthra is the Sanskritised form of Maharattah, that is, the country of the Maharatthis or Mahārattbs, that is, the Great Ratthis, a tribe which under the name Ratta or Ratthis and its Sanskrit form Rāshtrakas or Rāshtrikās, from very early times have at intervals ruled in the Bombay Deccan, and Bombay Karnātak.

In the middle of the third century before Christ, in the copy of his rock-cut edicts which is preserved at Girnār, the Mauryan Emperor Ashok (B.C. 245) states that he sent ministers of religion to the Rāstikas, the Petenikās, and the Aparāntas; according to Professor Bhāndārkar the Aparāntās are the people of the Bombay Konkan, the Petenikas are the people of Paithan, about fifty miles north-east of Ahmadnagar, and the Rāstikās or (Sk.) Rāshtrikas are the people of Mahārāshtra. According to Professor Bhāndārkar one branch of the tribe of Rāstikas or Rattas took the name of Rāshtrakutas and governed the Deccan and Konkan before the fifth century after Christ. They then lost power but won it back about 760 and continued supreme in the Deccan and Karnātak till about 970. Mr. Fleet favours the opinion that the name Rāshtrakuta was not a Sanskritised form of Ratta, but was acquired by the holders in virtue of their office of managers of a *rashtra* or province. But the case of the Rattas who ruled in the Belgaum district from the ninth to the thirteenth century (875—1250) and who claimed to be a branch of the Rāshtrakutas strongly supports the view that Rāshtrakuta is a Sanskritised form of Ratta. In the Kanarese districts the Rattas seem to be now represented by the Kāddis, one of the leading classes of Kanarese husbandmen. The fact that the list of Marāthā surnames, which includes Cholke that is Chālukya, Selār or Silāhāra, Kadam or Kadamba, Yādav or Jādav, and almost all the early rulers of the Deccan, does not include Ratta, favours the view that the memory of the Rattas is preserved in the general term Marāthā. The suggestion that a branch of the Rattas in very early times took the name of Mahāratthis or Great Rattas is supported by the practice of the Bhoja rulers of the Konkan and West Deccan who are styled Bhojas in Ashok's thirteenth edict (B.C. 240) and Mahābhojas in rock-cut inscriptions in the Bedsa caves in Poona and the Kuda caves in Kolaba of about the first century after Christ. The earliest known mention of the name Marāthā is an inscription of about B.C. 100 over a statue in the Nāna pass rest chamber. This inscription runs *Mahārāthāgraniko Viro*, which probably means "The hero, the leader of the Marāthās or Great Rattas." An inscription in the Bedsa caves in the Poona district of about the first century after Christ mentions a gift by a Mahārāthi queen and three other inscriptions of the same or of a slightly later date, one at the Bhāja caves and two at Kārle, both in the Poona district, mention gifts by persons who call themselves Mahārātthis. Mahāvanso, the Ceylonese chronicle of the fifth century (A.D. 480) twice mentions the country of Mahārāttha. About the middle of the seventh century (A.D. 634) the famous inscription at Aihole or Aivalli in South Bijāpur notices that the Great Western Chālukya king Pulikeshi II (610—635) gained the sovereignty of the three Mahārāshtrakās which together contained 99,000 villages. About the same time the Chinese pilgrim Hiwen Thsang (629—645) describes the kingdom of Mo-ho-lach'a, apparently Mahārattha, Mahārāshtra, as nearly six thousand *lis* or twelve hundred miles in circuit. The capital which was towards the west near a large river, had a circumference of

thirty *lis* or six miles. Hiwen Thsang describes the people, apparently the warlike Marāthā tribe, as tall, boastful, and proud. Whoever does them a service, he says, may count on their gratitude, but no one who offends them will escape their vengeance. If any one insults them they will risk their lives to wipe out the affront. If any one in trouble applies to them, forgetful of themselves they will hasten to help him. When they have an injury to avenge they never fail to warn their enemy; after the warning each puts on his cuirass and grasps his spear. In battle they pursue fugitives but do not slay those who give themselves up. When a general has lost a battle, instead of punishing him corporally they make him wear women's clothes, and so force him to sacrifice his life. The State maintains several hundred dauntless champions, who every time they prepare for combat, get themselves drunk with wine; and then one of them, spear in hand, will defy ten thousand enemies. If they kill a man whom they meet on the road, the law does not punish them. Whenever the army goes on a campaign these braves march in front to the sound of the drum. They also intoxicate many hundreds of naturally fierce elephants. At the time of coming to blows they drink strong liquor. They run in a body, trampling everything under their feet. No enemy can stand before them; and the king proud of possessing these men and elephants despises and slights the neighbouring kingdoms. About 1020 the Arab geographer Al Biruni mentions Marhat Des as a country to the south of the Narbada. In 1329 the French friar Jordanus refers to "the kingdom of Marāthā as very great." In 1340 the African traveller Ibn Batuta notices that the people of Daulatabad or Devgiri were Marhāthas whose nobles were Brāhmans.

From the beginning to the end of his Deccan history (1290—1600) the historian Ferishta often mentions the Marāthās. In his account of the Musalmān Turk conquest under Alā-ud-din Khilji and his generals, Ferishta refers to the Marāthās as the people of the province of Mhārāt or Mherāt dependent on Daulatābād and apparently considered to centre in Paithan or as it is written Mheropatan. In 1318 Harapāl, the son-in-law of the Devgiri chief, rebelled and forced the Musalmāns to give up several districts of Marāth. In 1370 Jādhav Marātha, the chief of the Naiks, revolted in Daulatābād, persuaded its Musalmān governor to join him, raised the Rathod chief of Bāglān and other local leaders, and collected a great army at Paithan. Till the end of Brāhmani supremacy (1490) some Marātha chiefs, among them the Rājās of Galna and Bāglān in Nāsik, were practically independent, paying no tribute for years at a time. After the close of Brāhmani supremacy (1490), under the Ahmadnagar and to a less extent under the Bijāpur kings, one or two Marāthā chiefs remained nearly independent. Others were continued in their estates on condition of supplying troops, and others took service with their Musalmān rulers and were granted estates and the Hindu titles of Deshmukh, Sar Deshmukh, Nāik, Rāv, and Rāja. In several cases the daughters of leading Marāthās were raised to be the wives of Musalmān kings. Of the lower ranks of Marāthās many were employed as mercenary troops, most of them as cavalry but some also as infantry. On one occasion (1507) the bulk of the people between Paithan and Chākan in Poona are spoken of as rebellious Marāthās. Besides by their correct name the Marāthās are often called Bārgis, a word of uncertain * origin. Shakespear seems to derive it from the Sanskrit Vargiya as it originally means a man of class (*varg.*) or family. Grant Duff describes it as a word of unknown origin apparently a slang term of contempt used of the local levies * by the regular foreign cavalry. In another passage Grant Duff states that all the troops officered by Marāthās were formerly called Bārgis and that when he wrote (1826) in many parts of India the Marāthās were still known by that name. The following are the leading instances of the use of the term Bargi by the Musalmān historians. In the fifteenth century, according to the author of the Mirat-i-Ahmadi (1760) the Marāthā chiefs of Bāglān in North Nāsik had for generations borne the title of the Baharji or Bārgi chiefs. The word Bārgi is applied to the Marāthā * cavalry under Bijāpur in 1549 and again in 1560. It is frequently applied to the Telugu troops and estate-holders under the Kānarese kingdom of Vijayānagar (1330—1564), and to the Bijāpur troops after Bijāpur (1570) extended its power over much of the territory formerly held by Vijayānagar. In 1613 the Emperor Jahāngir in his autobiography calls the Marāthā skirmishers of Ahmadnagar "Bargiyan." In 1616 the Bārgis of Ahmadnagar are described as a very hardy race and Jādhav Rāi, apparently Shivāji's maternal grandfather, is called Bārgi. These quotations show that the Musalmān historians applied the term Bārgi both to Telugu and to Marāthā cavalry. This double use of Bārgi suggests that the origin of the word is the Tamil *Vaduga*, that is northern, a term which in the Tamil country is commonly used of the people of Telingana which is also used of Kanarese immigrants to the Nilgiri hills, and which might, with equal correctness, be used of the people of Mahārāshtra.

**Religion.** Marāthās worship all Brāhmanic local and boundary gods and keep the usual Brāhmanic fasts and festivals. Their priests are Deshasth Brāhmans, who conduct their ceremonies and

* Sir James Campbell was mistaken in supposing the origin of the word to be uncertain. The following notice of it in the new edition of *Hobson-Jobson* makes the matter clear:—"A trooper of irregular cavalry who is not the owner of his troop horse and arms (as is the normal practice) but is either put in by another person, perhaps a native officer in the regiment, who supplies horses and arms and receives the man's full pay, allowing him a reduced rate, or has his horse from the State in whose service he is. The P word properly means 'a load taker,' 'a baggage horse.' The transfer of use is not quite clear. ["According to a man's reputation or connections, or the number of his followers, would be the rank (*mansab*) assigned to him. As a rule, his followers brought their own horses and other equipment; but sometimes a man with a little money would buy extra horses, and mount relations or dependents upon them. When this was the case, the man riding his own horse was called, in later parlance, a *Silahdar* (literally, 'equipment-holder') and one riding somebody else's horse was a *bargir* ('burden-taker'). *W. Irvine*, The Army of the Indian Moghuls, J. R. A. S, July 1896, p. 539.]

It was the practice of the Maratha *sardars* to allow their mercenaries to realise arrear pay by looting the country, and the word *bargir* thus passed into popular speech as the designation of a Marāthā trooper. In Bengal it appears under the form *bargi* in the nursery rhyme intended to frighten a restless child—

*Chhele ghumalo, pāḍā juḍalo, borgi elo deshe;*
*Bulbulite dhān kheyechhe, khājnā dibo kishe,*

which may be rendered—

The baby is sleeping, the village is still,
The *borgis* are riding around,
The bulbuls have eaten the grain in the ear—
Oh! how is the rent to be found?"

perform the daily worship of the house gods of the well-to-do. Their chief holidays are the Hindu New Year's Day or *Varshpratipadā* and *Rāmnavmi* in March-April, *Akshaytritiya* or the Undying Third in May, *Nāgpanchami*, *Shrāvni-Paurnimā* and *Gokulāshtami* in July-August, *Ganesh-chaturthi* in August, *Dasara* in September-October, *Divāli* in October-November, *Sankrānt* on the twelfth of January, and *Shimgā* in March. Their popular fasts are the elevenths or *ekādashis* in the bright half of *Ashādh* or July-August and *Kārtik* or October-November, and Shiv's Night or *Shivrātra* in February. The Marāthās, especially the descendants of Shivāji the founder of the Marāthā empire, who was raised to be a Kshatriya on paying £40,000 (₹4,00,000) to Gāgā Bhatt of Benares, claim to belong to the Kshatriya or second of Manu's classes and say that their ceremonies are the same as those of Brāhmans. Brāhmans admit this claim in the case of the ruling family and perform their ceremonies with Vedic texts. The well-to-do among the Kolhāpur Marāthās claim to perform the sixteen Brāhman sacraments or *sanskārs*, but the bulk of the people perform no ceremonies except at birth, thread-girding, marriage, coming of age, and death. A girl goes for her first confinement to her parents and a poor Marāthā midwife waits on the pregnant woman. At the time of her delivery she cuts the navel-cord, bathes the mother and child, and lays them on a cot. When a son is born the joyful news is carried to friends and kinsfolk and packets of sugar are handed among them. The priest, who is asked to repeat *shāntipāth* or soothing verses every evening from the first to the tenth day, repeats verses over a pinch of ashes and rice, and hands the ashes to the midwife to be applied to the forehead of the mother and child. A light is kept burning the whole night for the first ten days. A few days after the birth the *jātkarna* or birth ceremony is performed, when the priest and friends and kinsfolk are asked to the house, musicians are engaged to play their instruments, betel is served to men guests and packets of vermilion and turmeric are handed among the women, and a feast to the guests ends the ceremony. Now only a few keep this practice. As a rule all Marāthās are particular about the fifth or sixth-day worship, as those days are believed to be full of danger to the newborn child. Marāthās share the common belief that convulsive seizures and most other forms of diseases are the work of spirits. They think that only by worshipping Mothers Fifth and Sixth can the child be saved from the attacks of evil spirits which are said to hover about the lying-in-room and lie in wait for the child especially during the fifth and sixth days after birth, probably because from the sloughing of the navel-cord the child is at that time liable to tetanus and convulsions. Elderly matrons in the house take the utmost care to keep a light always burning in the lying-in room day and night especially from the fifth to the tenth day, and during that time never leave the mother alone in the room. On the fifth day a few friends and relations are asked to dine at the house. In the lying-in-room a betelnut and a sword or sickle are set on a low stool and flowers, sandal-paste, burnt frankincense, and food are laid before the low stool in the name of Mother Fifth or *Pānchvi*. The mother bows before the goddess with the child in her arms and prays 'Mother Fifth' to save the baby from the attacks of evil spirits. The guests are treated to a dinner and men guests pass the whole night singing ballads or *lāvnis* and women guests watch by turns in the lying-in room. 'Mother Sixth' or *Satvāi* is worshipped on the sixth day with the same details as 'Mother Fifth' and a few friends are feasted. The mother is held impure for ten days and no one except the midwife touches her. The midwife rubs the mother and the child with oil and bathes them. Then she bathes, takes her food, and waits upon the mother. During the first ten days the midwife eats nothing unless she has bathed from head to foot both morning and evening. The family are held impure for ten days in consequence of a childbirth. During this time they are allowed to touch others, though they cannot worship the house gods. On the eleventh the clothes of the mother are washed, the room is cow-dunged, and the family are purified by drinking water which is given them by the family priest. On the eleventh the men renew their sacred threads and lay sandal, flowers, burnt frankincense, and sweetmeats before the house gods. On the evening of the twelfth a few women are asked to the house, musicians play, and the child is cradled. The women dress the babe in a child's hood or *kunchi* and name it saying, 'cut off ties and chains and join the umbrella and palanquin.' The anniversary of the child's birthday is kept by a feast to friends and kinsfolk, and on that day the ceremony called *chaul karm* or hair-clipping is performed by the well-to-do, and the child's hair is clipped for the first time. Well-to-do Marāthās especially the families of chiefs and *sardārs* or nobles gird their boys with the sacred thread between ten and twelve with nearly the same ritual as at a Brāhman thread-girding.

**Marriage.**

Boys are married between twelve and twenty-five and girls generally before they come of age, though coming of age is no bar to a girl's marriage. A Marāthā marriage is very costly. The bride's father must give a large dowry to the bridegroom, and in return the bridegroom's father must present valuable ornaments to the bride. So the girls whose fathers belong to high families but cannot offer a large dowry with their daughter's hand remain unmarried after they come of age and have sometimes to marry men who are unequal either in age or social position. Even to the well-to-do, to have many daughters is a curse. In proportion to the position of the family, the father has to spend on his daughter's marriage, running into debt from which he seldom frees himself. As a rule the offer of marriage comes from the boy's side. Before the marriage is fixed it must be ascertained that the boy and the girl are not of the same clan or *kul*: they may both bear the same surname, but the crest or *devak* on the male side must be different. Sameness of crest on the female side is no bar to marriage. After talking the matter over and fixing on the most suitable girl, the boy's father sends a Rāul or Bhāt to see the girl. He goes to her house and is treated to a dinner. After a dinner and some betel the Rāul or Bhāt tells the girl's father why he has come and asks if they are willing to marry their girl. The girl's father answers either that they are willing or that they are not willing, and the Bhāt or Rāul returns home with a present. If the girl's father says he is willing, some poor women relations of the boy or a female servant are

asked to see the girl. If their report of the girl is satisfactory, the boy's father on a lucky day sends a relation or friend, together with his priest and the Bhāt to the girl's to propose the match. They go to the girl's house and are welcomed by the girl's father. They are given water to wash their hands and feet, betel and tobacco are served to them, and they are treated to a dinner. The head of the house kills a goat or at least a fowl, asks a friend or two to dine with the guests, and gives uncooked provisions to the priest who either cooks for himself or has his dinner cooked and served by a Brāhman. After dinner all sit in the hall, betel is served, and the Bhāt formally declare their object in coming. If the girl's father agrees to the match, he calls in his priest and hands him the girl's horoscope. Both priests compare the horoscopes of the boy and the girl, calculate the positions of the stars at the time of their birth and say whether the match will be lucky. If the astrologers or priests say the match will be unlucky, no further steps are taken. When the boy's and the girl's parents are anxious for the match, they do not depend on the words of the astrologer and even do not consult him, but at once settle the marriage terms, the chief of which are the sum to be paid to the boy by the girl's father at the time of the girl giving or *Kanyādān*, the clothes and ornaments to be presented to the girl by the boy's father, and the clothes to be presented to the relations of each by the other. Sometimes if the girl is unusually handsome and intelligent the boy's parents bear the whole marriage expenses even of the girl and do not receive a farthing from the girl's parents if they cannot conveniently pay. At other times if the girl's parents are well-to-do and wish to give their daughter to a poor but high family boy they pay the boy's marriage charges and present the girl with ornaments and the boy with a large dowry. A short time before the terms are settled the girl's father sends some relations to see the boy at whose house a feast is held for the guests and they return with presents of turbans and waistcloths or at the least with a waistcloth or cash. At the house of some Marāthas, the presence of a Nhāvi is required at the time of settling the marriage. When the terms are settled the fathers exchange cocoanuts, and the barber's duty is to hand the cocoanut to each as the sign of the marriage settlements; for this he is called *mhāla* or the marriage settler and both parties present him with cash or a turban. The boy's and girl's fathers ask the village astrologer or *grāmjoshi* to name three lucky moments on three different days, for the turmeric-rubbing, marriage, and *varāt* or home-taking. As a rule the bridegroom must visit the girl's house for the marriage; but if the girl's parents are poorer than the boy's parents or the boy's parents refuse to visit the girl's but agree to pay her marriage charges, the girl's parents take the girl to the boy's village and lodge at a separate house which has been prepared for them. To take the girl to the boy's house is thought incorrect among Marāthās and forms a special item in the marriage agreement. A little before the turmeric-rubbing the boy's relations and the priest go with music to the bride's and are received at her house. Music plays and the priest puts a robe and bodice and ornaments and a packet of sugar into her hands. A wheat or rice square is traced round two low stools set in a line close to each other and on another stool before them are placed five waterpots or *kalashās* with cotton thread passed round their necks. The priest repeats verses, lays a betelnut and leaves in each pot, and covers their mouths with half cocoanuts. He then sets a betelnut on a couple of leaves laid on the low stools and offers sandal, flowers, burnt incense, and sweetmeats to the betelnut Ganpati and the waterpot *Varun* and waves lights round them. The bride and her mother are rubbed with wet turmeric powder mixed with fragrant oil by the boy's women servants. The girl then comes before the waterpot *Varun* and the betelnut Ganpati. The priest repeats verses and the girl is told to walk five times round the betelnut Ganpati and the waterpot *Varun* and sits on one of the two stools in the wheat square; her mother sits on the other stool and while music plays they are again rubbed with sweet-scented oil and turmeric and bathed by five women neighbours and relations. The bride is helped to put on a new yellow robe and bodice and her future mother-in-law presents her with ornaments. What remains of the turmeric a party of his friends take with music to the bridegroom's. The boy is rubbed with turmeric and bathed with the same rites as at the girl's house and the turmeric-rubbing ends with a feast at the boy's and girl's.

Next comes the marriage guardian or *devak* worship. A day or two before the marriage a man at the house of the boy and of the girl bathes, and with music and a band of friends goes to the tree, which is the family guardian, offers sandal, flowers, burnt frankincense, and sweetmeats to it, cuts a branch, lays it in a winnowing fan and brings it home with music. He takes it to his god-room and worships it alone with his family gods which are represented by betelnuts in a winnowing fan. Meanwhile five unwidowed girls wash a grindstone or *pāte* and lay sandal, flowers and sweetmeats before it and a family washerman worships the stone slab or *pātā* and a feast to married women and a few friends and relations completes the guardian or *devak* worship. Invitation cards are sent to distant friends and the householder asks a few of his near relations in person who come to the house on the marriage guardian or *devak* worship day. After dinner the invitation processions start as among Brahmans, from the boy's and girl's, and ask local friends and kinsfolk to the marriage. After the dinner the boy is well dressed and seated on a low stool laid in a square marked by the washerwoman with wheat or rice, and married women with a dish of turmeric, vermilion, and rice grains, rub him with turmeric, mark his brow with vermilion, and stick the rice grains on the vermilion. His head is hung with flower garlands or *mundāvalis* and he is taken to his family goddess or *kuldevi*, lays a cocoanut and bows before her, and asks her to be kindly, and starts on horse-back for the girl's with friends, relations, priests, and musicians. When they reach the girl's village they stop and visit the village Māruti. The boy dismounts, bows before the god, and asks him to be kindly. Here they are met by the bride's party with music and friends and the *simānt pujan* or boundary worship is performed. If the girl is taken to the boy's village, the ceremony is performed at the house of a friend or neighbour. All are seated and the bride's father marks

the boy's brow with sandal and sticks grains of rice on it, burns frankincense before him, gives him sweetmeats to eat, and presents him with a turban and a gold scarf or *shela*. The guests are then escorted to a lodging or *jānvasghar* prepared in the bride's neighbourhood. The Marāthā *vāgnischaya* or troth-plighting is the same as among Brāhmans. The boy's father meets the girl's father at his house with his priest and is seated; the girl's father sits near him and his priest attends him. The priests then worship the betelnut Ganpati and the metal-pot *Varun* and repeat verses. The girl's father offers his daughter in marriage to the boy and in presence of his and the girl's relations the boy's father accepts the offer saying, 'I take her.' The fathers exchange cocoanuts and a distribution of sugar ends the ceremony.

Shortly before the bridegroom starts for the bride's, the bride's parents send a feast or *rukhvat* with a few friends and music to the boy's house. The boy is seated on a low stool set in a wheat square, and the sweet dishes brought from the bride's by the village Nhāvi are arranged in rows about the stool. The dishes are usually of two kinds, for show and for use. The show dishes include sweet wheat and gram flour balls and sugar-coated betelnut and almond balls, as large as or larger than unhusked cocoanuts; the dishes for use are of ordinary size and are prepared with great care. The bridegroom is presented with a turban, his brow is marked with vermilion to which grain is stuck, lights are waved about him by married women, and he is told to help himself to the dishes. When the boy's feast or *rukhvat* is over, the girl's party with friends and music go to the boy's and tell them that the marriage hour is near. The bridegroom is dressed in rich clothes, his brow is decked with the marriage coronet or *bāshing*, a dagger is set in his hands, and he is seated on a horse which is led by the village barber or Nhāvi. Musicians walk in front, behind them walk all the men of the bride's and bridegroom's parties, and then the bridegroom. Behind the bridegroom walks his sister, usually a young girl closely veiled with a gold scarf or *shelā* with the *shakundivā* or lucky lamp laid in a dish, and another veiled woman follows her with a metal or earthen pot called *shenskarā* holding rice, betelnut, and water, and covered with a mango branch and a cocoanut and set on a heap of rice in a bamboo basket. If the pair are poor, the women of their house walk veiled behind the bridegroom: if the families are rich, the women ride in closed palanquins or walk between cloths which are held round them by women servants. On reaching the bride's the bridegroom dismounts, the priest throws cumin seed or *jiri* (*Cuminum cyminum*) on the booth, the bride's mother meets him at the booth door with a dish holding two wheat flour lamps, waves small rice balls and wheat flour lamps round the bridegroom, throws the rice balls to one side and lays the wheat flour lamps at the bridgroom's feet; another married woman of the bride's house pours a dish full of water mixed with lime and turmeric on his feet. The bridegroom presents the woman with a robe and bodice, the bride's father hands the bridegroom a cocoanut and leads him by the hand to a place prepared for him near the altar. The men guests are seated on carpets in the marriage hall. The women alight from their palanquins hid by curtains held round them by their women servants, and are welcomed to their seats in a hall separated from the men's hall by a cloth wall near the raised altar or *bahulè*. Dancing girls amuse the guests in the marriage hall and the servants load their muskets and hold themselves ready to announce the lucky moment by firing their guns. Shortly before the lucky moment the girl is seated in front of the family goddess or *kuldevi* and throws rice at the *kuldevi* and prays her to grant her a good husband. The astrologer is busy watching his water-clock, and has a horn-blower or *shingi* ready to blow his horn as soon as he gives the signal by clapping his hands. As the lucky moment draws near, the girl is brought out of the house and made to stand before the bridegroom face to face separated by a curtain marked by a lucky (fylfot) cross. The priests stand on either side of the curtain and tell the pair to fold their hands, to look at the lucky cross, and pray to their family gods. The priests repeat lucky verses and throw red rice at the pair, crying *Sāvdhān* or 'Beware,' and the musicians play. One of the priests hands red rice to the guests and another holds an empty dish before them and gathers the red rice to be thrown over the pair at the lucky moment. The astrologer tells the moment by clapping his hands, the horn-blower or *shingi* blows his horn, the guns are fired, and the musicians redouble their noise. The priests draw aside the curtain, touch the bridegroom's eyes with water, pour red rice over the pair, and they are husband and wife. The bridegroom is taken to a seat near the earthen altar and the bride goes into the house. The bride's father and mother sit on two low stools in front of the bridegroom face to face, the father washes the feet of the boy, and the mother pours water on them. The father marks the brow of the bridegroom with sandal, sticks grains of rice on the sandal, hands him a flower to smell, burns frankincense before him, and pours honey and curds over his hands to sip and the ceremony of honey sipping or *madhupark* is over. The girl's maternal uncle, or some other near relation, gives the girl's right hand to the boy who clasps it fast in both his hands. The priest lays both his hands over the boy's and mutters verses. The girl's father sets sandal, flowers, burnt frankincense, and sweetmeats before the betelnut Ganpati and the waterpot *Varun*, and pours water with some coins in it over the clasped hands of the boy and girl and the *kanyādān* or girl-giving is over. The guests in the hall are treated to betel and fragrant cotton sticks called *phāvās*, and take leave soon after the girl-giving is over. The priest then asks the bridegroom to tie the lucky neck-thread or *mangalsutra* round the bride's neck and ties together the hems of the pair's clothes. They are seated on low stools set on the earthen altar, the bride as a rule sitting to the bridegroom's left. The sacrificial fire is lit and fed with clarified butter, sesame seed (*Sesamum indicum*), cotton sticks, and *palas* (*Butea frondosa*) or other sacred wood with nearly the same rites as at a Brāhman marriage. The bride's brother squeezes the bridegroom's ear and is presented with a turban by the bridegroom's party. The pair then leave their seats, walk seven times from right to left round the sacred fire, and the ceremony of seven steps or *sapt padi* is over. Turmeric root wristlets are tied to the hands of ea

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of the pair. They bow before the family gods and the first day's proceedings are over. From this day to the home-taking or *varat* the bridegroom stays at the bride's and is feasted. The boy sleeps with the men outside and the girl with the women in the house.

On the next day a sumptuous feast is held in honour of the bridegroom's party. In the morning the pair play at the betelnut hunt and rub each other with turmeric. The boy is seated on the altar and the girl stands behind with turmeric powder in her hand and tries to force some of it into his mouth. The boy keeps his mouth closed tight and tries to prevent her, and if she succeeds in forcing some into his mouth, he is laughed at and asked if he is hungry. Then the boy stands behind the girl and tries with his left hand to force turmeric into her mouth. Next the boy holds a betelnut in his [illegible]d asks the girl to take it from him. They struggle and the girl manages to snatch it away. Then the girl holds a betelnut in her closed fist and asks the boy to take it. If the boy fails, he has to beg it of her, and is laughed at. Lastly the pair bathe, dress in new clothes, and break their fast. Meanwhile the girl's party go with music and friends and ask the bridegroom's party to dine at the bride's. At noon they are escorted with music and friends and are treated to a sweet dinner or *gode jevan*. In the evening the boy's mother performs the ceremony of seeing the daughter-in-law's face or *sunmukh darshan*. The bride's mother with music and women friends takes the bridegroom's mother to her house. Accompanied by kinswomen and friends and the family priest and music the bridegroom's mother goes to the girl's bringing bamboo baskets, sesame seed, gram balls, betelnuts, cocoa kernels, dates, a robe and bodice, and ornaments, sweetmeats, and fruit. On the way she feigns anger and tries to return home, when the girl's mother presents her with a robe and bodice, the washerwoman spreads sheets of cloth on the way, and the bridegroom's mother and her friends go walking over them to the bride's house with music. At the girl's the priest worships the betelnut Ganpati and the waterpot *Varun* and the boy's mother dresses the girl in the clothes she has brought and sweetens her mouth with sugar. Then comes the basket or *jhāl* ceremony. A piece of cloth is spread in a bamboo tray and nine dates, nine cocoa kernels, and nine lumps of turmeric and a handful of rice and cooked food are laid in it. The priest offers sandal, flowers, rice, and sweetmeats to the tray, and the boy and the girl, with the hems of their garments knitted together, walk five times round it from right to left. It is placed on the heads of the nearest relations of the boy and the girl and they are asked to take care of her. The pair accompanied by friends, relations and music start for the boy's. The girl is fully dressed and closely veiled and seated in a palanquin with the boy face to face followed by attendants, who have fly-whisks or *chauris*, round the pair and hold state umbrellas or *abdāgirs* over them. Among poor Marāthās the bride and bridegroom are seated on horseback and the horse is taken by the village Nhāvi to the bridegroom's house preceded by musicians and kinsfolk and followed by the bride's sister on horseback or in a closed palanquin. On reaching [illegible] the pair bow before the family gods and elders, lay sandal and flowers before the [illegible]mi, present clothes to the bride's party, and the ceremony ends by a feast at [illegible]. Marāthās treat their wedding guests to two sorts of dinners or *mejavānis*, [illegible] *khāti* or sour. The *godi* feast is given before the marriage guardian is bowed [illegible] which is usually a flesh feast, is given after the marriage guardian is bowed out [illegible] feast Marāthās sit in full dress each with a sword by his side. Marāthās out. At [illegible]-marriage, know nothing of polyandry, and practise polygamy. do not allow [illegible] the bride is of age, the marriage consummation does not form part of the

Even though [illegible]. The consummation ceremony is put off till the bride's first monthly marriage ceremony [illegible] marriage. In performing the age coming ceremony, the girl is seated in a sickness after the [illegible] frame or *makhar* with arches on each side in a specially prepared hall. gaily decked wooden [illegible]ed with tinsel and coloured paper are set at each corner of the frame. The Plantain trees deck[illegible]h yellow robe and bodice and her brow is marked with vermilion on girl is dressed in a ri[illegible] stuck. Her head is hung with a network of flowers and garlands are which rice grains are [illegible]d lines of vermilion drawn on the feet. The news is handed round tied round her neck an[illegible]nsfolk and sugar packets and cocoanuts are distributed at every house in among friends and ki[illegible]omen fri[illegible] the neighbourhood. W[illegible]iends and relations present the girl with sweet dishes and musicians are engaged t[illegible] play at the house while the ceremony lasts. The girl is unclean for three days. On the fou[illegible]rth she is rubbed with oil and turmeric and bathed, and a lucky day, between the fourth and t[illegible]he sixteenth, is named for the puberty ceremony. On the morning of the lucky day the pair [illegible]re rubbed with turmeric and fragrant oil and bathed while music plays. Friends and kinsfolk are [illegible]asked to grace the ceremony with their presence and the pair seated on low stools, the girl to the [illegible]right of the boy. The priest attends and lights the sacred fire as at the Brāhman puberty ceremo[illegible]ny. The pair bow before the gods and elders. A grand feast is given to women friends and neighbours at noon and in the evening the ceremony called *otibharan* or lap-filling is performed. The pair are seated on two low stools set in a wheat or rice square, the girl to the left of the boy, and the brows of both the boy and the girl are marked with vermilion. Rice grains are stuck on the vermilion and married women fill a fold of the girl's *sāri* with a bodice-cloth, wheat, cocoanut, fruit, packets of vermilion, and betelnuts. Their fathers-in-law present the boy and girl with clothes and ornaments, and the girl's father presents the pair with bedding, lamps, metal waterpots, and betel cases. The rest of the ceremony is the same as the Brāhman puberty ceremony. During the girl's first pregnancy in the third, fifth, and seventh months while music plays five unwidowed women put into a fold of her *sāri* with wheat, a bodice-cloth, a cocoanut, and fruit. She is asked to dine out by women friends and relations during the seventh and the eight months and is presented with robes and bodices. She is taken with women friends and relations to some garden where a longing feast or [illegible]*hālejevan* is given her.

When [illegible] dies the body is bathed and dressed in a white sheet, laid on a bier, and tied fast to [illegible]rings. Betel leaves, flowers, and red powder are thrown on it and someti[illegible]old or silver flowers are strewn over the bier. The well-to-do Marāthā dea[illegible]in to the burning ground, which is generally on the bank of some stre[illegible] kinsmen and preceded by Holār or Mhār pipe-blowers. The body is [illegible], the dead is laid on the pile, and burnt with nearly the same rite[illegible]hen the body is nearly consumed, the party bathe *in the river a*[illegible]hird or fourth day the ashes are gathered, and, *except a few*[illegible] near the burning ground, they are taken to some *holy place*[illegible] water. The rest of the funeral ceremony is *performed o*[illegible]at the latest. On the tenth, rice or wheat flour *balls are off*[illegible]h the eleventh the family, which since the death has been *impure, are*[illegible]products of the cow and present Brāhmans with clothes, *pots, umbre*[illegible]cash in the name of the dead. On the twelfth, balls or *pinds* are [illegible]and his ancestors, and on the thirteenth, the *shrāddh* is performed in t[illegible]dead, and friends and kinsfolk are treated to a dinner. On the fourteenth, the mout[illegible]tening or *gōd tond karne* is performed, when relations meet and treat the chief mourner to a sweet dinner. At the end of every fortnight, month, and year from the death-day, uncooked provisions are given to Brāhmans in the deceased's name and the anniversary of his death is kept by a *shrāddh*, when friends and relations are asked to dine at the house. The dead is remembered every year in the dark half of *Bhādrapad* or August-September on a day corresponding to the death-day in the *Mahālaya Paksh* or All Souls' Fortnight. The chief mourners, out of respect to the dead, for one full year avoid gay colours and sweet dishes and do not attend marriage or other festive parties. Marāthās gird their boys with the sacred thread which they renew every year on Cocoanut Day in August. On that day all bathe and sit on low stools and Brāhman priests attend. One of the priests tells them to sip water three times in the name of Vishnu and pours the five products of the cow on the right palm of each which they sip and again drink water in Vishnu's name. They are then given sacred threads by the priest and put on them. The priest get a cash present and withdraw with uncooked provisions. Some Marāthās of high family perform the sacred thread-renewing or *shrāvni* according to the Brāhman ritual. On the anniversary of the dead, Marāthās lay sandal, flowers, rice, and food on three or thirteen *palas* (*Butea frondosa*) leaves and present them to the officiating and other priests, who are generally as many as the number of leaves, with uncooked provisions and cash. Marāthā married couples are asked to the house, their feet are washed with water by the deceased's son, and they are feasted. After dinner, betel is served to the guests and they withdraw with presents of turbans and robes. Marāthās have a caste council and settle social disputes at meetings of castemen. Breaches of caste-rules are punished with fines which generally take the form of caste feasts. They send their boys to school, and except a few are not well-to-do.

**Death ceremonies.**

Marāthā families have *devaks* or sacred symbols, which appear to have been originally totems, and affect marriage to the extent that a man cannot marry a woman whose *devak* reckoned on the male side is the same as his own. [illegible]totems, worshipped during marriage and other important ceremonies. The following [illegible] *devaks*.

**Survival of totems.**

The *pānch pallav* or five leaves of—

(1) **Vad.**—Ficus indica.
(2) **Pimpal.**—Ficus religiosa.
(3) **Harīāli.**—Cynodon dactylon.
(4) **Āptā.**—Bauhinia racemosa.
(5) **Jāmbul.**—Syzygium jambolanum.

**Kadamb.**—Nauclea cadamba. (*Syn.* Anthocephalus cadamba.)
**Umbar.**—Ficus glomerata.
Lotus.—Nelumbium speciosum.
Conch shell.
Turmeric tubers.
Gold.
**Ketaki.**—Pandamus odoritissimus.
**Nāgchampā.**—Mesua ferrea.
**Rui.**—Calatropis gigantea.
Peacock's feather.
Lamps, *Chirāks*, 360 in number.
Sword.
Mango-leaf, Mangifera indica.
Ficus religiosa (Singly).
**Bhārdwāj**—feather of a crow pheasant.
Bamboo.
Wreath of Onions.
**Rudrāksh.**—Elæocarpus ganitrus.
**Surya-Kānt.**—Crystal (Pebble).
Ficus indica (Singly).
**Shami.**—Prosopis spicigera.
Eagle's feathers.
**Garud vel ?**
**Nirgud.**—*Vitex negundo* or *trifoliata*.
**Marvel.**—Andropogon scandens.
**Aghādā.**—Achyranthes aspera.

Most of these are vegetable products, four animal products, while gold, iron, and brilliant crystal *surya-kānt*, are the three minerals venerated.

## INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE MARATHAS

### SOMVANS—KULAS OR ANCIENT CLANS.

**CHAVĀN**
Lād.
Tāvde.
Mohite.
Thākur.
Pārte.
Gavhāne.
Hande.
Pānsare.
Bāg-rāv.
Teje.
Sāmbāre.
Bhāpkar.
Khāndekar.
Dhure.
Ranadive.
Kālbhār.
Mākde.
Tāmbe.
Dhadam.
Vārange.
Dalpade.
Hāvale.
Dhokale.
Devge.
Pārdhe.
Dhahive.
Hambir rāv.
Vadkar.
Dare.
Dhavāle.
Bhālsing.
Dusing.
Bhovar.
Lāngde.
Sināb.
Kāpde.
Pokharkar.
Kasaple.
Pendhāre.
Kedār.
Bache.
Lotankar.
Khāmbkar.
Isāpute.
[illegible]ambolkar.
[illegible]Khulale.
[illegible]tale.
[illegible]Bhandāre.

**LĀD** . . Lād.

**TĀVDE** . .
Sāngal.
Dhāvde.
Chinchphule.
Nāmjāde. (Well-known.)
Jāmbule. (Purple, or *jāmbhul* fruit.)

**MOHITE** . .
Dhāmbar.
Bānde. (Striped.)
Thote. (One-handed.)
Tavte.
Kāmre.
Kāte.
Kātvate.
Achate.
Bhāre.
Dhudhule.
Kulugnde.

**MORE** . .
Madhure. (Sweet.)
Devkānte. (Glorious like gods.)
Harphale.
Pālande.
Dhāyabar.
Darbāre. (From Darbār.)
Marāthe.
Duduskar.

### SOMVANS—KULAS OR ANCIENT CLANS—*contd.*

**MORE**
[illegible]ale.
[illegible]ig keepers.)
[illegible]. (Clod of earth.)
[illegible]se.
[illegible]yāl.
Hurde.
Brahmachālak.
Dhirde.

**PAVĀR** .
Bāgwe. (Gardeners.)
Jagdale.
Dhuvale.
Pālve.
Ichāre.
Vāgh. (Tigers.)
Renuse.
Jagdhane.
Rasāl. (Juicy.)
Dhone.
Gujar.
Vishvāsrāv. (Faithful.)
Kodag.
Lāndge. (Wolves.)
Bāgmode. (Destroyers of gardens).
Vāghchaure.
Oghe.
Sākle. (With chains.)
Kodhe.
Kālge.
Haran. (Antelopes.)
Karālkar.
Aushadharāv. (Medicine men.)
Dhārrāv. (Scabbard men.)
Vāgje.
Ubāde.
Mālpavār.
Bane.
Dukhande. (Bisected or bisector.)
Rokde. (Ready money.)
Patyāne.
Jagpāl. (Protectors of the universe.)
Bhujbal. (Strong-armed.)
Chāndne. (Moonlight.)
Ghugre.
Pāndbhavar.
Āglāve. (Incendiaries)
Marmade.
Ābote. (Fingerless.)
Kharnār.
Dalpe. (Military.)
Bhusor.
Mālvade.
Jāpedkar.
Kanase. (Corn-ear.)

**BĀGVE** . .
Divate. (Torches.)
Mokāshi. (Revenue officials.)
Barve. (The good.)
Bāndge.
Jhapāte.
Karve.

**GĀNGNĀIK** . Gāngnāik.

SOMVANS—*contd.*

**RATHOD or ROTHE.**
- Shankhpāl.
- Khandāgle.
  - Magāmle.
  - Avangpāl.
  - Anangpāl.
  - Rāyajāde. (Born of Rāis or lords.)
- Jagannivās.
- Gadagarv.
- Gandgopāl.
- Bhāle. (Spear men.)
- Bhayāsur. (Dreadful.)
- Bhore.
- Bādale. (Clouded.)
- Lahule.
- Ābhore.
- Panchānan. (Lion.)
- Sinmore.
- Todmale.
- Dutonde. (Double-mouthed.)
- Chand.
- Durdhare.

**SAKPĀL or SHANKHPĀL.**
- Kokāte.
- Āmbre. (Mango.)
- Sāte.
- Pōl.
- Chatur. (Clever.)
- Nalvat.
- Tātpute. (Adopted by allowing food in one dish.)
- Rāj-hans. (Swans.)
- Pānpate.
- Jhunjār. (Fighters.)
- Kālbe.
- Dātār.
- Gode. (Sweet.)
- Sarkhade.
- Argade.
- Gorule.
- Urāde. (Big-chested.)

***DHĀMPĀL OR AHIR.***
- Jādhav.
- Yādav.
- Shirke.
- Phālke.
- Dhekle.
- Mādhav.
- Abhang. (Invincible.)
- Adhak.
- Bhojake.
- Rumāle.
- Abrud.
- Āvare.
- Kirdant.
- Dānge.
- Khilāte. (Receivers of *khilāt*, royal present.)
- Dumge.
- Viradatt. (Born of brave men.)
- Kautuke. (Wonderful.)
- Kolāre.
- Kasāle.
- Tāde. (Palmyra.)
- Tānvade.
- Gāvad or Gāvde. (Villagers.)
- Kalyānkar.
- Dhomre.
- Kāthavde.
- Sursen.
- Bhānvase.
- Honmāne.
- Dunge.

**JĀDAV**
- Vaghle.
- Jālindhare.
- Bhovāre.
- Khadtare.
- Pāthāre. (Hill men.)

SOMVANS—*contd.*

**JĀDAV—*contd.***
- Jagpāl.
- Pātel.
- Gharat.
- Sātham.
- Kātvate.
- Aprādhe. (Offenders.)
- Bhogsāte.
- Shevte.
- Botāve.
- Pudhāle.
- Borāte.
- Virbhāve. (Brave-looking.)
- Sāngde.
- Mot.
- Premde.
- Chise.
- Khadāng.
- Moher.
- Kātale.
- Visare. (Forgetful.)
- Kapat. (Deceit.)
- Āvare.
- Bhālerāv. (Spear men.)
- Dhavālkar.
- Kāmte.
- Thatte.
- Abbor.
- Tupe. (*Ghi*-eaters.)
- Singne.
- Tanpure.

**VĀGHLE**
- Vāghela.
- Gohele.

**YĀDAV**
- Ghāg.
- Jogle.
- Jāre.
- Dalu. (Grinders.)
- Jasvant. (Victorious.)
- Dhumak.
- Ghogle.
- Amrute.
- Aghok.
- Sirgore.
- Suhsen.
- Chetadin.
- Yāgit.
- Ghone. (Centipedes.)
- Kukur.
- Kadlag.

**SHIRKE**
- Phākde.
- Bāgvān. (Gardeners.)
- Dhole.
- Mokal.
- Kapāle.
- Kombe.

**JAGTĀP**
- Pingle.
- Dhamdhere.
- Āvte.
- Kāshinde.
- Doble. (Thin.)
- Nimse. (Half.)
- Dhāle. (Shield men.)
- Surkar.
- Dhomse.
- Vayāle.
- Cheke.
- Korde. (Dry.)
- Korkar.
- Gādekar.
- Sābhre.
- Abhire.
- Sānge. (Messengers.)
- Kavre.
- Chaudhāre.
- Bāble.
- Jhāngde.
- Kumre.
- Itāpe.
- Sherde.



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SOMVANS—*contd.*

- JAGTĀP—*contd.*
  - Supekar.
  - Yevle.
  - Markal.
  - Ranasing.
  - Vaid. (Physicians.)
  - Visāle.
  - Nāgad.
  - Chaprākhe.
  - Valanju.
  - Khāmle.
  - Vāluch.
  - Devbāble.
  - Gholap.
  - Disarate.
  - Dhisāl.
  - Pāde (Pādāve).
- CHĀLKE OR CHĀLUKYA.
  - Nilvarna. (Blue.)
- KALCHURI, OR (KACHRE).
  - Gobre.
  - Kharsāl.
  - Padvār.
  - Nāgve. (Naked, nude.)
  - Bāskar.

SURYA-VANS.

- DHUMĀL
  - Dhumāl.
  - Āngne.
  - Kāle. (Black.)
  - Phadtare.
  - Birath.
  - Ghorde.
  - Kājal. (Lampblack.)
  - Vādke.
  - Varāde.
  - Akhand. (Entire.)
  - Āvāde.
  - Gāgule.
  - Sodge. (Lāthis, club-men.)
  - Bhise. (Lotus stalk.)
  - Borāte.
  - Bhirsalgade.
  - Bothar.
  - Khadpe.
- KADAM
  - Kāvle. (Crows.)
  - Bāme.
  - Bārse.
  - Bhāse.
  - Nābre.
  - Munge. (Ants.)
  - Gāte.
  - Takte.
  - Bobāte.
  - Rāyagale.
  - Mahipāl. (Rulers.)
  - Gātāde.
  - Devre.
  - Tākdevde.
  - Dhadshirke.
  - Bālekar.
  - Jāyajune.
  - Mokle.
  - Dhudhād.
  - Hire. (Diamond.)
- DHUMĀL
  - Dhulap.
  - Kāsle.
  - Dhule.
  - Dhure. (Smoking.)
  - Nāgne.
  - Āvāre.
  - Mālchimne.
  - Jālgunj.
  - Vese.
- ANGNE
  - Ughde. (Bare.)
  - Hirve. (Green.)
- NIKAM
  - Tovar.
  - Nisāl.
  - Bābar.
  - Dāndge. (Roughs.)
  - Sāmke.

SURYA-VANS—*contd.*

- NIKAM—*contd.*
  - Kaunstubh.
  - Barge.
  - Kakāle.
  - Kolāle.
  - Ragat. (Blood.)
  - Dharte.
  - Kharāte. (Brooms; inauspicious.)
  - Nikalank. (Blameless.)
  - Guje.
  - Gudhe.
  - Badāre.
  - Narkhāmb. (Pillars of men.)
  - Gund.
  - Bhojne. (Dinners.)
  - Haling.
  - Ranadive. (Lights of the battle field.)
  - Nikam.
  - Avtāde.
  - Hanng.
  - Vanajar.
  - Kuvar. (Sons of royal families.)
  - Gajmāl.
  - Rāndhavne. (Cooks.)
  - Kumbhakarna. (Sleepers.)
  - Mathārmak.
  - Jivanik.
  - Chinge.
  - Chāvdhe. (Keepers of the guard-house.)
  - Kumbhe. (Pot.)
  - Parbatrāv. (Mountains of courage.)
  - Dhāvre. (Runners.)
  - Dakne.
  - Dhāpde.
  - Pimpalkar
  - Dhargade.
  - Tāke.
  - Bārekar.
  - Trimbage.
  - Dongre. (Mountaineers.)
  - Bankar.
  - Khalāte. (Bald.)
  - Dhāmse.
  - Bade.
- DHITAK
  - Maskar.
  - Madikar.
  - Madhukar.
- TOVAR
  - Tāmate. (Coppersmiths.)
  - Bulake.
  - Turye.
- KĀLMUKH
  - Surve.
  - Gāyakavād.
  - Kshirsāgar. (Ocean of milk.)
  - Ghātge.
  - Gavse (Gavas). (Foundlings.)
  - Shitole.
  - Kānkade.
  - Phātak.
  - Zujnārrāv.
  - Ranavāgure.
  - Karmukhe.
  - Jāchak.
  - Suryavansi.
  - Avachāre.
  - Rāchode.
  - Jitkar. (Victorious.)
  - Mhade.
  - Gore. (Fair.)
  - Khule. (Idiots.)
  - Nād.
  - Gurusāle.
  - Bhadolkar.
  - Gādge. (Earthen pot.)
  - Mhasik. (Buffaloes.)
  - Khāndekar,

**SURYA VANS—*contd.***

| | |
|---|---|
| **SURVE** | **Rāut.**<br>**Nāik.** (Chiefs.)<br>**Ghād,**<br>**Latke.** (False.)<br>**Karpe.** (Burnt to coals.)<br>**Doiphode.** (Breakers of heads.)<br>**Rāul.** |
| **GĀYAKAVĀD** | **Bhāgvat.** (Followers of Vishnu.)<br>**Khair.** (*Acacia arabica.*)<br>**Bhāte.** (Bellows, or Rice eaters.)<br>**Madvar.**<br>**Navāte.**<br>**Devre.**<br>**Dige.**<br>**Huve.**<br>**Vālunj.**<br>**Dhavālkar.**<br>**Karle.**<br>**Gāyake** (Singers.)<br>**Kute.**<br>**Pavde.**<br>**Hādge.**<br>**Talvale.**<br>**Gāval.**<br>**Vālke.** (Thin, lean.)<br>**Mulke.**<br>**Rodke.** (Thin, lean.)<br>**Kātle.**<br>**Bolke.** (Talkative.)<br>**Sablē.**<br>**Khandāle.**<br>**Pālkar.**<br>**Dhibar.** (Fishermen.)<br>**Khapāde.**<br>**Ādsare.**<br>**Asure.**<br>**Kājle.** (Soot, lampblack.)<br>**Sātge.**<br>**Hajāre.**<br>**Divte.** (Torch-bearers.)<br>**Dhage.**<br>**Bodke.** (Bare-headed.)<br>**Kānchan.** (*Bauhinia purpuria.*)<br>**Jāchak.** (Troublesome.)<br>**Zhile.** (Babies.)<br>**Tākte.** |
| **KSHIRSĀGAR** | **Gode.** (Sweet.)<br>**Chakke.**<br>**Shārdul.** (Mythological bird.)<br>**Vāvde.** (Paper kite.)<br>**Parvāle.**<br>**Vānkhade.**<br>**Dhāre.**<br>**Hoke.** |
| **GHĀTGE** | **Ghodtale.** (Horsemen.)<br>**Ghodke.** (Horses.)<br>**Gād.**<br>**Kevde.** (*Pandamus odoritissimus.*) |
| **GAVSE OR GAVAS.** | **Āglāve.** (Incendiaries.)<br>**Dāngre.** (Pepo. *Cucurbita Pepo.*) |
| **POKTAT** | **Pratihār.** (Defender.)<br>**Parihār.** (Servants.)<br>**Rasāl.**<br>**Daire.**<br>**Saildhār.**<br>**Isardage.**<br>**Dhole.** (Bumptious.)<br>**Vādgare.** |
| **RĀNE** | **Mulik (Mule).** (Raddish.)<br>**Dudhe.** (*Cucurbita pepo.*)<br>**Sigvan.**<br>**Pātak.** |

**BRAMH-VANS (YADUVANS or HARIVANS).**

| | |
|---|---|
| **SHELĀR** | **Kālekar.**<br>**Shelke.** (Selected.)<br>**Shetge.**<br>**Karhāle.**<br>**Kalnāth.**<br>**Mhātre.**<br>**Visai.** |
| **INGLE** | **Kanauje.**<br>**Thukrul.** |
| **DORIK** | **Bhoite.**<br>**Shisode.**<br>**Mhādik.**<br>**Bhādurge.**<br>**Shirsāthe.**<br>**Kāte.** (Thorns.)<br>**Kharāte.** (Brooms.)<br>**Bhāvde.**<br>**Daukar.** |
| **SĀLUNKHE** | **Dāde.**<br>**Pāndhre.** (White.)<br>**Pātankar.**<br>**Pātole.**<br>**Pātāde.**<br>**Sarpare.**<br>**Vāghmāre.** (Tiger-slayers.)<br>**Shevāle.** (Moss.)<br>**Ātkāri.**<br>**Sākle.**<br>**Bābar.**<br>**Jhād.** (Tree.)<br>**Padval.** (*Tricosanthes sp.*)<br>**Mote.**<br>**Bāvre.** (Terrified.)<br>**Tāmbe.** (Copper.)<br>**Tākse.**<br>**Chandanshiv.**<br>**Magar.** (Crocodile.)<br>**Ranajot.** (Lights of the battle field.)<br>**Ranadhir.** (Bold; courageous.)<br>**Ranbāvre.** (Mad in the battle-field.)<br>**Ranapise.** „ „ „<br>**Dhadlag.**<br>**Ragshile.**<br>**Sakāvant.**<br>**Shirkher.**<br>**Sonvane.**<br>**Gunjāl.**<br>**Ghanyāve.**<br>**Lahāne.**<br>**Kalyānrāv.** (The blessed.)<br>**Arirav (Anerav).**<br>**Adhatrāv.**<br>**Vyavhāre.**<br>**Rākhankar.** (Guards.)<br>**Navlu.**<br>**Nāble.**<br>**Gādgil.**<br>**Bolāve.**<br>**Sarkale.**<br>**Usane.** (Borrowed.)<br>**Rankhāmbe.** (Pillars of the battle-field.)<br>**Sonvān.**<br>**Londe.**<br>**Khādre.**<br>**Ingavle.**<br>**Bhisle.**<br>**Kalaskar.**<br>**Virje.** (Rennet.) |
| **SĀVANT** | **Shelār.**<br>**Bāing.**<br>**Vanjāre.**<br>**Kāmble.** (Blankets.)<br>**Insulkar.**<br>**Gātād.** |

BRAMH-VANS (YADUVANS OR HARIVANS)—*contd.*

| | |
|---|---|
| SĀVANT—*contd.* | Visād.<br>Rāyajāde. (Born of lords.)<br>Kakse.<br>Tejpure.<br>Suhube.<br>Kathor. (Cruel.)<br>Bānbir.<br>Balas.<br>Chine.<br>Mahivar. (Rulers of earth.)<br>Barnār.<br>Adhikāri. (Officers.)<br>Shivle.<br>Mahāchine.<br>Karne. (Blowers of horns.) |
| CHULKI | Sālunke.<br>Ingle.<br>Sāvant.<br>Pisāl.<br>Indulkar.<br>Rananavre. (Bridegrooms of the battle-fields.)<br>Chālē.<br>Mapar.<br>Dubal.<br>Māhāle.<br>Dāgal. (Spotted.)<br>Gujāre.<br>Sākāvant. |
| BHOSLE | Ghorpade (Keepers of iguanas.)<br>Thorāt.<br>Āngre.<br>Mālsure.<br>Lokhande. (Iron.)<br>Kank.<br>Rāv. (Lords.)<br>Nakāse. (Map-makers.)<br>Ubāle.<br>Ranabāgul. (Bats in the battle-fields.)<br>Dhudhād.<br>Gādekar.<br>Kalase.<br>Odhāle. |
| MĀNE | Devmāne. (Honoured by gods.)<br>Rājmāne. (Honoured by kings.)<br>Bhujabalrāv.<br>Pavle. (Corals.)<br>Nānekar. |
| GHORPADE | Mālap.<br>Pārdhe. (Hunters.) |
| SHISODE | Bhosle.<br>Sālav(sālve,sālvi). (Weavers.)<br>Aprādhe. (Offenders.)<br>Bhovar.<br>Joshi. (Astrologers.)<br>Sedval.<br>Sāil.<br>Chaudhāre. |
| BHOGLE | Ātole.<br>Bhoir.<br>Ghāvre. |
| BHOITE | Bhatti. |
| CHĀNDLE | Māne.<br>Dābhāde.<br>Dhamāle. (Bumptious.)<br>Garud. (Eagles.)<br>Dhanik. (Rich.)<br>Kāvdhe. |
| *MHĀDIK* | Bhogle.<br>*Indap.*<br>Gav-li. (Cowherds.) |

BRAMH-VANS (VADUVANS OR HARIVANS)—*contd.*

| | |
|---|---|
| NALAVDE | Nalge.<br>Pārdhe. (Hunters.)<br>Dārve. (Drunkards.)<br>Uleg.<br>Budle.<br>Badsāde.<br>Vadkhale.<br>*Hajāre.* (*The thousand-Commandants of*—)<br>Rāj-gunde.<br>Khumbrāle.<br>Māvle.<br>Rākhde. (Head-ornament.) |
| DĀBHĀDE | Nimbālkar. |
| HARU | Navle.<br>Jamdāde. (The stout.)<br>Kāpse. (Cotton..)<br>Madge. |
| DHAMĀLE | Dhake.<br>Revāle. |
| DHARMRĀJ | Dhoke. (Unreliable.)<br>Kānphāte. (With bored ears.)<br>Sāle.<br>Pānsable.<br>Tāgmoge.<br>*Rāj-hanse.* (*Swans.*)<br>Kapāle.<br>Gole.<br>Gujkar.<br>Gujvade.<br>Chitravade.<br>Kāshhte. (Wooden.)<br>Mahāte.<br>Budhe.<br>Tugāre.<br>Durātme. (Vicious.)<br>Sarkate.<br>Sadebal. |
| ANANG | Ranarākshas. (Giants of the battle-field.)<br>Gajmal.<br>Vayāle.<br>Dhāyāl.<br>Karāde.<br>Chikne. (Tenacious.)<br>Nalvade.<br>Sābde. |
| SĀBDE | Sable.<br>Sābde.<br>Chāvde. (Keepers of guard houses.)<br>Chāpokat. |

SHESH VANS.

| | |
|---|---|
| SINDE or Shinde (the Sindhia). | Dalvi. (Commandants.)<br>Lād.<br>Jagtāp.<br>Nāg-tilake.<br>Kadu. (Bitter.)<br>Upāse.<br>Nāgve. (Nude.)<br>Nāgvade.<br>Kharāle.<br>Hone.<br>Khurādhe.<br>Vanave.<br>Jāvle.<br>Lavte.<br>Talekar.<br>Nāg-dive.<br>Bhuje.<br>Phanivar.<br>Sāvle.<br>Kānade. (Canarese.)<br>Dhone.<br>Devrāv.<br>Nilke.<br>Haryāl.<br>Kavde. (Shells.)<br>Virāle. |

SHESH VANS—*contd.*

- **CHAVĀN**
  - LĀNGDE—
    - Lādge,
    - Kurmure,
    - Vāsindkar,
    - Sināhān,
    - Kirāb,
    - Karkare,
    - Phālke.
  - KEDĀRĀNE—
    - Sunsune,
    - Latke,
    - Kharkhare,
    - Lād.
- **LĀD**
  - LĀD—
    - Marmade,
    - Sasāne,
    - Kāgde,
    - Katmate,
    - Murmur.
  - LANGOTE—
    - Dhamdhare,
    - Gānde.
- **TĀVDE**
  - CHHIRPHULE—
    - Marāthe,
    - Sāthe,
    - Gote,
    - Lote,
    - Kusmuse.
  - DHĀVDE—
    - Mandisar,
    - Sosāte,
    - Kitkite,
    - Bhandāre,
    - Dahive,
    - Hāvle,
    - Vāghe,
    - Kadu,
    - Lānde.
  - JĀMLE—
    - Yevle,
    - Markal,
    - Umbar,
    - Ghayvad,
    - Gorakh,
    - Kombe,
    - Borāte,
    - Jire-Jile,
    - Dhumāte,
    - Garat.
  - TAVTE—
    - Gāng,
    - Khandāle,
    - Āge,
    - Sarāte,
    - Vāghale,
    - Senāpati,
    - Dhekne,
    - Mālvar,
    - Gand.
  - ĀRCHTE—
    - Nivadange,
    - Vāluuche,
    - Bahāle,
    - Phākde,
    - Kapot,
    - Bhālerav,
    - Dundune,
    - Abhore.
  - KĀTE—
    - Sone,
    - Pitale,
    - Kedār,
    - Bobhāte,
    - Baidinge,
    - Thenge.
- **MOHITE**
- **MORE**
  - MEDE—
    - Vaishya,
    - Jagpāl,
    - Nimit,

SHESH VANS—*contd.*

- **MORE**—*contd.*
  - MEDE—*contd.*
    - Amyā,
    - Amdābādkar,
    - Sovale.
  - KALPĀTE—
    - Rājmunde,
    - Sāne,
    - Mokre,
    - Āvale, Bhuir, Kirāne,
    - Dorik,
    - Kaypate,
    - Mhase,
    - Mhaske, Dhavāle,
    - Rāje,
    - Devrukh
    - Jhinge.
  - DAREKAR—
    - Mān Sāvant,
    - Shivle,
    - Chane,
    - Shelke,
    - Dongre,
    - Khandāle,
    - Islāmpurkar,
    - Shāha,
    - Disrate,
    - Nāgve,
    - Lāl,
    - Kumbhakarna,
    - Dunge.
  - NIMLE—
    - Lend-pavār, Sapāte,
    - Anagpāl,
    - Jitekar,
    - Avichāre Karnakre,
    - Dhārrāv,
    - Gande,
    - Vāghul,
    - Shelke,
    - Kāle,
    - Pitale,
    - Kutemāu.
- **BĀGLE**
  - BĀDGE—
    - Amberāv,
    - Sākhle,
    - Garud,
    - Ingal,
    - Kavde,
    - Kāle,
    - Gāvndhal.
  - JHAPĀTE—
    - Makhamale,
    - Kanoje,
    - Dhongirāv,
    - Titvate,
    - Kāsmirkar,
    - Gohile.
- **GĀNGNĀIK**
  - MAHĀKULE—
    - Pudhāre,
    - Husengir,
    - Dhumak,
    - Bāvre,
    - Thak,
    - Bhādulge,
    - Ghode,
    - Dige,
    - Harne,
    - Thirde,
    - Deshmukh,
    - Mokāshi.
- **NIKAM**
  - BĀBAR—
    - Chimne,
    - Jāle,
    - Kālokhe,
    - Vāgh,
    - Sārak,
    - Bibe.

SHESH VANS—*contd.*

- DHĀMPĀL
  - ABHANG—
    - Chāvat,
    - Madke,
    - Dhekne,
    - Kurāle,
    - Kharāte,
    - Sansane,
    - Maripule,
    - Mohare,
    - Ambire,
    - Pinde.
- ANGNE
  - UGHADE—
    - Bujbuje,
    - Ranadhir,-
    - Ranajit,
    - Shinge,
    - Budhe,
    - Gulāb,
    - Jagdāle,
    - Pāvle,
    - Chāghe.
- JĀDHAV
  - JAGPĀL—
    - Mohile,
    - Rāyaval,
    - Tākle,
    - Dhisāl,
    - Khadtare,
    - Dhondse,
    - Gujvade,
    - Tilak,
    - Devrāv,
    - Atole,
    - Khobre,
    - Bothar,
    - Ughade,
    - Lād,
    - Vāgje,
    - Undre,
    - Mānghorpade,
    - Hinge.
  - PĀTEL—
    - Kavle,
    - Divse,
    - Gobre,
    - Sālve,
    - Kānphāte.
  - KĀTHAVATE—
    - Sarkate,
    - Phanirām,
    - Dhekne,
    - Chāndle,
    - Benkār,
    - Tāmbte.
  - SĀTHAM—
    - Kharāle,
  - APARĀDHE—
    - Turiye,
    - Gavse,
    - Gānvde,
    - Dhude,
    - Shende,
    - Khambot,
    - Mālusare.
  - BHOG-SĀTE—
    - Chimbi,
    - Pāhrav,
    - Vāted,
    - Khādvad,
    - Anelon,
    - Dudhnikar,
    - Devlikar,
    - Dhumke,
    - Makhmale,
    - Usgāvkar.
  - SHEVTE—
    - Kalabhonkar,
    - Girje,
    - Devdal,

SHESH VANS—*contd.*

- JADHAV —*contd.*
  - SHEVTE—*contd.*
    - Māne,
    - Chinchoti,
    - Bhingārkar,
    - Dune,
    - Nirmore,
    - Vātārkar,
    - Shirsāt,
    - Dive,
    - Karpate.
  - BORĀTE—
    - Bhātāne,
    - Chāndip,
    - Mulgāvkar.
- VĀGHLE
  - GOHILE—
    - Supāre,
    - Muthval,
    - Pise,
    - Bhayāle,
    - Temkar,
    - Punekar,
    - Kamekikar.
  - VĀGHELA—
    - Koshmibe,
    - Bāndre,
    - Khāvāle,
    - Tāle,
    - Kunde,
    - Dugāl,
    - Māhulkar,
    - Kon.
- YĀDAV
  - GHĀG—
    - Rāj-hanse,
    - Dāvli,
    - Kabāle,
    - Pilunje.
  - JOGLE—
    - Rāthod,
    - Talavnikar,
    - Gore,
    - Anjire,
    - Pātavlika,
    - Kāmbekar.
  - AMRUTE—
    - Nāngle,
    - Kālvār,
    - Kukse,
    - Muthaval,
    - Savād,
    - Koman,
    - Mardeskar.
  - MAGĀMLE—
    - Sakvār,
    - Kālbhon,
    - Achole,
    - Divān,
    - Kolhār,
    - Shirsāt,
    - Supāre,
    - Vāsre,
    - Dhāmne,
    - Bhāpkar,
    - Devrunge,
    - Itāde,
- RĀTHOD
  - Vale,
  - Bhādvad,
  - Kuhe,
  - Lavde,
  - Bhādāne.
  - AVANGPĀL—
    - Bode,
    - Sākle,
    - Chāve.
  - ANANGPĀL—
    - Gānde,
    - Gorāt,
    - Sore,
    - Pendse,
    - Vāgje,

SHESH VANS—*contd.*

**RĀTHOD—** *contd.*

- **ANANGPĀL—*contd.***
  - Jhunjhune,
  - Jhamkire.
- **RĀY-JĀDE—**
  - Dor,
  - Darede,
  - Phanse,
  - Rhumne,
  - Thekri,
  - Mānmodi,
  - Jhamkire,
  - Āglāve,
  - Chikhlikar,
  - Sātāre,
  - Hingne.
- **GANDGOPĀL—**
  - Mādke,
  - Akok,
  - Singār,
  - Khedkar,
  - Shinde,
  - Sagjama,
  - Nalge,
  - Mānpurkar,
  - Kotāre,
  - Gande.
- **BHĀLE—**
  - Aptikar,
  - Ghote,
  - Gohe.
- **DUTONDE—**
  - Kandāri,
  - Vense,
  - Sātam,
  - Umbre.

**DHAMĀLE**

- **REVĀLE—**
  - Umbarde,
  - Nhāvikar,
  - Bākikar,
  - Vānjhule,
  - Kharag,
  - Shirke,
  - Gane,
  - Gādhave (Donkeys),
  - Unchle (Pickpockets),
  - Nigande,
  - Parab,
  - Karodikar,
  - Gāndhe (Druggists),
  - Chokhad,
  - Dhamāle (Bumptious),
  - Gānde,
  - Āre,
  - Chandrabal,
  - Lānde (Tailless).
- **DHAKE—**
  - Pākhre (Birds),
  - Hirve (Green),
  - Manvel,
  - Kathore (Cruel),
  - Anjire (Figs),
  - Chitode,
  - Shirāgadkar,
  - Navre.

**LABLE**

- **SĀBLE—**
  - Ajāle,
  - Āgalāve (Incendiaries),
  - Lavde,
  - Tugāre,
  - Devlikar,
  - Dhānkhade,
  - Mirgavhān,
  - Singāre,
  - Māndve,
  - Velamb,
  - Shivne,
  - Pāchre (Wedge),
  - Chaplākhe,
  - Shevde.

SHESH VANS—*contd.*

**SABLE—*contd.***

- **CHĀPONKAR—**
  - Chuchāle,
  - Pāngere (Bombyx Malabaricum),
  - Davande (Town cryers),
  - Kāthāre
  - Mākde (Monkeys).

**HARU**

- **NAVLE—**
  - Nāgde,
  - Viāsle,
  - Ranasing,
  - Morkāle,
  - Sānge,
  - Rāival,
  - Jagdāle.
- **JAMDĀDE—**
  - Mire,
  - Deshmukh,
  - Uchle (Pickpockets),
  - Dere (Tentmen),
  - Pete,
  - Vāghmāre (Tiger-slayers),
  - Sardé (Chameleons),
  - Neble (Cowards).
- **DHOKE—**
  - Ovlikar,
  - Nāgātā,
  - Kolhe (Jackal),
  - Maīnde,
  - Karanje,
  - Dhotāde (Despised).
- **SĀLE—**
  - Dahigāvkar,
  - Yāval,
  - Chitode,
  - Sāngvi,
  - Bhadve,
  - Pipre,
  - Jāmte,
  - Hingne,
  - Harandodi,
  - Shengte,

**DHARMRĀJ**

- Yevat,
- Hirde,
- Kāchole,
- Bhushe.

**GOLE—**

- Lānde (Tailless),
- Sāgle,
- Voghe,
- Garud (Eagles),
- Makhmel,
- Kapot (A bird),
- Avre,
- Tāmbe (Copper),
- Sonkadam,
- Bāgvān (Gardener),
- Khapre (Broken, unglazed ceramic ware),
- Hire (Diamond),
- Motichur (Sugar balls).

**LĀD**

- **LĀD—**
  - Dukre (Pigs),
  - Gādhve (Donkeys),
  - Umbre (*Ficus glomerata*),
  - Gādbe,
  - Māndve (Marriage booth),
  - Shinde,
  - Rakte,
  - Dharte,
  - Mhaske,
  - Nāngne,
  - Gujre,
  - Chāndle,
  - Hajāre (Thousand, commandants of—),
  - Bhāgle (Runaways, or tired),
  - Indire,

SHESH VANS—*contd.*

| | |
|---|---|
| LĀD—*contd.* | Kutte,<br>Māpar,<br>Dāndekar,<br>Solunkhe,<br>Bhatte,<br>Dhanik (Rich),<br>Rede (Buffaloes),<br>Petle,<br>Girme,<br>Peve (Granaries). |
| MORE | MADHURE—<br>Kālbhar,<br>Divte (Torch-bearer),<br>Sapāte,<br>Dorkar,<br>Patne,<br>Sātpute (Seven sons),<br>Tākte,<br>Hingode,<br>Hantore,<br>Kāndale,<br>Karne,<br>Chinghaṛkar,<br>Kadu (Bitter),<br>Yavtikar,<br>Madikar,<br>Vāvde (Paper, kites),<br>Bhople (*Cucurbita pepo*),<br>Bhāmte (Pickpockets).<br>MORBHE—<br>Harne (Antelopes),<br>Kavde (Shells),<br>Dhokre,<br>Ratāle (Sweet potato),<br>Pāngire (*Bombyx malabaricum*),<br>Kaduskar,<br>Rāv (Peers),<br>Berde,<br>Pādle,<br>Pānde,<br>Bahādure,<br>Chine,<br>Duble (Weak),<br>Palkute,<br>Rākhne (Guards),<br>Manuke,<br>Bhute,<br>Tāmbe (Copper),<br>Gode (Sweet,)<br>Navre (Bridegroom),<br>Palase (*Butea frondosa*),<br>Nere.<br>KESARKAR—<br>Auchar,<br>Nimse (Half),<br>Tākte,<br>Pharkānte,<br>Barde,<br>Mudhole,<br>Daulatrāv. |
| SURVE | RĀUT—<br>Talvate,<br>Pune,<br>Sāvtar (Born of a stepmother),<br>Kurhāde (Axe),<br>Singār,<br>Harne (Antelope),<br>Kharag,<br>Vajhe,<br>Vilhāle,<br>Sirsāle,<br>Kshirsāgar (Ocean of milk),<br>Sote (Club-men),<br>Phākde,<br>Rede (Buffaloes),<br>Girgut, |

SHESH VANS—*contd.*

| | |
|---|---|
| SURVE—*contd.* | RĀUT—*contd.*<br>Sāble,<br>Gāvandhal (Villagers),<br>Undre (Rats),<br>Sarde (Chameleon),<br>Sarāte (Broom),<br>Kharde,<br>Dabir,<br>Ghāne (Oil mill),<br>Vinchurkar,<br>Sote,<br>Lalāte,<br>Bhākde,<br>Nāke (Keepers of outposts),<br>Ghirte,<br>Sansane,<br>Hambir-rāv,<br>Madhe (Corpse),<br>Kurkure (Murmurers),<br>Labād (Liers),<br>Sirsāt,<br>Sināle (Immoral),<br>Dhere (Big bellied),<br>Vālke (Lean),<br>Kānthe.<br>KARPE—<br>Vādkar,<br>Mone,<br>Rājevādkar,<br>Rāsne,<br>Male,<br>Gavhāne,<br>Dengne.<br>NĀIK—<br>Shende (Tufted hair),<br>Khopde (Cottagers),<br>Kāte (Thorns),<br>Undire (Rats),<br>Māsrang,<br>Nāiyri,<br>Kungus,<br>Phānse,<br>Asāve,<br>Kemte,<br>Milmile,<br>Rānde (Cowards),<br>Nārdube,<br>Anadadi,<br>Lovale,<br>Kinjale,<br>Muchri,<br>Kalbusi. |
| GĀIKAVĀD | NAVĀTE—<br>Sāple (Trap),<br>Sonvade,<br>Konde (Husk),<br>Sarad (Cold),<br>Mārl,<br>Tāmnāle,<br>Māhle,<br>Devle (Temple men),<br>Bhadkambe,<br>Pure,<br>Ākhle,<br>Shivne,<br>Morde,<br>Karjāri,<br>Kusumbe (*Nauclea Cadamba*). |
| GĀYAKAVĀD | DEVRE—<br>Badve (Temple keepers),<br>Lavande,<br>Rāne (Rulers),<br>Mārekar (Hired murderers),<br>Belvade,<br>Kavde (Shells),<br>Kirkire (Murmurers), |

SHESH VANS—*contd.*

**GĀYAKAVĀD**

**DEVRE**—*contd.*
- **Sinde,**
- **Mahālunge** (*Citrus sp.*),
- **Nakhre** (Mashers),
- **Dhamāle** (Big bellied),
- **Dhāre,**
- **Māne,**
- **Kāsāre** (Coppersmiths),
- **Khere.**

**GĀVAL**—
- **Bānāsur,**
- **Surkhe,**
- **Shankh** (Conch shells or fools),
- **Kevde** (*Pandanus odoritissimus*),
- **Gānde,**
- **Dhundhupāl,**
- **Māre,**
- **Marmath,**
- **Gāvndhal** (Villagers),
- **Kārte** (Orphans or cremation ground servants),
- **Bende,**
- **Murkar,**
- **Karmat,**
- **Kāne** (Squint),
- **Gādhave** (Donkeys),
- **Tākte,**
- **Sarāte** (Brooms),
- **Jhankire,**
- **Shembde** (With dirty nose),
- **Rānade,**
- **Lokre,**
- **Madhe,**
- **Lavde,**
- **Dhamāle** (Big bellied),
- **Pātre,**
- **Mahālunge** (*Citrus sp.*),
- **Mānse,**
- ***Kānade,***
- **Dukre** (Pigs),
- **Mene,**
- **Marāthe,**
- **Dhoke** (Unreliable),
- **Gānde.**

**KHAPĀDE**—
- **Mengune,**
- **Mhātāre** (Old),
- **Palpute** (Runners),
- **Mhasik,**
- **Ruikar,**
- **Bhāmte** (Pickpockets),
- **Kārkar,**
- **Dhagde,**
- **Pedhāre,**
- **Dātār,**
- **Dātre** (Prominent teeth),
- **Bhise** (Lotus stalk),
- **Bāma,**
- **Māse** (Fish),
- **Sagale,**
- **Rāj-ros,**
- **Garāde,**
- **Gandur,**
- **Langde** (Lame),
- **Nābar,**
- **Nāgte** (Naked),
- **Kamre,**
- **Māhāle,**
- **Phāle,**
- **Rāge** (ble),
- **Kāhār** (Fishermen),
- **Phade,**
- **June** (Old),
- **Jire** (*Cuminum cyminum*),
- **Padvār,**
- **Komde** (Cocks),
- **Vāghle** (Bats),

SHESH VANS—*contd.*

**GĀYAKAVĀD** —*contd.*
- **Ghuse** (Rats),
- **Dhusāsir,**
- **Gore** (Fair),
- **Vaidya** (Physicians).

**SATGE**—
- **Dhagde,**
- **Kutre** (Dogs),
- **Vāgh** (Tigers),
- **Madke** (Earthen pot),
- **Chandre** (Moon),
- **Hoke,**
- **Durange** (Bicoloured),
- **Dhore** (Cattle).

**GODE**—
- **Surde,**
- **Velunke,**
- **Prabhu** (Lords),
- **Ughde** (Open),
- **Mālgunj,**
- **Jāri,**
- **Kuber** (God of Wealth),
- **Ranchhod,**
- **Mālap,**
- **Haung,**
- **Avtāde,**
- **Navdhi** (Nine Oceans),
- **Vānjhol,**
- **Karte,**
- **Pharde,**
- **Bāgrud,**
- **Mhasāle,**
- **Pālu,**
- **Dhāyate** (*Grislea tomentosa*),
- **Kārul,**

**KSHIRSAGĀR**
- **Bhope** (Temple servants of Bhavāni),
- **Vadad,**
- **Rānvi** (Foresters),
- **Ghodke** (Horse).

**SHĀRDUL**—
- **Shalvad,**
- **Chānde** (Moon),
- **Sonoti,**
- **Ranadhir** (Pillars of the battle-field),
- **Sātam,**
- **Kadere,**
- **Chinchol,**
- **Sure** (Dagger-men),
- **Kāgāle** (Complainers),
- **Bhope,**
- **Phukte** (Gratis),
- **Bhāmbhurde,**
- **Nāchre** (Impatient),
- **Mhasvadkar,**
- **Vārsānde,**
- **Sāde,**
- ***Mhātre.***

**GHODKE**—
- **Mālod,**
- **Sāngvi,**
- **Bedhe,**
- **Māhurkarkar,**
- **Sāngne,**
- **Karante,**
- **Kapāle,**
- **Gāthol,**

**GHĀTGE**
- **Sākhle** (Chain keepers),
- **Tākte,**
- **Vadir,**
- **Markāle,**
- **Pote,**
- **Kharāte** (Brooms),
- **Nāsāde** (Spoilers),
- **Bhādure** (Brave),
- **Shendāde** (Cowards),
- **Jogle.**

SHESH VANS—*contd.*

GHĀTGE—*contd.*

KEVDE—
Divekar
Kākde,
Tākte,
Shevde,
Sālunkhe (Phallus, or Mino bird),
Shele,
Marāthe,
Phāle,
Gonde (Tassel).

BĀGVĀN—
Dālimbe. (Pomegranate),
Tarde,
Parkare (Petticoats),
Pāle,
Kharde,
Gobre,
Gule,
*Kātre* (Scissors),
Nirgude,
Jodād,
Kārle,

SHIRKE
Karante,
Karānde,
Kaple,
Kāse,
Phālke,
Phāsne,
Dudhāne,
Mākde,
Khandāle,
Sāngote,
Phadtare,
Pavār,
Pise (Mad),
*Manjekar (Villagers)*,

SHESH VANS—*contd.*

SHIRKE—*contd.*

BĀGVĀN—*contd.*
Bālekar,
Rāyagane,
Masure,
Tupe (Ghi),
Sasāne (Falcon),
Lodhe,
Korānte,
Amberāv,
Gavhān,
Meghe,
Yekhande,
Nināv (Nameless),
Sāthe,
Vāsandikar,
Mhātare (Old),
Navre (Bridegroom),
Lotankar,
*Sirande*,
Rānge,
Sādvale,
Hātiv,
Tāmnāte,
Mursi,
Mābhle,
Irdād,
Chāndivne,
Kinjāle.

KAUNBE—
Shivne,
Gothane,
Bondge,
Chokhne,
Rāval,
Pādale,
Mhātre,
*Kurhāde* (Axe).

# 3. Of the Scytho-Dravidian Tract.

## DESHASTH BRĀHMAN.

*From the Bombay Gazetteer by* SIR JAMES CAMPBELL, *K.C.I.E.*

**Constitution.**

Deshasths, generally supposed to mean Upland, but more probably meaning Local Brāhmans, are settled both in towns and in villages. Almost all village accountants or *kulkarnis* are Deshasths. Except some *Joshis* or astrologers, *Japes* or bead-counters, and *Pujāris* or ministrants who say that about 700 years ago they came there to conduct the worship of Ambābāi in Kolhāpur, they have no memory of any former settlement. Deshasths are of two main classes, *Rigvedis* and *Yajurvedis*. *Rigvedis* are divided into *Smārts* and *Vaishnavs* and *Yajurvedis* into followers of the white and of the black Yajurved. These four classes of Deshasths and Yajurved Dravids and Telangs eat together, but families who follow different Veds do not intermarry. The names in common use among men are Anant, Govind, Shankar, and Vitthal; and among women Bhavāni, Durga, Ganga, Lakshmi, Rama, and Yamuna. Among men, such compound names as Manohar, Gauri-Shankar, and Yajneshvar are not uncommon. When a woman loses several infants, to deceive the evil spirits and make them think the child is little valued and is not worth carrying away, she calls her next child *Dhondu*, that is stone, or *Keru*, that is rubbish. When a son is greatly wanted, if a girl is born she is called *Thaki*, that is deceiver, or *Ambi*, that is sour. Men add *rāv*, *bāba*, *tātya*, *kāka*, and *bhāu* to their names and women *bāi* to theirs. Most Deshasth surnames are either office or calling names or place names, such as Deshmukh, Kulkarni, and Ajrekar. They belong to the Agasti, Angiras, Atri, Bhrigu, Kāshyap, Vasishth, and Vishvāmitra *gotras* or family stocks. Among members of the same section inter-marriage cannot take place if the family stocks or *gotras* are the same, but persons bearing the same surname can inter-marry if the surname is merely an office or calling name and the family stock is different. Their family gods are Ambābāi of Kolhāpur, [illegible] Gajānau, Jogeshvari, Jotiba of Vādi-Ratnāgiri in Kolhāpur, Bānshankari of Badami, [illegible] and Vishnu, Khandoba of Jejuri in Poona, Rām, Shiv, and [illegible].

**Domestic habits.**

As a rule Deshasths are dark, strong, and regular featured, rougher, harder, and less acute than Chitpāvans. The women like the men are dark, rough, and not so goodlooking as Chitpāvan women. Both at home and abroad they speak less correct Marāthi than the local Chitpāvans and pronounce the words more like Kunbis. In their speech they add the ter mination *ki* to every verb and change the initial *i* to *vi* and *vi* to *i*. They speak a broad Marathi with a drawl and without the Chitpāvan nasal twang. Most Deshasths live in houses of the better class generally two storeys high with brick walls and tiled roofs. As a rule their houses are dark and badly aired. The rooms are low and the staircases steep and narrow. The houses of the rich are large and comfortable; but many of the poor are badly housed or plantains are reared in front of and behind the house where the dirty water is allowed to gather. They are strict vegetarians and good cooks, their staple food being millet bread, pulse, clarified butter, curds, milk, and condiments. They eat rice only on holidays. Except the *Shākts* or worshippers of female spirits, and some English-taught youths, they do not use liquor and few among them either smoke tobacco or hemp, or drink hemp-water. Snuff-taking and tobacco-chewing are common and betel-eating is universal. The men shave the head except the top-knot and the face except the moustache and sometimes the whiskers. The women dress their hair neatly, smooth it with oil, and plait it in a braid which they wear at the back of the head in a sort of Grecian knot. They generally wear false hair but do not use flowers. The indoor dress of a Deshasth man is a waistcloth and a shouldercloth and sometimes a shirt. When he goes out he puts on a coat, a turban or headscarf, and a pair of sandals or shoes. While taking food or performing his twilight or *Sandhya* worship he dresses in a silk cloth or *muktā* or fresh-washed untouched cotton cloth and lays a small piece of cloth on his shoulder. Deshasth women dress in the long Marātha robe and bodice passing the skirt back between the feet. Married women as a rule mark the brow with vermilion and put on the lucky necklace and toe-rings or *jodvis*, while widows shave their heads and cover them with one end of their robes and never put on bodices. A school boy on ordinary days wears a coat and a cap or headscarf, and on holidays a small turban and waistcloth. When the thread-girding ceremony is performed he puts on a loincloth or a waistcloth. A girl before she is ten wears a petticoat or *parkar* and a bodice; after ten she wears a small robe or *sādi* without passing the end over her shoulder like a grown up woman and either leaves the bosom bare or covers it with a bodice. When she is married the husband draws the end of the robe over her shoulders and she then dresses like a grown up woman. Both men and women have a store of rich clothes and ornaments, many of which have been handed down two or three generations. As a class Deshasths are indolent and untidy, but thrifty and hospitable and franker and less cunning than Chitpāvans. Their want of enterprise has given them the name of *Dhāmyās* or stay-at-homes and their slovenliness is so great that Deshasth disorder is a bye-word. They are writers, bankers, moneylenders, moneychangers, traders, leeches, landholders, priests, and beggars. The priests and beggars are poor; the rest are well-to-do. They claim to be superior to all classes, and profess to look down on Chitpāvans as new Brāhmans or Parashurām *srishti* that is Parashurām's making. At the same time they freely associate and eat with Chitpāvans and Karhādās, though, except in a few cases, they do not marry with

them. They are both Smārts and Bhāgvats, worship all Brāhmanic and local gods and goddesses, and keep all fasts and festivals. Their priests belong to their own caste and they make pilgrimages to all Brāhmanic sacred places and rivers. Their high priest is Shankarāchārya, the great Smārt pontiff who lives at Sankeshvar. They worship all local and boundary gods, and believe in witchcraft and soothsaying and lucky and unlucky omens.

**Religious observances.**

Under the head of customs come the sacraments of *sanskārs*, which are of two kinds, *nitya* or usual and *naimittik* or special. The sixteen usual sacraments must be performed; the performance of the twenty-four special sacraments is a matter of choice. The sixteen sacraments are the *garbhādhān* or conception which is performed soon after a girl comes of age; the *punsavan* or son-giving that the child may be a boy; the *anavalobhan* or longing-satisfying during the seventh month of pregnancy when the juice of the sacred grass is dropped down the girl's left nostril that the unborn child may grow, the *simāntonnayan* or carrying to the limit in the sixth or eighth month when the woman's hair is parted down the middle and a *bābhul* thorn is drawn along her head and fixed into her hair behind; the *Vishnu bali* or Vishnu offering during the eighth month to free the child from sin and ensure a safe birth; the *jātkarm* or birth ceremony when before the navel-cord is cut, honey is dropped into the child's mouth; the *nāmkaran* or naming on the twelfth day when also the child is cradled; the *suryāvalokan* or sun-showing in the child's third month when the mother, holding a churning rod in her hand, shows the child to the sun; the *nishkraman* or going out in the third month when the child is taken to a temple and well-water is worshipped; the *upaveshan* or sitting in the fifth month when the child is first allowed to sit on the ground; the *annaprāshan* or food-eating, the first feeding on solid food in the fifth or sixth month; the *chaul* or shaving in the fourth or fifth year; the *upanayan* or initiation also called the *munj* from the grass *Saccharam munja*; the girding with sacred thread in the boy's seventh or eighth year; the *samāvartan* literally returning or freeing from being a *brahmachāri* or unwed student on the twelfth day after the *munj* or thread-girding; the *vivāh* or marriage at any time after the eighth year; and the *svargāvrohan* literally heaven-mounting, that is death. The chief of these sacraments are those at birth, thread-girding, marriage, girl's coming of age, pregnancy, and death. During the first ten mornings after the birth of a child the father employs Kunbi women to pour water on the threshold of the house in honour of the birth. Sometimes the father is made to bathe in cold water, and clad in his wet clothes to dress [illegible] to drop a little honey from a gold ring into the child's mouth and then bathe in warm water. The midwife cuts the child's navel-cord, waves a silver coin round the cut cord and buries it outside the house along with another copper or silver coin. The midwife is presented with the silver coin which was waved round the navel-cord. She attends the mother ten to ninety days. Every evening at the mother's house the family priest recites soothing verses or *shāntipāth* over a pinch of ashes or *angāra* and hands it to some elderly woman to be rubbed on the brow of the mother and child as a guard against attacks of the evil eye or of spirits. On the fifth night the maternal uncle lays a sickle washed with lime and covered with a piece of bodicecloth on a low stool in the lying-in room, and lays before the sickle sandal-paste, flowers, turmeric paste, vermilion, and food in the name of the *Pānchvi* or Mother Fifth. A blank sheet of paper and a reed pen and ink are set before the goddess and the priest burns asafœtida or *hing*, repeats sacred verses over some ashes and gives them to be rubbed on the child and the mother, and on other young children in the house. On the sixth night the child's father worships Mother Sixth with the same rites as the maternal uncle used on the fifth night; a light is kept burning the whole night in the lying-in room, and the women of the house pass the two nights awake playing games of chance before the goddess and singing songs, for the fifth and sixth nights are a critical time to the newborn child. The family of the child's father is held impure for ten days after a birth.

**Infancy.**

On the tenth day both the mother-in-law and the mother of the confined woman present her with sweet fried rice cakes or *ghārgās*, lay in her lap wheat and a cocoanut and a robe and bodicecloth, give her turmeric paste and vermilion to rub on her face and brow, and wave a light round her head. The mother takes her food, dips her fingers in a silver cup with milk, *durva* grass, *Cynodon dactylon*, and silver coin, and thrice touches her left ribs with her fingers. The mother's mother takes the silver coin and leaves the room. On the morning of the eleventh the child is bathed, the house is cowdunged, the mother's clothes are washed, and she is bathed in warm water. Besides by this bath the mother is cleansed from the impurity of childbirth by the priest dropping water from *tulsi* leaves on her head. The men of the house sip water mixed with the five products of the cow and renew their sacred threads. On the twelfth day a feast is given to Brāhmans and married women and friends, and kinsfolk are treated to a dinner. Women neighbours are asked to the house to attend the naming or *bārsa*. The goldsmith comes to the house and pierces the child's ear lobes. Ornaments and clothes, especially a child's hood or *kunchi* and a small coat, are made ready for the child, and kinswomen drop in each with a bodicecloth for the mother and a hood or *kunchi* for the child. In the lying-in room a cradle is hung to the ceiling and a carpet is spread under it. Women neighbours and relations take their seats on the carpet, and the mother takes her seat on a low stool with the child in her arms. The women one by one fill the mother's lap with wheat and a cocoanut and bodicecloth and the hood for the child, mark her brow with vermilion, present her with turmeric paste which she rubs on her face, and arrange themselves in two groups on either side of the cradle. They take a cocoanut clad in a child's hood or *kunchi*, cover the bottom of the cradle with a particoloured quilt, and pass the cocoanut over and below the cradle five times. A woman in one of the groups lays the cocoanut in the cradle and says, "Take Govind," and a woman in the other group takes it saying, "Give Govind." After they have done this five

times some matron takes the child in her arms and lays it in the cradle bidding the mother repeat the child's name in its ear. In most cases the women consult the child's mother and settle among themselves what should be the name of the child. The mother then loudly repeats the name in the child's ear, ending with the meaningless sound *kur-r-r*. The guests then gently swing the cradle and sing a cradle song or *pālna* lulling the child to sleep with a chorus, "Sleep, my darling, sleep". The cradling ends with the distribution of boiled gram and packets of sweetmeat, and the guests retire, after receiving from the houseowner vermilion and turmeric paste which they rub on their brows and cheeks. Widows are not allowed to take any part in a cradling.

When the child is a month old comes the ceremony of growth or *vardhpan* when the mother lays sandal-paste, flowers, and sweetmeat before a pillar in which dwells the deity who presides over the child's growth, bows before it with the child in her arms, and slides the child up the pillar. This is repeated at the end of every month till the child is a year old. The mother keeps her room for three full months. At the end of the third month the mother wears new bangles, dresses her hair, puts on a new robe and bodice, and visits the village temple with the child in her arms. She lays a bodicecloth and a cocoanut before the village god and bows to him with the child in her arms, offers the *shashthi devi* or *Satvāi* another bodicecloth and cocoanut and returns home. Next comes the feeding or *annaprāshan* when some priests, friends, and kinsfolk, and married women are treated to a sumptuous dinner. The child's maternal uncle dips a gold ring in a cup holding *khir* or rice boiled in milk mixed with sugar, and lets a few drops of milk fall from the ring into the child's mouth. From this day the child is fed with cooked food. The anniversary of the birth is marked by a feast, and soon after the child is a year old, hair-clipping or *chuda* is performed because a second child may be coming on and it is a rule that no child should see its elder brother's first hair. On a lucky day, a plot in the verandah is cowdunged, on it a square is marked with wheat flour, and in the square is set a low stool covered with a bodicecloth, which also is marked with a square of wheat. The boy is seated on the bodicecloth and the village barber shaves his hair leaving a lock on the crown and one above each ear and in return is given the bodicecloth and the wheat. The boy is bathed and dressed in new clothes, married women wave lights round his head and the hair-clipping ends with a feast to Brāhmans and married women.

**Initiation.**

As a rule, a boy is girt with the sacred thread in his eighth year. Before the lucky day chosen for the thread-girding the boy's friends and relations give feasts called *gadganers* or *kelvans*, meaning merry-makings. The kinsman or friend visits the boy's house and puts a cocoanut into his hands as a sign that he is asked to the dinner. The boy goes to his relation's house, his brow is marked with vermilion, grains of rice are stuck on the vermilion, and he is feasted with a few of his friends. A day or two before the thread-girding an invitation procession consisting of the houseowner's friends and relations of both sexes starts in the evening with music and visits the local temple of Ganpati where the boy's father lays a cocoanut before the god and bows to him, and the priest prays to the god to be present at the ceremony together with his two attendants *Riddhi* and *Siddhi*, the goddesses of plenty and success, and by his holy presence remove obstacles which might come in the way of completing the ceremony. The priest lays yellow rice before the god as a sign of invitation and some married women do the same and ask his attendant goddesses. The procession moves from door to door, the boy's father holding his hands before every houseowner and the priest telling him the day and the hour, asks him with his family and attendants to attend the ceremony at his master's house. The married women who come to ask go into the house, are seated, and ask the women of the family to attend the ceremony. The mistress of the house lays a cocoanut and rice in the askers' laps and marks their brows with vermilion as a sign that the invitation is accepted. In token of accepting the invitation the houseowner presents the boy's father or his priest with a betelnut and the procession leaves the house. The askers do the same at every house, while by degrees the men and women who at first formed part of the procession steal away one by one until the boy's father and his family with the priest and musicians are alone left. To friends and relations who live in distant villages invitation cards are sent marked with vermilion. A platform of earth and bricks is raised in the booth built in front of the boy's house and adorned with a canopy. The front of the platform is decked with plantain trees set upright at both ends and at each corner five earthen pots smeared with whitewash and red stripes are piled surrounded by sugarcanes. The raised platform has an earthen back with steps rising one above the other and a cone of earth at the top. This raised mound or altar they call *vedi* or *bahule*. Then follows the guardian establishing or *devak sthāpana*, which, among Rigvedi Smārts, is the same as among the other Brāhmans. On the morning of the lucky day married kinswomen and neighbours meet at the boy's house, where the boy and his parents are dressed in their best and seated each on a low stool covered with a sheet and red cloth marked with a lucky cross or *svastik* strewn in wheat grains. Two pestles are tied together with a bodicecloth and a basket filled with wheat is set before the boy and his parents. The married women then wash the feet of the boy and his parents and wave lights round them. Wheat and fruit are laid in the mother's lap, betel is served to the boy's father, and a cocoanut is put in the boy's hands. Not less than five married women take the two pestles in their hands, and set them upright in the basket, and move them up and down as if to pound the wheat in the basket. They sing songs and native music plays. A married woman takes a handful of corn and grinds it in a handmill to which a bodicecloth is tied. Fragrant oil is rubbed on the boy and his parents, and the business of the married women is over. The boy's head is shaved by the barber, he is bathed and taken to the dining hall where his mother seats him on her lap, and feeds him eating from the same plate. After

this the boy is not allowed to eat from his mother's plate. The boy's head is again shaved, and he is bathed and taken to his father in the booth. As the lucky moment draws near, the friends and kinspeople invited to the ceremony meet at the house and take their seats in the booth. The father sits on a low stool placed on the altar or *vedi* with his face to the east, while the boy stands before him facing west, and the priests hold between them a curtain marked with a vermilion lucky fylfot cross or *svastik*. The boy's sister stands behind the boy with a lighted lamp and a cocoanut in her hands. The priests repeat lucky verses and the guests throw red rice at the boy and his father. At the lucky moment the musicians redouble their noise, the curtain is drawn on one side, and the boy is girt with the sacred thread and dressed in a loincloth or *langoti*. The boy is given a deer skin to wear, a *palas* (*Butea frondosa*) staff is placed in his hands, and a triple sacred-grass cord or *munj* is wound round his waist.

The priests kindle the sacred fire on the altar and throw into the fire offerings of clarified butter, sesame and seven kinds of wood. Money presents are given to the priests, and cocoanuts, betel leaves and nuts, flowers, and perfumes are handed among the assembled guests, who take their leave. At noon Brāhmans and married women are feasted. In the evening the *bhikshāvala* or begging procession goes to the temple of Māruti as he is said to be the great bachelor or *brahmachāri*, the boy attended by his priest bows before the god, and the procession returns home with music and company. Fire-works are let off. On returning home the boy is seated on the altar or *vedi*, the priest sits near him, and places a bamboo basket or a winnowing fan before him. The mother of the boy comes and stands before him on the altar. The boy says to her in Sanskrit, "*Bhavati bhikshām dehi*," "Lady, give me alms," and holds the bamboo basket before her. The mother blesses him and puts sweet balls, rice, and cocoa-kernel into the basket. Other married women follow her example; the boy repeats the same words to each, and each presents him with sweet balls or money. The contents of the bamboo basket go to the priest who gives part of the sweetmeats to the boy and keeps the rest for himself. The ceremony ends on the fourth day, when, as on the first day, the betelnut Ganpati and the metal pot *Varun* are invoked and at the end laid on a bamboo winnowing fan and bowed out and the back of the fan is beaten with a stick to show that the ceremony is over and it is time for friends and kinsfolk to leave. This practice has given rise to the Marāthi phrase "*Sup vājle*" or the winnowing fan has been struck that is "All is over." The boy is now called a Brahmachāri that is an unwed or religious student. Widows and married women lay sandal-paste, flowers, and sweetmeats before him, present him with money, and sip the water in which his feet have been washed. Every morning and evening the boy is taught Vedic texts. After some months the *samāvartan* or returning ceremony is performed. The boy puts off the triple sacred-grass waistcord or *munj* and his loincloth or *langoti*, puts on a silk-bordered waistcloth, a coat, a shouldercloth, a turban, and a pair of shoes, takes an umbrella, and sets out as if on a journey to Benares. The priest meets him on the way and promises to give him his daughter in marriage so that the boy may marry and become a *grihasth* or householder. Until after the *samāvartan* or return ceremony is performed the boy is not affected by birth or death impurities but after the return ceremony is performed he has to remain apart for some days if any of his family had died or given birth to a child between the thread-girding and the *samāvartan* or returning. After the return ceremony the boy may marry or not, and is subject to the rules of impurity observed by married Brāhman family men.

**Exogamy.** The Deshasth Brāhmans of the Deccan form a community believed to represent the oldest stock that migrated to the south with their families and got mixed in various ways with the Dravidian races by long intercourse extending over centuries. They retain the oldest records of the Hindu texts and speak a language closely allied to Sanskrit. Their rules of exogamy are so complicated that it would be difficult to believe in them except for the assurance that any breach directly involves excommunication from the parent stock. The internal structure given below will speak for itself. People of the same *Gana* (standard *gotrās* numerically arranged) cannot intermarry; they also cannot marry among people of the same *pravara* or group of allied *gotrās*, and again they must not marry any one out of the *gotra mālikas*—strings of *gotrās* given in juxtaposition with the *pravarās*. This necessarily involves double and sometimes triple restrictions on the marriages of people belonging to certain *gotrās*. Marriage should be contracted between people whose family history is known, and who are connected by relationship. Selection should be made from families of *agnahotris* or those who keep the perpetual Vedic fire. This rule is now relaxed as owing to the spread of modern ideas very few families keep the Vedic fire always burning. People who have married into Karhāda or Konkanasth Brāhman families are considered degraded but poor parents are often bribed to violate this rule. The descendants of paternal and maternal aunts should be avoided for seven generations, but as it is difficult to trace such genealogies exceptions do occur through ignorance. There can be no marriage with the daughter of a half-sister of a step-mother. A wife's sister cannot be accepted while the wife is living, nor can her daughter. A man may not marry the sister of a paternal or maternal uncle's wife nor his maternal aunt nor his first cousins. All girls of the family in which a paternal aunt is given in marriage, and all girls from families in which a sister or half-sister are barred, nor can two sisters of one family be married to two brothers of another family. The marriage of a disciple with the daughter of his *guru* or preceptor is considered objectionable and the daughter of a disciple is taboo to the preceptor. A girl should not be selected from a family into which a paternal first cousin has married. There exist many *gotrās* among the Deshasth Brahmans, but the 28 serially numbered are considered the chief and are styled *ganas*. All others belong to one or other of these principal groups. The *pravarās* serve as

guides in tracing the affinity of a *gotrā* not mentioned in the classification. The number of *gotrās* in each *pravarā* or allied sept must be either 1, 2, 3 or 5. It is interesting to note that the *ganas* numbered 20, 23, 24, and 25 are called *Dwigotrās* or double *gotrās*, and Nos. 26 and 27 *tri gotrā* or triple *gotrās*, because the *pravarās* of these *gans* can be traced to two or three *gotrās*. To trace a *gotrā* to its *gana* it is absolutely necessary to find out its *pravarā*. *Pravarā* therefore is the key that traces each *gotrā* to its *gana* and decides which of them are taboo to a given sept. The Shukla or white *Yajurvedi* sect depart from this rule and exclude only a man's own *gotrā* and his immediate maternal *gotrā*. They therefore do not require *ganas* or *pravarās*. For instance, if a bridegroom is a *Kāshyap* by *gotrā* and his maternal uncle *vashistha*, he has only to avoid these two groups.

**Marriage.**

Boys are married between eight and twenty-five and girls generally before they are twelve. As soon as a girl is five years old, her parents begin to look out for a suitable husband for her. Whenever the mother meets other women either at home or abroad her chief talk is regarding her daughter's husband, and widows who move more abroad than married women are consulted as to the merits of the different boys. When a boy is chosen, the girl's horoscope is put into the hands of the boy's father either by the girl's father or through some common friend. The boy's father hands the girl's and his son's horoscopes to an astrologer, who, from his almanac, tells him whether the boy's and girl's stars are in harmony and if the marriage will be lucky. The custom of consulting and comparing horoscopes is gradually falling into disuse as the parents of the couple hold that considerations of dowry or good looks are more important than the agreement of stars, and settle the marriage according to the *priti vivāh* or love form in which no consultation of horoscopes is required. Thus at present a girl is sometimes chosen for her good looks or for money and sometimes friendship determines the choice irrespective either of money or beauty. The father or some near relation of the boy is asked to the girl's house to see the girl and is welcomed by the girl's father. If any of the boy's kinswomen comes with the father she goes into the house and is received by the girl's mother. The boy's father and his friends are seated on a carpet in the verandah and the girl is called by her father. She comes out dressed in her best and sits near the boy's father with her head hung nearly between her knees through modesty and fear. One of the guests asks her, What her name is, How many brothers she has, How old she is, Whether she goes to school, What her place in the class is, and she is sometimes asked to read a piece from her book. They then tell her to look up and walk away. The boy's kinswoman strips the girl if she is under eight, or takes her bodice off if she is ten or more, and examines her closely to see if she is healthy and has no bodily or mental defect. Beauty is specially attended to as it is difficult at so early an age to conjecture what the mental attainments of the girl will be. Betel is served to the boy's father and his relations and they withdraw. As soon as the girl is selected the fathers of both the girl and the boy draw up an agreement regarding what money the girl's father should pay to the boy and what ornaments and dresses the boy's father should present to the girl. The lucky day for the wedding is fixed and both the families busy themselves with the wedding preparations raising booths before their houses and buying or procuring rice, pulse, and other provisions. Invitations are sent to friends and relations as before a thread-girding and the boy and the girl are feasted by their kinspeople. Two or three days before the wedding day the girl's parents are treated to a dinner at the boy's as they are not to take food at their daughter's unless she is blessed with a son. A day or two before the marriage the guardian-pleasing is performed at the houses of both the boy and the girl when a betelnut Ganpati and a metal pot *Varun* are worshipped in a winnowing fan with sandal-paste, flowers, turmeric paste, and vermilion and the fan is set before the house gods. Friends and kinspeople meet at the houses of the boy and the girl and are treated to a dinner.

On the marriage eve the bridegroom goes with music and company to the girl's village and halts at the local temple, lays a cocoanut before the god and bows to him. The girl's father meets him at the place with music and a band of friends and both the fathers present each other with cocoanuts. The bridegroom is seated at the temple or taken to the house of some friend of the girl's father. The guests are welcomed to a seat on the carpet and the bridegroom is worshipped by the girl's father attended by his priest, with sandal-paste, flowers, sweetmeats, and clothes. This they call *simānt pujan* or boundary worship. The guests are treated to betel, flowers, and perfumes. The women of the girl's house especially the girl's mother wash the boy's mother's feet and mark her brow with vermilion, laying in her lap a cocoanut and bodicecloth with wheat. Other women guests are given cocoanuts and betel and the girl's party escorts the boy's party to some house in the girl's neighbourhood and return home. On the morning of the marriage, married women pound some wheat in a basket and rub the girl with turmeric paste. The married women take part of the paste that remains to the boy with music and a band of friends and rub him with it. After the turmeric-rubbing the boy is bathed and dressed in new clothes. As the lucky hour draws near the girl's friends and kinspeople, accompanied by a band of kinswomen, visit the bridegroom with music. The bridegroom is dressed in a rich suit, his brow is decked with a marriage coronet, and he and his friends are fed with sweetmeats. The girl's mother gives him a packet of betel leaves and nut which he chews and spits into a dining dish. He mounts the wedding horse and is escorted by the bride's party to the girl's with music and a company of friends and kinsfolk. His mother and her friends and relations follow attended by the girl's mother. On the way cocoanuts are broken and thrown away as offerings to evil spirits. On reaching the bride's the boy dismounts and his feet are washed by one of the

women servants of the house. He enters the booth and is led by the bride's father to the raised earth altar or *vedi*. At this time the bridegroom's mother, as she must not see her future daughter-in-law till a particular moment, feigns anger and goes to a neighbouring house. The bridegroom takes off his turban and coat but keeps his marriage coronet on his brow and stands near the raised altar with his face to the east. The bride is clad in a yellow waistcloth called *ashtaputri* and a shortsleeved backless bodice and with folded hands is seated before *Gauri-har* that is an image of Shiv and his wife Gauri whom she prays to give her a good husband. As the lucky moment draws near her maternal uncle takes the bride to the altar and sets her facing the bridegroom with a curtain marked with the lucky cross or *svastik* held between them. The bridegroom's sister stands behind the bridegroom and the bride's sister stands behind the bride as the maids of the pair each with a lighted lamp and a cocoanut. The priest repeats lucky texts, and the guests throw red rice over the pair. The astrologer tells when the lucky moment comes, the musicians play, the curtain is drawn to the north and the couple who up to this time have been silently looking at the lucky cross or *svastik*, throw garlands of flowers and sweet basil or *tulsi* leaves round each other's necks. Thus the pair are husband and wife and the guests are given betel and flowers. The bridegroom's party retire to their place, taking stealthily with them the metal pots used in worshipping *Gauri-har*. The priest then hands the lucky necklace to the bridegroom who ties it round the bride's neck. This lucky necklace is of two small trinkets and green glass beads strung together by a courtezan who is called *janma savāshin* or the unwidowed till death. After this the bride's mother prays the bridegroom's mother to go back to the bride's presenting her with a robe and sweetmeats; and the bridegroom's father and his relations are asked to dine at the bride's by the bride's father attended by music and friends. The bride's father is seated and the priest asks the bridegroom's party one by one who, in token of accepting the invitation take a pinch of red rice from the cup which the priest holds before them.

Every day during the ceremony the bride's mother presents the bridegroom's mother with uncooked provisions usually called *āmbon* properly Sanskrit *āmodan* or gladdening. On the marriage-feast day the marriage booth is cowdunged and low stools are set in a row, squares of wheat flour and red powder are traced about the low stools, and plantain leaves are laid one before each low stool with two leaf cups or *drons* one for clarified butter and the other for sauce or curry. When all is ready, the bridegroom's party is brought with friends and music and welcomed by the houseowner. All wash their hands and feet at a place prepared for the purpose, put on their sacred waistcloths, and take their seats on the low stools according to their rank. The bridegroom is seated at the head of the party close to his father or some relation. The bridegroom's mother goes into the house and is seated by the bride's mother on a low stool along with other married women belonging to the bridegroom's party. When all are seated a place is reserved for the bride to the left of the bridegroom and frankincense sticks are burnt in the hall. The pair are told to feed each other and all begin to eat. The musicians play and the host moves through the hall praying his guests to pardon the slowness with which the feast is served. When the courses are half done the boys sing verses and the company ends them with a chorus "*Sitākānt smaran*," or "*Har har Mahādev*." The bridegroom after numerous entreaties from the bride's father, brothers, and other kinsmen has to recite a poem and his mother-in-law stands anxiously behind the door of the hall to applaud him. When the dinner is over, betel is served, and the party of the bridegroom leave, a few of the women remaining at the bride's. In the women's hall, to eat the various dainties the bride's mother constantly presses the bridegroom's mother, who is most difficult to please, being ready to take offence at the slightest neglect or want of attention on the part of the bride's mother. The bride is made to eat from the same plate with her mother-in-law who, as a rule, takes from two to four hours to finish her meal. The bridegroom's women claiming superiority over the bride's party point out the faults of the girl's household in rhyming couplets called *ukhānās*, and the young girls of the bride's house answer them. The musicians play and at last the bridegroom's mother finishes her meal. She is given sugar to rub on her hands and cloves to cleanse her teeth, and after the service of betel and perfumes she leaves. Every morning during the ceremony the bridegroom and bride are seated face to face in the hall attended by the sisters and friends of each. The bride puts a roll or *vidi* of betel leaf between the teeth of the bridegroom who holds it fast and the bride tries to bite it off. Some one of the bridegroom's friends gives him a push and the bride fails and is laughed at. Then the bridegroom's turn comes. Pieces of cocoa-kernel and cloves are substituted for rolls of betel leaf and the pair are facetiously warned to take care not to bite off each other's lips. The bridegroom holds fast a betelnut in his left hand and the bride tries to wrest it from him. The bride then holds a betelnut between her two hands and the bridegroom takes it from her using only his left hand. Then follows hide and seek. The bride hides a betelnut in her clothes and the bridegroom tries to find it out. If the bridegroom finds it all is well. If he fails her girl friends twit him and advise him to pray his wife to be good enough to give it back. Then the husband hides and the wife seeks it. If the wife finds she is applauded and if she fails she is excused. The pair then put on their bathing dress, and the sisters of each rub turmeric and fragrant oil on them. The pair go to the bathing place and are bathed, first in red water or *kalasavni* from four cups that are specially placed there, and then in warm water. Music plays and the pair are dressed in dry clothes. Then the bridegroom's sister goes home, and the bride's sister goes with her and asks the bridegroom's kinswomen to breakfast at the bride's. They attend and eat with the pair, who feed each other from the same dish.

In the evening the bridegroom feigns anger and goes away stealthily to a neighbouring house. The bride's brother or father goes in search of him, presents him with a metal pot and sweetmeats or *lādu gadus*, and brings him back. He sits before the house gods and *Gauri-har*, and the bride, richly dressed and decked with ornaments stands by him with her left foot on his lap. Saffron water is sprinkled over the mango twigs near the god, and the bridegroom takes one of the images of the house gods, puts it into his pocket, and leaves the place. The pair bow before the house gods and the elders and the bridegroom mounts his horse seating the bride before him. Music plays and the procession moves from the girl's to the local temple, bows before the god, and starts for the bridegroom's house. Cocoanuts are broken as before in offering to evil spirits, and fireworks are let off. When they reach the bridegroom's, the pair dismount near the door. The musicians step forward and bar the entry and go on beating their drums until, in addition to their regular wages, they exact a money present from the bridegroom's father. Then the maid who stands at the door with an earthen pot full of water empties it at the feet of the pair who enter the house followed by friends and relations. A measure of corn filled with wheat is placed at the door and the bride upsets it with her foot. The priest conducts the pair through the naming at which the bridegroom gives his wife a new name by which she is hereafter known in his house. Sugar is distributed among the guests, and they are told the bride's new name. The bride is given a cup of milk and the bridegroom drinks what is left from the same pot. Meanwhile his sister has tied the skirts of their garments, and refuses to untie the knot until the pair utter each other's names. The bridegroom at once speaks out his wife's name but the bride hides it in some such couplet as. "The sweet basil plant lay at the door and I watered it; first I was the darling of my parents, now I am the queen of Rāmrāv." The other married women present are not allowed to leave the place until they mention their husbands' names. A wooden measure or a metal pot is brought from the store room. The bridegroom's mother tries to empty it and the bride to keep it full till at last she lays her hand on an ornament which has been hidden in the grain. The bride's mother leaves one of her relations with the bride, as a maid of honour. Next day the couple are bathed at the bridegroom's and the friends and relations of the bride are feasted.

The next is the last day of the ceremony when the bride's mother asks the bridegroom's mother and sisters to her house and bathes them. The married women of the bridegroom's house dress in white and with music and a band of friends go to the bride's accompanied by the bride's mother. As they leave the house, the washerman spreads his cloth or *pāyghadi* on the road and the bridegroom's mother and relations walk over it. A long roundabout way is chosen, and, on the way, low stools are placed, in order that the bridegroom's mother and her party may rest if weary. If they halt they are given turmeric powder and red powder to rub on their bodies and cocoanuts and wheat are put in their laps. Now and then red powder is thrown over them, and, before reaching the bride's house they are red from head to foot. On reaching the house they are bathed in warm water and new glass bangles are put on their wrists. A piece of silver is put in the metal pot, the water in the pot is boiled, and the coin goes to the servant. All bathe and go home. Sometimes the bridegroom's mother is seated on a swing which is gently swung. As it moves women servants standing on either side of her pour water over her. She then sings a song with the chorus, "The desires of the heart are not fulfilled, oh friends," On that day the bridegroom's party are feasted with pancakes or *karanjās* and *pātvadis* or rolls of gram flour. After dinner the guests dress in rich clothes and seat themselves on carpets. Betel is served and saffron water sprinkled on their shoulder-cloths. The pair remove each other's marriage-threads and put them in a pot filled with milk. The women take away the earthen pots round the altar or *vedi* and also the canopy over it. The earth altar or *vedi* remains and seeds and creepers are planted on it at the beginning of the rains that the family of the bride and bridegroom may grow and spread like the creepers. Bathings and dinners continue at the bridegroom's on the eighth and sixteenth and at the bride's on the tenth and thirteenth. On the anniversary of the marriage the bride's father gives a dinner to the bridegroom and presents him with a gold ring or a waistcloth. Early marriage and polygamy are known, and practised among Deshasth Brāhmans, polyandry is unknown, and widow-marriage is forbidden on pain of loss of caste.

**After marriage ceremonies.**

On the morning of the first *Jyeshth* that is June-July full-moon after the wedding, when all married women worship the fig tree or *vat* to secure long life to their husbands, the newly-married couple are bathed and seated on low stools. The priest attends and music plays. The young wife lays sandal, flowers, turmeric, and vermilion before a picture of the banian tree drawn on the wall, burns frankincense, presents five special offerings or *vāyans* to five unwidowed women, each offering including a wooden comb, two small turmeric and vermilion boxes, a pair of glass bangles, a piece of bodicecloth, and some wheat or rice, all laid in a bamboo tray. If the young wife is at her mother's she has to distribute to Brāhmans five more special offerings or *vāyans* given to her by her mother-in-law. In the evening she has to listen to a Brāhman *purānik* or reader who reads the tale of Sāvitri and her husband Satyavān, at the house of some rich lady or at the village temple. The young wife has to eat nothing on that day but light food or *pharāl* and next morning after bathing breaks her fast with ordinary food. In the month of *Āshādh* and *Shrāvan* or July and August the pair interchange presents of toys. On every Tuesday in *Shrāvan* the new wife and her husband worship the goddess of luck or *Mangalāgauri* and Gauri's husband *Shiv* whom she invokes on the previous day, offering him a handful of grain called *Shivmuth* or Shiv's handful. If the young wife meets any unforeseen obstacles, as illness or mourning, on the first Monday in *Shrāvan*, she puts off the worship till the next *Shrāvan*. In the morning with girl friends she goes to fetch flowers and leaves or *patris*, and a silver image of the goddess

Annapurna or the food-supplier is brought from the goldsmith and laid on a low stool. The pair are bathed and seated on two low stools, the girl to the right of the boy in front of the goddess before whom they lay sandal paste, flowers, leaves, and food, burn frankincense, and wave lights. Other married girls join the newly-married pair and worship the goddess and are treated to a dinner at the girl's. Before dinner the girls exchange copper coins and plates and remain strictly silent during dinner. Boys mischievously inclined keep coming in and with numberless questions and devices try to make the girls break the golden rule of silence. After the meal is over the girls chew *tulsi* or basil leaves and begin to talk as usual. In the evening the young wife does not eat her usual food but takes a light repast or *pharāl* with other girls who are asked to the house and with whom she passes the night repeating the tale or *kahāni* of *Mangalāgauri* and playing games. At dawn all bathe, lay flowers, vermilion, and food before the goddess and bow her out, take a slight breakfast, and sleep. Every married girl worships *Mangalāgauri* in *Shrāvan* or July-August for five years after her marriage.

On the third day of *Bhādrapad* or August-September, the newly-married wife worships *Hartālika*, fasts the whole day and night from all food but plantain, passes the night with other girls in playing games, and breaks her fast early next morning. When the sun enters the thirteenth constellation of the Zodiac called *Hast* or the elephant, newly-married girls fasten on a wall in the house a piece of paper, marked with pictures of elephants facing each other with garlands in their trunks and with men and women dressed as kings and queens in cars on their backs. As long as the sun is in the elephant or *Hast*, married girls meet and sing and dance before a low stool in the hall, marked with wheat or rice figures of elephants. Some day a light feast or *bhātukali* is given to the girl by her friends and relations. On the eighth of *Āshvin* during the first five years after her wedding the young wife has to worship Mahālakshmi. Married girls who are asked to the house meet and worship an embossed image of Annapurna or the food-supplier at noon, and at night a large sitting or standing female figure of dough is made, set in the hall, and decked with gold and silver ornaments. Flowers, vermilion, and food are laid before the goodess, and the girls taking small metal or eathen jars make music by blowing across the jar-mouths and dance in a circle before the goddess. During the dance, one of the girls begins to blow the jar and dances better than the rest, a sure sign that the goddess has entered into her. She presently sways her hands and is seized with the power of the goddess. Her friends ply her with questions and for some time the goddess in the girl answers the questions. Then the goddess leaves her and the girl falls in a swoon. On the bright tenth of *Āshvin* or September-October, *viz.*, the *Dasarā* day the newly-married girl's husband is asked to dine at the girl's father's and presents the girl's family with *āpta* (*Bauhinia racemosa*) leaves which on that day are called gold. On his return from crossing the boundary or *simollanghan* the girl waves a light round her husband who presents her with gold ornaments and *āpta* leaves. On *Divāli* in October-November the new son-in-law is asked to bathe and dine at his father-in-law's. On the bright first or *pādva* before or after the meal, the young wife waves a light round her husband and is presented with gold ornaments. Next day he calls his wife's brothers to dine at his house, his wife waves a light round her brother, and is presented with a robe and bodice and some money called *ovālni* or the waving gift. On the day of *Makar Sankrānt* or the twelfth of January, for the first five years after her wedding, a newly-married girl presents her friends with pieces of sugarcane and sweetmeat called *halva*. Brāhman unwidowed women are asked to the house and each is given an earthen jar or *sugad* covered with a bodicecloth. For nine years after the age-coming ceremony a girl presents five married pairs with five rolls of betel leaves, each roll of nine leaves nine betelnuts nine cloves, nine cardamoms, nine pieces of mace, and nine nutmegs. Next day or *kinkrānt* seven rolls of betel leaves are served to seven married Brāhman women. On this day all married women meet at the village temple or at the house of some rich lady and present each other with turmeric-paste and vermilion or *halad kunku*. Their laps are filled with sprouting gram and collyrium is rubbed on their eyes. In the month of *Chaitra* or April, married women hold the ceremony of *halad kunku* or turmeric and vermilion when a female figure or mask is set in the women's hall and called *Annapurna* or the food-supplier. It is decked with flowers and lights are set before it. Women neighbours and friends are asked and presented with vermilion and turmeric, and sprouting gram and fruit are laid in their laps. This is done at every house. During the whole month women are busy paying visits to neighbours and relations followed by Kunbi maidservants loaded with sprouting gram. To women vermilion or *kunku* is very sacred. If the supply in the vermilion box is finished instead of saying it is done they say it has 'increased'. The bright third of *Vaishākh* or May is the last day of the *halad kunku* or turmeric and vermilion ceremony when the goddess Gauri is said to go to her mother's house or *māher*. On this day a married woman is feasted at every house and women friends and neighbours are presented with turmeric, vermilion, and betel. Next day the goddess is said to go to her husband's and remain there till New Year's Day or *Varsh Pādva* in *Chaitra* or April.

**Puberty.** When a girl comes of age, a man-servant with a dish filled with packets of sugar is sent to the houses of friends and relations. He visits every house, hands the head of the house one of the sugar packets, and tells him the glad news that the girl has come of age. If the girl is at her father's, a servant carries the news to her husband's with a packet of sugar and a cocoanut and is presented with a turban or waistcloth or some money. As soon as the good news is spread among the girl's husband's friends they tease him with demands of sweetmeats or *pedhās* in honour of the birth of a dumb son or *muka mulga* as the wife's coming of age is generally called. A gaily decked wooden frame is prepared, a square is marked in it, and a low stool set in the square; the girl is decked with jewels and seated in the square, and a Marātha maid-servant

attends her day and night. Every morning she is given turmeric and vermilion, music plays, and a cocoanut and wheat are laid in her lap. Women friends and neighbours feed the girl with sweet dishes which they prepare at their homes, and lay a bodicecloth, wheat, and a cocoanut in her lap presenting her with turmeric and vermilion. The girl is rubbed with sweet-scented oil and turmeric and bathed on the morning of the fourth day and is pure. The marriage consummation or *garbhādān* is performed on a lucky day before the sixteenth day after the age-coming. On the morning of the lucky day, to the sound of music, the pair are rubbed with turmeric and oil and bathed by married women. Both go to the god-room and lay a cocoanut, bow before the gods and the elders, and ask their blessing. Married friends and neighbours are asked to the house. The pair are seated on two low stools, the girl to the right of the boy, and by the aid of the priest they lay sandal, flowers, and sweetmeats before the metal-pot *Varun* and the betelnut Ganpati, and kindle the sacred fire. If the girl's sickness begins at an unlucky time, to remove calamities and troubles, the quieting of Bhuvaneshvari or Bhuvaneshvari-*shānti* is performed, and a sacred fire is lit. The pair then make a cooked rice ball, offer it to the spirit, and bathe in water, poured by the priest through a sieve or *rovali* from Bhuvaneshvari's pot. They dress in fresh clothes and perform the holy-day blessing or *punyāharāchan* with the same details as before the marriage, bow to the house gods and elders, and are seated before the sacred fire. The fire is kindled and rice cooked over it, and the husband places the rice with a few mango leaves on his right. The husband feeds the sacred fire with rice and the girl pours clarified butter over it. When the service of the sacred fire is over they wash their hands and sit on the low stools as before. The boy's sister hands the boy a quantity of bent grass or *durva* pounded, wetted, and tied in a piece of white cotton, and he, standing behind the girl and drawing back her head between his knees, with his left hand, gently lifts her chin and with his right hand squeezes into her right nostril enough bent grass juice to pass into her throat. The girl leaves her seat, washes her hands and feet, and takes her seat as before to the right of her husband. The boy then touches either her breast or one of her shoulders and lays in her lap a cocoanut, some wheat, a betelnut, and a turmeric root. Women friends and neighbours lay articles in her lap and present her with clothes and ornaments. When the lap-filling is over the boy whispers his name into the girl's right ear, money is presented to the priest who leaves with a blessing on the heads of the pair, and the pair with the hems of their garments knotted together, bow before the house gods and elders. Married men and women are asked to dine at the house at noon. The girl, dresses in a silk cloth called *mukta* which she is to wear thenceforth at her every-day meals, is given a cup of butter, and serves its contents to the guests. At night friends and kinspeople meet at the house after supper, and a room is lighted and furnished with cushions and carpets for the guests to sit on. Both the boy and the girl are presented with fine clothes and ornaments which they put on and are seated on the carpet spread in the room. The girl washes her husband's feet in warm water with the aid of her elder sister or some friend and on his feet paints vermilion and turmeric shoes. The women dress a cylindrical stone-pin in a bodice, call it Gopāla, and bring it in. This they call the future son and ask the girl to hand it to her husband. She gives it to him saying, "Please take care of this child, I am going to fetch water." The boy says, "You keep the child, I am going to my business." Then the married women repeat their husbands' names, the stone-pin is placed in the boy's hands, and the guests withdraw. The bedding is spread and water mixed with saffron is sprinkled over it. Close to the bed are set a lamp, a metal water-pot, a metal plate for betel leaves with a nutcracker, a betel-leaf can called *pānpuda*, lime and catechu boxes, betel leaves, nuts, cardamoms, cloves, and nutmegs. The servant who prepared the bedding is presented with a turban. The boy is already in the room and at the lucky moment, the girl who feigns great unwillingness is dragged to the door and pushed in by her female friends, and the door is closed after her. She then drinks a little from a cup of milk and hands the cup to her husband who drinks it and chews the betel which his wife serves to him. Lastly they eat a piece of cocoanut and sugarcandy and go to bed. Next morning the girl's mother brings rice, wheat, a cocoanut, packets of vermilion and turmeric, puts them in the girl's lap, and presents her with uncooked provisions enough to feed twenty people. During her first pregnancy, the girl is given a longing feast or *dohale jevan* and friends and kinsfolk ask her to dine.

**Death.**

When a Deshasth is on the point of death, he is laid on a white country blanket or *ghongdi* and a basil leaf or gold and some holy-water are put in his mouth. If the son is present he takes the dying head on his lap, and, when all is over, the women sit round the dead wailing and weeping. The dead is laid on a bier and taken to the burning ground by four kinsmen preceded by the chief mourner with the firepot in his hand. If kinsmen are not available Brāhmans are hired to carry the body to the burning ground. As soon as the dead is removed those who remain at home dig a pit on the spot where the dead breathed his last, set in the hole a lighted lamp facing south, and keep the burning lamp for ten days. A pile is heaped, the body is laid on it, and cremated. A married woman who dies before her husband is bathed in warm water, her hair is smoothed with butter, her body is rubbed with turmeric, and her brow is marked with vermilion. She is dressed in a new robe and bodice, the lucky necklace is tied round her neck, toerings are put round her toes, and her hair is decked with flowers. A betel roll squeezed between the plams of two hands is put in her mouth, and a cocoanut, wheat, packets of turmeric and vermilion are laid in her lap. Married women are presented with rice, cocoanuts and packets of turmeric and vermilion, and the body is laid on the bier, carried to the burning ground, and burnt. Widows are treated in the same way as men; they are not entitled to the honours shown to married women.

**Social disputes.**

Deshasths have a caste council. The Brāhman caste council includes the available men

of the Chitpāvan, Deshasth, and Karhāda castes and settle social disputes at caste meetings or according to the votes of learned men or *shāstris*. Smaller breaches of social rules are punished by the caste council and serious breaches are referred to the Smārt high priest Shankarāchārya of Shankeshvar. The high priest still gets his dues from his followers but his power is growing weaker day by day.

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## INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE DESHASTH BRĀHMANS.*

| Gana. | Pravara. | Gotra. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Kāshyapa. | | |
| | (a) Kāshyapa | Nidhruv. |
| | | Kāshyapa. |
| | | Shāndilya. |
| | (b) Avatsār. | Rebh. |
| | (c) Naidhruva | Laugāksh. |
| | | Kohal. |
| | | Udmedh. |
| 2. Vashisth. | | |
| | (a) Vashistha | Vashishtha. |
| | | Kundin. |
| | | Upamanyav. |
| | | Parāshar. |
| | (b) Shakti | Jātakarnya. |
| | (c) Parāshar | Raki. |
| | | Lauhitāyan. |
| | | Guggulak. |
| | | Kandushaya. |
| | | Vāji. |
| 3. Agasti. | | |
| | (a) Agastya | Agastya. |
| | | Idhmavāha. |
| | | Sāmbhvaha. |
| | | Somvāha. |
| | | Yadnavāha. |
| | (b) Dārghya-chuta | Darbhavāha. |
| | | Sarvāha. |
| | (c) Sāmbhavah | Purnamās. |
| | | Himodak. |
| | | Panika. |
| | | Vishāl. |
| | | Sphālnayan. |
| 4. Atri. | | |
| | (a) Atri | Atri. |
| | | Vādbhutak. |
| | | Gavishtir. |
| | | Mudgal. |
| | | Dhananjaya. |
| | | Bhuri. |
| | (b) Archan | Chhāndi. |
| | (c) Spāvāsya | Bhālandan. |
| | | Shālisandhi. |
| | | Arnav. |
| | | Atithi. |
| | | Vāmarathya. |
| | | Sumagali. |
| | | Vaijavāp. |
| 5. Vishvāmitra. | | |
| | (a) Kaushik. | Kushik. |
| | | Kaushik. |
| | | Lohit. |
| | | Raukshak. |
| | (b) Vishvāmitra. | Kāmkāyan. |
| | | Aja. |
| | (c) Aghamarshan. | Kata. |
| | | Dhananjaya. |
| | | Aghamarshana. |
| | | Puran. |
| | | Indrakaushik. |
| 5. Vishvamitra.—*contd.* | | |
| | (a) Kaushik | Parnajangh. |
| | | Kudakya. |
| | | Rohita. |
| | | Devshravas. |
| | | Devrāt. |
| | | Pārthiva. |
| | (b) Vishvāmitra. | Bandhul. |
| | | Āsmarathya. |
| | | Sāhul. |
| | (c) Aghamarshana. | Gāthin. |
| | | Harivya-retas. |
| | | Suvarna-retas. |
| | | Kapot-retas. |
| | | Shālankayan. |
| | | Rauhina. |
| | | Vainava. |
| 6. Bhrigu or Bhārgav. | | |
| | (a) Bhārgav | Bhārgav. |
| | | Vatsa. |
| | (b) Chyavān | Vida. |
| | (a) Apnavān | Mārkandeya. |
| | (c) Aurvā | Māndukeya. |
| | (c) Jāmadagnya. | Shaila. |
| | | Avata. |
| | | Arshtishena. |
| | | Nairit. |
| | | Grāmāyan. |
| 7. Yask. | | |
| | (a) Bhārgav | Yask. |
| | (b) Vaitahavya | Yāsh. |
| | (c) Sāvetas | Mauna. |
| | | Muka. |
| 8. Mitrayu. | | |
| | (a) Bhārgav | Mitrayu. |
| | (b) Vārdhyashva. | Raushtyāyan. |
| | (c) Divodās | Sāpindana. |
| 9. Vainya. | | |
| | (a) Bhārgav | Vainya. |
| | (b) Vainya | Pārtha. |
| | (c) Pārtha | Bāshkala. |
| | | Shveta. |
| 10. Shunaka. | | |
| | (a) Bhārgav | Shunak. |
| | (b) Shaunahotra. | Grutsamad. |
| | (c) Grutsamad. | Yadnapati. |
| 11. Ved-vishva. | | |
| | (a) Bhārgav | Ved-Vishva. |
| | (b) Vedāvisha | Jyotish. |
| | (v) Jyotish | |
| 12. Shāthar. | | |
| | (a) Bhārgav | Shāthar. |
| | (b) Shāthar | Māthar. |
| | (c) Māthar | |

* From texts supplied by Bhāu Shāstri of Indore.

**13. Gautam.**

| | |
|---|---|
| | Gautam. |
| | Āyasya. |
| | Shronivedh. |
| | Mudharath. |
| | Shāradvata. |
| | Ābhijita. |
| | Rauhinya. |
| | Kaumand. |
| | Māmanth-reshan. |
| | Māsuraksh. |
| (*a*) Gautam | Dirghtamas. |
| (*b*) Āngiras | Karenupāl. |
| (*c*) Āyasya | Vāstavya., |
| | Shvetiya. |
| | Vāmadev. |
| | Aushanas. |
| | Dishya. |
| | Prashasta. |
| | Rahugana. |
| | Somrājak. |
| | Bruhadukth. |
| | Utathya. |
| | Rāghutva. |

**14. Bhāradwāja.**

| | |
|---|---|
| | Bhāradwāja. |
| | Kshāmyāyan. |
| | Divāshva. |
| | Garga. |
| | Sāmbharāyana. |
| (*a*) Bhāradwāj. | Sakhinaya. |
| (*b*) Angiras | Ruksh. |
| (*c*) Bārhaspatya. | Raukhāyana. |
| | Kapila. |
| | Kapi. |
| | Swastitari. |
| | Dandin. |
| | Atmabhuva. |

**15. Hārita.**

| | |
|---|---|
| (*a*) Angiras | Hārita. |
| (*b*) Āmbrish | Saubhaga. |
| (*c*) Yaunāshva. | Naiyagavya. |

**16. Kutsa.**

| | |
|---|---|
| (*a*) Āngiras | Kutsa. |
| (*b*) Māndhāt | |
| (*c*) Kutsa | |

**17. Kanva.**

| | |
|---|---|
| (*a*) Āngiras | Kanva. |
| (*b*) Ājamid | Aupa-markat. |
| (*c*) Kanva | Bāshkalāyan. |

**18. Rathitar.**

| | |
|---|---|
| (*a*) Āngiras | Rathitar. |
| (*b*) Vairupa | Hastida. |
| (*c*) Rathitar | Naitirakshi. |

**19. Vishnuvriddh.**

| | |
|---|---|
| (*a*) Āngiras | Vishnuvriddh, Shatha. |
| (*b*) Paurukutsa | |
| (*c*) Trasaddsyu | |

**20. Mudgal.**

| | |
|---|---|
| (*a*) Āngiras | Mudgal. |
| (*b*) Bhārmyāshva. | Sātyamugriya. |
| (*c*) Maudagalya. | Hiranyastamb. |

**21. Shaung-Shaishir.**

| | |
|---|---|
| | Kushik. |
| | Kaushik. |
| | Lohit. |
| | Raukshak. |
| | Kāmkāyan. |
| | Aja. |
| | Kata. |
| | Dhananjaya. |
| | Aghamarshana. |
| | Puran. |
| | Indra-kaushik. |
| | Parna-jangh. |
| | Kudakya. |
| | Rohita. |
| | Devashravas. |
| (*a*) Āngiras | Devrāt. |
| (*b*) Bārhaspatya. | Pārthiva. |
| | Bandhul. |
| | Āsmarathya. |
| (*c*) Bhāradwāj | Sāhul. |
| (*d*) Shaung | Gāthin. |
| (*e*) Shaishir | Hiranya-retas. |
| | Suvarna-retas. |
| | Kapot-retas. |
| | Shālankāyan. |
| | Rauhina. |
| | Vainava. |
| | Bhāradwāja. |
| | Kshāmyāyan. |
| | Devāshva. |
| | Garga. |
| | Sāmbharāyana. |
| | Sakhinaya. |
| | Ruksh. |
| | Raukhāyana. |
| | Kapila. |
| | Kapi. |
| | Swastitari. |
| | Dandin. |
| | Ātmabhuva. |

*Vide* No. 5.

*Vide* No. 13 (2).

**22. Sankriti.**

| | |
|---|---|
| | Sankriti. |
| (*a*) Āngiras | Putimāsha. |
| (*b*) Gauriviti | Tandi. |
| (*c*) Sankritya | Laugāksh and those under No. 2. |

**23. Laugākshi.**

| | |
|---|---|
| (*a*) Kāshyapa | Samkriti and those under Nos. 1 and 2. |
| (*b*) Avatsār. | |
| (*c*) Vashishtha | |

**24. Devrāt.**

| | |
|---|---|
| | Kushik. |
| | Kaushik. |
| | Lohit. |
| | Raukshak. |
| | Kāmkāyan. |
| | Aja. |
| | Kata. |
| | Dhananjaya. |
| | Aghamarshana. |
| | Puran. |
| (*a*) Vishvāmitra. | Indra-kaushik. |
| | Parna-jangh. |
| (*b*) Devrāt. | Kudakya. |
| (*c*) Audala. | Rohita. |
| | Devashravas. |
| | Devrāt. |
| | Pārthiva. |
| | Bāndhul. |
| | Āsmarathya. |
| | Sāhul. |
| | Gāthin. |
| | Harinya-retas. |
| | Kapot-retas. |
| | Suvarna-retas. |

*Vide* No.

**24. Devrat.**—*contd.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (*a*) Vishvamitra. | Shālankāyan. | *Vide* No. 5. |
| | Rauhina. | |
| | Vainav. | |
| | Bhāryav. | |
| | Vatsa. | *Vide* No. 6. |
| | Vida. | |
| | Mārkandeya. | |
| (*b*) Devrat. | Māndukeya. | |
| (*c*) Audala. | Shaila. | |
| | Avata. | |
| | Arshtishena. | |
| | Nairita. | |
| | Grāmāyan | |

**25. Dhananjaya**

| | |
|---|---|
| (*a*) Vishvāmitra. | All those mentioned under Nos. 4 and 5. |
| (*b*) Madhuchhana | |
| (*c*) Dhananjaya | |

**26. Jātukarnya**

| | |
|---|---|
| (*a*) Vashishtha | All those mentioned under Nos. 2 and 4. |
| (*b*) Artriya | |
| (*c*) Jātukarnya | |

**27. Baliya**

| | |
|---|---|
| | Bāleya. |
| | Kaudreya. |
| (*a*) Atriya | Shaubhreya. |
| (*b*) Vāmarathya. | Vamarathya. |
| (*c*) Pautrika | and all those mentioned under Nos. 2, 4 and 5. |

**28. Kapila**

| | |
|---|---|
| (*a*) Angiras | All those given under No. 5 and part 2 of No. 13. |
| (*b*) Bārhaspatya. | |
| (*c*) Bhāradwāj | |
| (*d*) Vāndanmāt | |
| (*e*) Vachas | |

**29. Kata.**

| | |
|---|---|
| (*a*) Vishvāmitra | Ditto. |
| (*b*) Kata | |
| (*c*) Aksihl | |

---

* The following is an attempt to group the more modern family names or *kuls* under their respective *gotras.*

**GOTRAS OF RIGVEDI SECT OF DESHASTH BRĀHMANS WITH THE SURNAMES IN EACH.**

| Gotra. | Surname. |
|---|---|
| Atri | Joshi. (Astrologers.) |
| | Thete. |
| | Atre. |
| | Sināpure. (Territorial.) |
| | Hundiwāle. (Bankers.) |
| | Borkar. (Territorial.) |
| | Rabade. |
| | Kulkarni. (Official.) |
| | Deshapānde. (Official.) |
| Kapil | Sātbhai. (Seven brothers.) |
| | Patki. (Medalists, or Military Commandants.) |
| Kāshyapa | Deshapānde. (Official.) |
| | Pol. (Bulls.) |
| | Bhonde. |
| | Kulkarni. (Official.) |
| | Vishwasrav. (The trustworthy.) |
| Kaundanya | Kuknur. |
| | Brahme. |
| | Kasture. (Musk.) |
| | Kendurkar. (Territorial.) |
| | Jakhalekar. (Territorial.) |
| | Kshirasāgar. (Ocean of milk.) |
| Kaushik | Paithankar. (Territorial.) |
| | Lohekar. |
| Jāmadagnya Vatsa. | Apashankar. |
| | Rāmdāsi. (Of the cult of Rāmdās.) |
| | Viprahas. |
| Bhāradwāj | Ekabote. (One fingered.) |
| | Karajgi. |
| | Tākalkar. (Territorial.) |
| | Topemār. |
| | Deshapānde. (Official.) |
| | Belsare. |
| | Makashr. |
| | Vālvekar. (Territorial.) |
| | Shirolkar. (Territorial.) |
| | Sant. (Saintly or calm.) |
| | Kahirsāgar. (Ocean of milk.) |
| | Divān. (Minister.) |
| | Vākade. (Crooked.) |
| | Galānde. (Pushed out.) |
| | Pātil. (Official.) |
| | Yajnopavit. (The sacred thread.) |

| Gotra. | Surname. |
|---|---|
| Mudgal | Paithankar. (Territorial.) |
| | Pānse. |
| | Sant. (Saintly or calm.) |
| Mounabhārgav | Kāthavate. |
| | Viladkar. |
| | Vyāpari. (Merchants). |
| Vatsa | Apashankar. |
| | Ekabote (One fingered.) |
| | Rāmadāsi (Of the Rāmdās cult.) |
| | Lāndge. (Wolves.) |
| | Kulkarni. (Official.) |
| | Varkhedkar. (Territorial.) |
| Vashishtha | Deshapānde. (Official.) |
| | Rāyāji. (Royal.) |
| | Vādekar. (Territorial.) |
| | Sudāme. (The lean.) |
| | Kshirasāgar. (Ocean of milk.) |
| | Lonkar. |
| | Khire. (Milk porridge.) |
| | Gitāpāthi. (Gita readers.) |
| | Parakhi. (Examiner of gold and jewels.) |
| | Shāligram. (Ammonite.) |
| | Bendre. |
| | Sātpute. (Seven sons.) |
| | Pundalik. |
| | Joshi. (Astrologers.) |
| | Dhāle. (Shields.) |
| | Nirgudkar. (Territorial.) |
| | Deshamukh. (Official.) |
| | Ināmdar. (Free holders.) |
| Vishwāmitra | Mirikar. (Territorial.) |
| | Shukla. (The white.) |
| | Kulkarni. (Official.) |
| | Khalādkar. (Territorial.) |
| Shāndilya | Gaikawādi (Servants of the Gaikawads.) |
| | Hātvalne. (Trained hands.) |
| | Khāsnis. (Official.) |
| | Kulkarni. (Official.) |
| | Pandit. (Learned.) |
| | Udās. (Melancholy.) |
| Bhārgav | Dole. |

* From materials supplied by the office of the Provincial Superintendent of Ethnography, Bombay.

| Gotra. | Surname. |
|---|---|
| Gārgya | Kālvit. (Black buck.) |
| | Joshi. (Astrologers.) |
| | Kulkarni. (Official.) |
| Gautam | Kadhe. |
| | Dashaputre. (Ten sons.) |
| | Aurnak. |
| | Chaudhari. (Official.) |
| | Rājurkar. (Territorial.) |
| Agasti | Korade. (The dry.) |
| | Agarkar. (Territorial). |
| | Raleraskar. |
| | Sarnāik. (Official.) |
| Haritam | Joshi. (Astrologers.) |
| Haritas | Kulkarni. (Official.) |
| Jamadagni | Babhulgāumkar. (Territorial.) |
| | Kulkarni. (Official.) |
| | Medhekar. (Territorial.) |
| | Lewalekar. (Territorial.) |
| Dhananjaya | Kulkarni. (Official.) |
| Vainya | Āgavekar. (Territorial.) |

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GOTRAS OF YAJURVEDI SECT OF DESHASTH BRĀHMANS WITH TH SURNAMES FOUND IN EACH

| Gotra. | Surname. |
|---|---|
| Atri | Kukade. |
| | Tāmboli. (Betel-leaf seller.) |
| Upamanyu | Advant. |
| | Dharmādhikari. (Chief Priest.) |
| | Saptarishi. |
| Kāshyapa | Kasture. (Musk.) |
| | Joshi. (Astrologers.) |
| | Deshapānde. (Official.) |
| | Nisāl. |
| | Parashurāmi Pophale. (Betel nut.) |
| | Bodhani. |
| | Bhanage. (Beggars.) |
| | Māude. (Thigh or pancake.) |
| | Mānakeshwar. (Territorial.) |
| | Rādhane. (Cook.) |
| | Mule. |
| | Kulkarni. (Official.) |
| Kutsa | Bhivapataki. |
| Krishnatra | Kamalapurkar. (Territorial.) |
| | Kulkarni. (Official.) |
| | Tāmboli. (Betel-leaf seller.) |
| | Dekhane. (Good looking.) |
| | Dese. (Local.) |
| | Deshapānde. (Official.) |
| Kaundanya | Chikte. (Tenacious.) |
| | Dighe. (Performers of a sacrifice.) |
| | Pānasare. |
| | Habu. |
| Kaushik | Svāti. |
| | Kadekar. (Territorial.) |
| | Dāvare. (Left-handed.) |
| | Tāmboli. (Betle-leaf sellers.) |
| | Barole. |
| | Sātbhai. (Seven brothers.) |
| | Sāpkar. (Territorial.) |
| | Buchaki. |
| | Mutālik. (Official.) |
| Garga | Dānge. |
| | Deshmukh. (Official.) |
| | Nimbālkar. |
| | Bulāke. |
| | Ronghe. |
| | Wābale. |
| Gautam | Kotasthāne. (Territorial.) |
| | Gathane. |
| | Ninbālkar. (Territorial.) |
| | Nisargand. |
| | Rasāl. |
| Gautam—*contd* | Mushārif. |
| | Vaiskar. (Territorial.) |
| | Hirave. (Green, Raw.) |
| | Sukapure. (Territorial.) |
| | Ekalahare. (Venomous.) |
| | Davalbhatjoshi. |
| Jayavantayan | Bhāleraō. (Lancers.) |
| Dharanya | Vaidya. (Physicians.) |
| Parāshar | Kate. |
| | Kāle. (Black.) |
| | Gongale. |
| | Nagarkar. (Territorial.) |
| | Mungi. |
| | Suvarnapataki. (Gold medalist.) |
| | Khole. |
| Bhārgav | Machave. (Ship.) |
| Bhārādwaj | Rishi. (Saint.) |
| | Tekade. (Hill.) |
| | Dāravekar. (Territorial.) |
| | Dhaneshwar. (The rich.) |
| | Nagarkar. (Territorial.) |
| | Pāthak. (Teachers.) |
| | Pimpalwadkar. (Territorial.) |
| | Bhope. (Priest.) |
| | Mahājan. (Respectable.) |
| | Kāle. (Black.) |
| | Lembe. |
| | Rajahansa. (Swans.) |
| | Shani. (Saturn.) |
| | Svāte. |
| Maharshana | Dhakephal. |
| Mārkandeya | Vāghmāre. (Tiger slayers |
| Mudagal | Avati. |
| | Deshapānde. (Official.) |
| | Bere. |
| Mounasa | Khisti. |
| | Shukte. |
| | Hatnurkar. (Territorial.) |
| | Khāparde. |
| Lounāksha | Puntāmbekar. (Territorial.) |
| | Shukla. (The white.) |
| Vatsa | Kāpase. (Cotton.) |
| | Korade. (Dry.) |
| | Godase. (Sweet.) |
| | Ghumare. (Bell-wearer.) |
| | Joshi. (Astrologers.) |
| | Thombare. |
| | Pāthak. |
| | Parnak. |

| Gotra. | Surname. |
|---|---|
| Vatsa—*contd.* | Badave. (Temple servants.) |
| | Buranagnagarkar. (Territorial.) |
| | Mule. (Raddish.) |
| | Bhimgarkar. (Territorial.) |
| | Rekhi. |
| | Shrotri. (Chief sacrificer.) |
| | Sole. |
| | Tavase. |
| | Gite. (Gita readers.) |
| | Purānik. (Puran readers.) |
| | Amarapurkar. (Territorial.) |
| Vashishtha | Lanke. (Ceylonese.) |
| | Sohani. |
| Shāndilya | Joshi. (Astrologers.) |
| | Devachake. |
| | Harip. (Cunning.) |
| | Barasode. |
| Shrivatsa | Sranakalye. |
| Shounak | Dev. (Gods.) |
| Saulmaul | Edake. (Rams.) |
| Sānkhyāyan | Adakar. |
| Vyāghrapad | Shevade. |
| Shalaksha | Modagi. |

# 3.—Of the Scytho-Dravidian Tract.

## KĀTHIS.

[*J. A. Dalal M.A., LL.B.*]

The *Kāthis,* a strong and robust race inhabiting the peninsula named after them, were feudal chiefs. Their warlike propensities are well known. They are said to be of Indo-Scythic origin. They first settled in Sindh in the course of their migration; but being banished from there by the Sumnri king they took shelter in the dominions of a Rājā of the Vāla race, who then ruled at Dhank, near Dhorāji, in Sorath, and established themselves in the region of the Saurās where their influence became so predominant that the name of Kāthiawar superseded the ancient appellation of Saurāstra. In modern times they are mostly serfs on the soil, having lost their patrimony by large expenses and indolence. Those who have not lost all are renowned opium-eaters like the Rājputs. Still through all their poverty and indolence shine the tall statures, handsome faces, and blue eyes in both sexes, distinguishing them prominently from the various other castes and tribes of Kāthiāwār.

The Kāthis give their traditional origin as follows :—

**Aurātia Kāthis.**

When the Pāndavās lost all in the great game of gambling at Hastināpur, they had, according to the terms of the game, to betake themselves to a forest-life for twelve years, and at the end of that time to pass one year so secretly that their whereabouts may not be discovered by the Kauravās. If the places were discovered they had to pass thirteen years more in exile. The Pāndavās after the expiry of twelve years of forest-life concealed themselves in the Virāta country (lying about Dholkā in Gujarat). The Kauravās suspected this and, in order to ascertain the truth, they went there, but were unable to get hold of the Pāndavās. Duryodhana then suggested cow-lifting to force the Pāndavās to come to the rescue. As they could not do the act themselves owing to their being Kshatriyas, he asked Karna to devise some means of putting that scheme into execution. Karna struck the earth with a wooden stick and produced a man. This man so brought into existence by a *Kāshtha* (wooden stick) was named Kāthi (a corrupted form of the original Sanskrit word). He was asked by Karna to lift the cows and was enjoined to maintain himself on plunder and cattle-lifting thenceforth. For the service the Kāthi was rewarded by his master Duryodhana with the gift of the Pawār principality of Dhār in Central India. Here he married an Āhir girl and had by her eight sons, who became the progenitors of eight *Shākhās* or families. They are *Patgar, Pārvā, Mānjariā, Toriā, Bel, Jebaliā, Nehar,* and *Nāthā.* All these eight families are known as the Aurātias, meaning inferior. These Aurātias are really speaking the pure Kāthis as opposed to the other Kāthis known as the Sakhāyat, meaning noble Kāthis; but as they give their daughters in marriage to the latter they are considered lower in the social scale. The

**Sākhāyat Kāthia.**

Sakhāyat trace their descent as follows:—When Karna of Mahabhārat-fame went to fight in the great battle of Kurukshetra, he was accompanied by his son Vritket (Vrishaketu). Seeing how affairs were being shaped in that battle, Karna prevailed upon his son to save his life by returning home. From that day his descendants were called Vālā Rājputs, from *Valga* returned. One of his descendants by name Dhāno Vālo was ruling in Dhānk in Kāthiawār, when a large crowd of Kāthis from Dhār came there to escape the severity of a famine. Among the refugees there was a Kāthi named Bijal belonging to the Patgar branch, with his family. His daughter named Rupdi was very beautiful and Vera Vālā, son of Dhana Vālā, married her. When the fact became known, the Rājputs excommunicated the Prince and his wife, who thereupon joined the Kāthis. He had three sons by name Vālo, Khumān, and Lalu by his Kāthi wife. These three sons became the progenitors of three branches, the Vālā, the Khumān, and the Khāchar. These are known as the Sākhāyats. A third accession to this race was also

**Dhandhāl. Kāthis.**

of the Rājputs belonging, as they profess, to the celebrated Rāthod clan of Kanauj. They are known as the Dhandhāls. It is a rule among these Kāthis that the Aurātias and the Sakhāytas

**Marriage among Kāthis outside their own circles.**

cannot marry within their own circle, but the Aurātias have to give to and seek brides from the Sakhāyats and *vice versâ.* Similarly, there is no objection among them to take wives from among the Ahirs and the Babariās. Among them a brother's son or daughter can be married to the children of his sister. There is no objection to polygamy and no limit is fixed as regards the age within which a girl should marry. Widow remarriage is not prohibited, though some of the higher families do not generally practise it. As both these sections of the Kāthis trace their descent from Karna, whom the Mahābhārat alleges to be the son of *Surya* (Sun), the

**Sun-worship.**

Kāthis worship the Sun as their race deity and insert the attestation of the Sun in all documents. They also worship the serpent god Vāsuki.

**What Animals prohibited for food.**

The Kāthis are prohibited from killing or eating the flesh of cow, deer, and peacock. Other animals ordinarily used for food are permitted. They also drink liquor and can eat the food prepared by any Hindu except the unclean ones. The same restriction holds as to drinking water. They do not observe *Sutaka* (mourning) like the Hindus: similarly women are not segregated, as among the Hindus, at particular seasons.

## INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE KĀTHIS.

### Classified list of Gotras or Kulas, etc., among the Kāthis.

**Endogamous Divisions.**—None.

**Sects.**—Three.

**A. Sākhāyat;** **B. Aurātiā;** **C. Bābariā.**

### A.—SĀKHĀYAT.

**Divisions.—**

**1. Sākhāyat old;** **2. Sākhāyat new.**

NOTE.—All the three branches of the Kāthis have got many accretions to their stock; hence there are two divisions in each of them—the old and the new.

### A1.—SĀKHĀYAT OLD.

**Gotra, etc.—**

**VANSA.—Surya;** **KUL.—Bharat;**
**GOTRA.—Kāsyapa;** **GODDESS.—Vijaya-Shri;**
**SĀKHĀ.—Āntrikā;** **GANPATI.—Dhumra-Ketu;**
**PRAVARA.—5.—(1) Kāsyapa, (2) Uru, (3) Upalavān, (4) Jamadagni, (5) Bhāradvāja.**

**Kulas.—**

**a. Vālā; b. Khāchar; c. Khumān.**

### a.—VĀLĀ SĀKHĀYAT KĀTHIS.

**OTHER FAMILY NAMES.—**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Vāikhā; | 2. Vajmal; | 3. Vikmā; |
| 4. Sāk; | 5. Bogrā; | 6. Govāliā; |
| 7. Fādjangiā; | 8. Deraiā; | 9. Karpadā; |
| 10. Kāgdā; | 11. Kasturiā; | 12. Harsurkā; |
| 13. Kānāni; | 14. Nājāni; | 15. Bhāyāni; |
| 16. Virāni; | 17. Thebāni; | 18. Alāni; |
| 19. Mokāni; | 20. Velāni; | 21. Dhānāni; |
| 22. Chādkā; | 23. Merāmkā; | 24. Bhokāni; |
| 25. Vad-dad; | 26. Vajshi; | 27. Selārkā; |
| 28. Lunāni; | 29. Vāghāni. | |

### b.—KHĀCHAR.

**FAMILY NAMES.—**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Hipā; | 2. Dānd; | 3. Lakhāni; |
| 4. Mokāni; | 5. Ānand-purā; | 6. Kūndalia; |
| 7. Sag-dad; | 8. Godadkā; | 9. Rāmāni; |
| 10. Jobāliā; | 11. Thebāni. | |

### c.—KHUMĀN.

**FAMILY NAMES.—**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Chandu; | 2. Sāndsur; | 3. Jamar; |
| 4. Motiār; | 5. Lunchad; | 6. Dāyāni; |
| 7. Chitrāni; | 8. Gichāni; | 9. Lomāni; |
| 10. Ratankā; | 11. Sāledia; | 12. Māngāni; |
| 13. Totalā; | 14. Golāni; | 15. Sāvariā; |
| 16. Visāmankā; | 17. Kāuthadkā; | 18. Nāgsurkā; |
| 19. Hipāni; | 20. Nāgpālkā. | |

### A2.—SĀKHĀYAT NEW.

**KUL OR FAMILY.—**

**1.—Man.**

NOTE.—Some say that the Man Kāthis are genuine Sākhāyats, while others declare that they are an accretion.

### B.—AURĀTIĀ.

**DIVISIONS.—**

**1. Aurātiā old;** **2. Aurātiā new.**

### B1.—AURĀTIĀ OLD.

**KULAS.—**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| a.—Jātwadā; | b.—Garibā; | c.—Nātā; |
| d.—Guliā; | e.—Patgar; | f.—Pādvā; |
| g.—Mānjariā; | h.—Bāyal. | |

### B2.—AURĀTIĀ NEW.

**KULAS.—**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| a.—The Parmārs; | b.—The Rāthods; | c.—The Chahuāns; |
| d.—The Vādhels; | e.—The miscellaneous. | |

NOTE.—The Aurātiās belonging to the old stock are said to be genuine Kāthis; whereas those belonging to the new stock are Rājput families of various clans who allied themselves with the Kāthis originally for purposes of marriage and who now form part of them. Thus the fifth class is here styled Miscellaneous, because it is not known to what caste or clan they originally belonged.

B2 a.—PARMĀRS.

OTHER FAMILY NAMES.—

1. Jebaliā ; 2. Mālā ; 3. Visiā ;
4. Maitarā ; 5. Gigaiā ; 6. Khādak.

b.—RĀTHODS.

FAMILY.—DHĀNDAL.

Other family names of the Dhāndhals.—

1. Ghaghāni ; 2. Jānjariā ; 3. Pānkharādiā ;
4. Dhāngadiā ; 5. Bāmbhāni ; 6. Viramkā ;
7. Kheradiā ; 8. Mālāni ; 9. Tādhāni ;
10. Silāni ; 11. Mokhāni ; 12. Sābrukā ;
13. Hālikā.

c.—CHAHUĀNS.

OTHER FAMILY NAMES.—

1. Chahuān ; 2. Vegad ; 3. Bhichariā ;
4. Shekhavā ; 5. Jalu.

d.—VĀDHELS.

1. Gidā ; 2. Tarag-madiā ; 3. Titāsā.

E.—MISCELLANEOUS.

1. Chānchad ; 2. Mānkad ; 3. Vāntar ;
4. Pālan ; 5. Itvāyā ; 6. Kāliā ;
7. Barvāliā.

C.—BĀBARIĀ.

DIVISIONS.—

1. Bābariā old ; 2. Bābariā new.

C1.—BĀBARIĀ OLD.

KULAS.—

a.—Kotilā ; b.—Dhānkhadā ; c.—Varu.

C2.—BĀBARIĀ NEW.

(These are now looked upon as Auratiās.)

FAMILY NAMES.—

1. Ghusābā ; 2. Ghaghā ; 3. Kātiyā ;
4. Kāretā. 5. Kāndhavalā ; 6. Laiyā ;
7. Vasarā ; 8. Linkhadā ; 9. Borisā ;
10. Gogalā ; 11. Khundhalā ; 12. Sodhiā ;
13. Khādā ; 14. Jilariā ; 15. Dosariā ;
16. Bālā ; 17. Kahore ; 18. Māvlā ;
19. Basiā. There are 50 other Family names.

NOTE.—The Bābariās are believed by the people of this part to be originally Rajputs, but are at present to all intents and purposes Kāthis. Among them the three families grouped under old are genuine and consequently enjoy higher status ; the others belonging to the new stock enjoy a lower position. The names of the sub-branches are derived either from the names of deceased ancestors or from the names of villages where they had first settled.

**Exogamous Divisions.**—The Sākhāyat Kāthis cannot marry among themselves, but they have to give to and seek brides from the Aurātiās or the Bābariās. Similarly the Aurātiās cannot marry any female of the Aurātiā branch ; but they can give or take wives from the Sākhāyats and the old Bābariā.

Among the old or original Bābariās intermarriages are also allowed between the members of the different families, the only restriction being taken to a marriage within the family to which the marrying member belongs.

The new Bābariās can marry any women belonging either to the Sākhāyat branch or the old Bābariā branch, but not a woman belonging either to the Auratiā or the new Bābariā branch ; because they are looked upon to all intents and purposes as Auratiās.

It therefore follows that the Sākhāyats, the Aurātiās including the new Bābariās, and each of the three divisions of the old Bābariās are exogamous groups.

NOTES.—1. The principle underlying this prohibition of marriages is the preservation of equality of status in all the families forming the Kāthi tribe. The Sākhāyats and the old Bābariās are Girāssias whereas the Aurātiās and the new Bābariās are either Jivaidars of these Girāssias or common folk. Thus the women of the latter classes marry higher and gain a status ; and the women of the higher classes marry lower and bring lands and wealth with them to their husbands, and thereby raise the status of their husbands from ordinary men to Jivaidars.

2. The Court of the Judicial Assistant to the Political Agent of Kāthiawār has ruled in more cases than one that the Hindu Law proper does not apply to the Kāthis. This ruling has been, it is said, upheld by the Government of Bombay. It now becomes a question whether the Kāthis can still be classed as Hindus.

# 4. Of the Dravidian Tract.

## SHĀNĀN (603, 189).

[*W. FRANCIS, I.C.S.*]

The great toddy-drawer caste of the Tamil country. The Shānāns have recently come into special prominence owing to the 'Tinnevelly' riots of June 1899, which were occasioned by their claims to be Kshatriyas and to enter the Hindu temples. The Shānāns were the first to resort to violence, attacking the Marāvans' quarters in Sivakāsi on the 26th April. In June the Marāvans retaliated and 886 Shānāns' houses were destroyed in Sivakāsi and 1,634 in the district as a whole. Lives were lost, 870 persons were arrested, and a force of punitive police is still quartered in the district.

The immediate bone of contention on that occasion was the claim of the Shānāns to enter the Hindu temples in spite of the rules in the Agama Shāstras that toddy-drawers are not to be allowed into them, but the pretensions of the community date back from 1858, when a riot occurred in Travancore because female Christian converts belonging to it gave up the caste practice of going about without an upper cloth. Shortly after that date pamphlets began to be written and published by people of the caste setting out their claims to be Kshatriyas. In 1874 they endeavoured to establish a right to enter the great Minākshi temple at Madura, but failed, and they have since claimed to be allowed to wear the sacred thread, and to have palanquins at their weddings. They say they are descended from the Chera, Chola and Pāndya kings, they have styled themselves Kshatriyas in legal papers, labelled their schools 'Kshatriya Academy,' got Brāhmans of the less particular kind to do *purohits*' work for them, had poems composed on their kingly origin, gone through a sort of incomplete parody of the ceremony of investiture with the sacred thread, talked much but ignorantly of their *gotras*, and induced needy persons to sign documents agreeing to carry them in palanquins on festive occasions. Their boldest stroke, however, was to aver that the coins commonly known as 'Shānāns' cash' were struck by sovereign ancestors of the caste. These are Venetian coins often found in the south and they are called 'Shānāns' money' by the common people merely because they have upon them a cross which looks like a toddy palm.

The whole story of their pretensions and claims is set out at length in the judgment in the 'Kamudi temple case' in the Sub-Court (East) of Madura, O. S. No. 33 of 1898.

Apparently, judging from the Shānāns' own published statements of their case, they rest their claims chiefly upon etymological derivations of their caste-name Shānān, and of Nādān and Grāmani, their two usual titles. Caste titles and names are, however, of recent origin and little can be inferred from them, whatever their meaning may be shown to be. Brāhmans, for example, appear to have borne the titles of 'Pillai' and 'Mudali,' which are now only used by Sudras, and the Nāyak kings, on the other hand, called themselves 'Aiyar,' which is now exclusively the title of Saivite Brāhmans. To this day the cultivating Vellālas, the weaving Kaikolas, and the semi-civilized hill tribe of the Jātāpus use equally the title of 'Mudali,' and the Balijas and Telagas call themselves 'Rao' which is properly the title of Mahrātta Brāhmans. Regarding the derivation of the words Shānān, Nādān, and Grāmani much ingenuity has been exercised. Shānān is not found in the earlier Tamil literature at all. In the inscriptions of Rājarāja Chola (A. D. 984-1013), toddy-drawers are referred to as Iluvans. According to *Pingalandai*, a dictionary of the 10th or 11th century, the names of the toddy-drawers castes are Palaiyar, Tuvasar, and Paduvar. To these the *Chudāmani Nikandu*, a Tamil dictionary of the 16th century, adds Saundigar. Apparently, therefore, the Sanskrit word Saundigar must have been introduced (probably by the Brāhmans) between the 11th and 16th centuries, and is a Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil word Iluvan. From Saundigar to Shānān is not a long step in the corruption of words. The Shānāns say that Shānān is derived from the Tamil word Sānrār or Sānror which means 'the learned' or 'the noble.' But it does not appear that the Shānāns were ever called Sānrār or Sānror in any of the Tamil works. The two words *Nādān* and Grāmani mean the same thing, namely, ruler of a country or of a village, the former being a Tamil and the latter a Sanskrit word. *Nādān*, on the other hand, means a man who lives in the country, as opposed to Urān, the man who resides in a village. The title of the caste is *Nādān*, and it seems more probable that it refers to the fact that the Iluvan ancestors of the caste lived outside the villages (South Indian *Inscriptions*, Vol. II. Part I). But even if Nādān and Grāmani both mean 'rulers', it does not give those who bear these titles any claim to be Kshatriyas. If it did, all the descendants of the many South Indian Poligārs, or petty chiefs, would be Kshatriyas.

The social estimation in which the Shānāns are held differs in different districts. In Tinnevelly and Madura they are considered of much less account than they are in Tanjore and Chingleput. The social classification is based on the general opinion of the Hindu community regarding each caste, and it is well-known that in the Tinnevelly riots practically every caste in the district except the Shānān Christian converts sympathised less with the Shānāns' pretensions than with the efforts of those who opposed them.

# 4.—Of the Dravidian Tract.

## VELLĀLA. (2, 378. 739; M. I.)

[*W. Francis, I.C.S.*]

The Vellālas are the great cultivating caste of the Tamil country, and by general consent the first place in social esteem among the Tamil Sudra castes is awarded to them. To give detailed descriptions of the varying customs of a caste which numbers, as this does, over two and a quarter millions and is found all over the Presidency is unnecessary, but the internal construction of the caste, its self-contained and distinct sub-divisions, and the methods by which its numbers are enhanced by accretions from other castes are so typical of the corresponding characteristics of many of the Madras castes that it seems to be worth while to set them out shortly.

The caste is first of all split up into four main divisions named after the tract of country in which the ancestors of each originally resided. These are (1) *Tondamandalam,* or the dwellers in the Pallava country, the present Chingleput and North Arcot districts, the titles of which division are Mudāli, Reddi and Nainār; (2) *Soliya,* or the men of the Chola country, the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts of the present day, the members of which are called Pillai; (3) *Pāndya,* the inhabitants of the Pāndyan Kingdom of Madura and Tinnevelly, which division also uses the title of Pillai; and (4) *Konga,* or those who resided in the Kongu country, which corresponded to Coimbatore and Salem, the men of which are called Kavandans.

The members of all these four main territorial divisions resemble one another in their essential customs. Marriage is either infant or adult, the Purānic wedding ceremonies are followed, and (except among the Konga Vellālas), Brāhmans officiate. They all burn their dead, observe 15 days' pollution, and perform the Karumāntaram ceremony to remove the pollution on the sixteenth day. There are no marked occupational differences among them, most of them being cultivators or traders. Each division contains both Vaishnavites and Saivites and (contrary to the rule among the Brāhmans) differences of sect are not of themselves any bar to inter-marriage. Each division has Pandārams, or priests, recruited from among its members, who officiate at funerals and minor ceremonies, and some of these wear the sacred thread, while other Vellālas only wear it at funerals. All Vellālas perform *srāddhas* and observe the ceremony of invoking their ancestors on the Mahālaya days (a piece of ritual which is confined to the twice-born and the higher classes of Sudras), all of them decline to drink alcohol or to eat in the houses of any but Brāhmans, and all of them may dine together.

Yet no member of any one of these four main divisions may marry into another, and, moreover, each of them is split up into sub-divisions (having generally a territorial origin) the members of which again may not intermarry.

Thus the *Tondamandalam* Vellālas are sub-divided into the Tuluvas, who are supposed to have come from the Tulu country; the Poonamallee Vellālas, so called from the town of that name near Madras; and the Kondaikattis (those who tie their hair in a knot without shaving it). None of these three will intermarry.

The *Soliya* Vellālas are sub-divided into the Vellān Chettis, meaning 'the Vellāla merchants' (who are again further split up into three or four other territorial divisions); the Kodikkāls (betel-garden) who grow the betel-vine; and the Kānakkilināttār, or inhabitants of Kānakkilinādu. These three similarly may not intermarry, but the last is such a small unit and girls in it are getting so scarce that its members are now going to other sub-divisions for their brides.

The *Pāndya Vellālas* are sub-divided into the Kārkāttas or Kāraikāttus, who, notwithstanding the legends about their origin, are probably a territorial sub-division named from a place called Kāraikādu; the Nangudis and Panjais, the origin of whom is not clear; the Arumburs and Sirukudis, so called from villages of those names in the Pāndya country; the Agamudaiyans, who are probably recruits from the caste of that name; the Nirpusis, meaning the wearers of the sacred ashes; and the Kottai Vellālas or 'Fort Vellālas.' These last are a small sub-division the members of which live in the Srivaikuntam Fort and observe the strictest *gosha*. Though they are, as has been seen, a sub-division of a sub-division of a caste, yet their objection to marrying outside their own circle is so strong that, though they are fast dying out because there are so few girls among them, they decline to go to the other sub-divisions for brides.

The *Konga* Vellālas are sub-divided into the Sendalais (red-headed men), Padaitalais (leaders of armies), Vellikkai (the silver hands), Pavalamkatti (wearers of coral), Malaiyadi (foot of the hills), Tollakādu (ears with big holes), Attangarais (river bank) and others, the origin of none of which is clearly known, but the members of which never intermarry.

In addition to all these divisions and sub-divisions of the Vellāla caste proper, there are now-a-days many groups which really belong to quite distinct castes but which call themselves Vellālas and pretend that they belong to that caste, although in origin they had no connection with it. These nominally cannot intermarry with any of the genuine Vellālas, but the caste is so widely diffused that it cannot protect itself against these invasions, and after a few generations the origin of the new recruits is forgotten and they have no difficulty in passing themselves off as real members of the community. The same thing occurs in the Nāyar caste in

Malabar. It may be imaginated what a mixture of blood arises from this practice, and how puzzling the variations in the cranial measurement of Vellālas taken at random are likely to become. Instances of members of other castes who have assumed the name and position of the Vellālas are the Vettuva Vellālas, who are really Vettuvans; the Puluva Vellālas, who are only Puluvans; the Illam Vellālas, who are (Panikkans; the Karaiturai) lord of the shore Vellālas, who are Karaiyāns; the Karukamattai (palmyra leaf stem) Vellālas, who are Shānāns; the Gāzulu (bangle) Vellālas, who are Balijas; the Guha (Rāma's boatman) Vellālas, who are Sembadavans; and the Irkuli Vellālas, who are Vannāns. The children of dancing-girls also often call themselves Mudali, and claim in time to be Vellālas, and even Paraiyans assume the title Pillai, and trust to its eventually enabling them to pass themselves off as members of the caste.

This account of the constitution of this caste will show how difficult it is to decide what shall be considered to be a 'main caste' at the present day, and how puzzling the work of clubbing the caste sub-divisions returned in the schedules may sometimes become. And every day these difficulties increase as (except among a few of the better educated classes) sub-divisions within a caste are becoming yearly more minute, while the limits which formerly separated one main caste clearly from another are growing less and less distinct.

# 4.—Of the Dravidian Tract.

## NĀYARS.

[ *N. S. Aiyar, M.A., M.B., C.M.* ]

The Nāyars form the bulk of the Sudra population of Malabar and hold a position in respect of caste next only to the Brāhmins, Kshatriyās, and the higher classes of the Ampalavāsis. As compared with the Nāyars, the Ampalavāsis claim a position of superiority on the basis of their strict vegetarianism. But this is sometimes questioned. The term Nāyar, according to some, is a corruption of the Sanskrit "Nāyaka" with the vernacular ending "an" and is cognate with Naick, Nāyudu, and Nāyanār. As, according to this derivation, a whole race has to be taken as originally composed of leaders and their descendants, it has been considered by some more correct to derive Nāyars from Nāgars (snakes or the serpent-worshipping Nāgas or Scythians) from the adoration to snakes which has been the characteristic cult of that community. The term Malayali is sometimes used, especially by Pāndi or East Coast Sudras in contradistinction to themselves. But being territorial in connotation, it cannot rightly apply to any particular caste. **Constitution.**

*Titular suffixes*:—(*a*) The titles of Nāyars in Travancore include several varieties. The most general is *Pillai* which was once a distinction granted as a mark of Royal favour. The ceremony of investiture was known as *Tirumukham Pitikkuka* and the honour it conferred on the person was so highly esteemed that even a Brāhmin Dewan Sānku Annāvi, had it bestowed on him and his family. It is enjoyed to this day by his descendants now living at Vempannur in the Eraniel Takul. An individual so honoured is, however, not addressed in formal communications by the suffix *Pillai*, but by the title "*Kanakku*" prefixed to the name, *e.g.*, *Kanakku* Rāman Krishnan.

(*b*) A higher title than *Kanakku* (Pillāi) is *Chempakaraman*. This corresponds to the knighthood of the medieval ages and was first instituted by Maharaja Mārtānda Varma. The person whom it was the king's delight to honour was taken in procession on the back of an elephant through the four main streets within the fort and then received by the Prime Minister, accorded a seat by his side, and presented with *pan supari*. Rare as this investiture is in modern days, there are many ancient houses in Travancore to which this honorific appellation is attached in perpetuity. The title *Kanakku* is often enjoyed along with it, *e.g.*, *Kanakku Chempakarāman* Krishnan.

(*c*) *Tampi* (literally younger brother) is another title found in various parts of Travancore. It is the distinctive suffix attached to the names of Nāyar sons of Travancore sovereigns. But in ancient times the title used to be conferred upon others too, as a recognition of rare merit and devotion. According to the custom of the country, *Tampis* alone among Sudras proceed in palanquins and appear before the king without a head-dress. The Maharajah's consorts are usually selected from these families. If a lady from outside has to be taken, she is generally adopted into one of these families before, or soon after, the alliance.

(*d*) *Kartā* is another title found attached to the names of many families in North Travancore. The word *Kartā* means "a doer" and appears to have been used as an honorific suffix by some of the Madura kings. The *Tekkumkur* and *Vatakkumkur* Rājās in Malabar are said to have first conferred this title on certain influential Nāyar families and constituted them petty chieftains subject to his suzerainty. All the *Kartās* belong to the *Illam* sub-division of the Nāyar caste.

(*e*) The title Kuruppu, though sometimes assumed by castes other than *Nāyars*, denotes really an ancient section of the Nāyar people charged with functions of varied interest. Some are, for instance, the instructors in arms of the Travancore Royal family, while others are Superintendents of maid-servants in the Royal Household. When the Maharajah of Travancore enters into matrimonial alliance, it is a Kuruppu that has to call out the full title of the Royal consort "*Panappillai-Amma*" as soon as the presentation of silk and cloth, which constitutes the wedding-rite, is over.

(*f*) The word *Pānikkar* comes from the vernacular word *pani* meaning work. It was the *Panikars* who formerly kept *Kalaris* (gymnastic and military schools) in North Travancore. In modern days when Kalaris have mostly become things of the past, the Panikkars have betaken themselves to the teaching of letters instead of arms. We often hear of these Panikkars as experts in sword exercises. They are referred to by early Portuguese writers as the strength of the country. Besides these, there are other kinds of Panikkars who are entirely devoted to temple service. The title Panikkar does not indicate any particular section of Nāyars, for in olden times it was obtained more by bravery than by birth.

(*g*) The Kaimmals (derived from "*kai*" hand, signifying power) are according to tradition the fighting masters of Malabar. The Kaimmal of the Vaikkattillam house

was once a petty ruler. Kaimmals generally held charge of the Royal treasury which, by a respected custom, could not even be seen by the kings except with the Kaimmals in attendance. "Neither could they (the kings)" observes Barbosa, "take anything out of the treasury without a great necessity and by the council of this person (Kaimmal) and certain others."

(*h*) *and* (*i*) *Unnittān* and *Valiyatān* are two other titles. *Tān* in Malayalam is a title of dignity, *Unni* meaning small and *valiya* great. It is supposed that as the Nāyar sons of the ruling kings of Malabar were called Tampis, the sons of those Kshatriyas who had no territorial sovereignty were called *Unnittāns* and *Valiyātāns*.

(*j*) *Emān*, an obvious corruption of Yagamanan or lord, is another title found affixed to the names of certain persons in central Travancore. Certain families of Illakkār in each *Kara* were in former times so wealthy and powerful that the commonalty, tacitly recognizing their overlordship, called them Yagamānans or masters. They were to a certain extent self-constituted justices of the peace and, like the ancient feudal barons of Normandy, settled all ordinary disputes.

(*k*) *Menavan*, contracted into Menon. The word Menavan means a superior person (*Mel* above and *avan* he). This was conferred upon several Nāyar families by the Rājās of Cochin and corresponds to Pillai, further south. As soon as a person was made a Menon, he was presented with an *Ola* (palmyra leaf as a writing sheet) and an iron style, as symbolical of the office he was expected to fill, *i.e.*, of an accountant. Even now in British Malabar, each *Amsam* or revenue village has a writer or accountant who is called Menon.

(*l*) The title *Menokki*, literally one who looks over or superintends, is found only in British Malabar, as it was exclusively a creation of the Zamorin.

**History.** To the question who are the Nāyars, various answers have been suggested, some of a traditional and others of a quasi-historical character. The Keralamāhātmya would make the Nāyars the offspring of the union of the junior members of a Namputiri family, (where the eldest son is alone permitted by custom to marry in his own caste) with *Deva*, *Gandharva*, and *Rākshasa* women brought in from extra-terrene regions by Parasurāma himself The Keralolpatti regarded them as the Sudras who accompanied the original Brāhmin immigrants from outside Kerala. Some believe that the Nāyars were the snake-worshipping Scythians who had settled in Malabar before the Brāhmins arrived. Authorities like Dr. Ferguson and Colonel Kirkpatrick argued that the similarity in the marriage customs and architectural and other peculiarities of the Nāyars of Malabar and the Newars of Nepal suggest a racial identity between them.

There is the theory that the Nāyars are the Dravidians of Southern India on whom the influence of the Brāhmins has been so powerful as to impress on them characteristic differences between them and the members of the parent-stock in the old country. The latest speculation is by Mr. Fawcett who, in his recent work on the Nāyars of Malabar says : "The resemblance between the Uriyas of Gumsur and thereabouts, a fine fighting stock, and the Nāyars of Malabar is very striking." That the Nāyars are of the same stock as the Pallavas has been accepted by Mr. Logan in his Manual of Malabar, Pālakkāt (Palghat) being the Fort or the centre of the Pallavas and Valluvanāt in British Malabar being really the *nāt* or the country of Valluvas (a corruption of Pallavas). The Kiriyam Nāyars who belong to British Malabar are, according to a current tradition, connected with the sixty-four families of Vellalas whom Dr. Oppert has tried to identify with the Pallavas.

The Indian orthodox view that the Nāyars as Sudras constitute one of the four Aryan divisions forming the ancient spirituo-economic scheme of caste has also its votaries. Their matriarchal system of inheritance and their peculiar marital relations are considered mere modifications of a common patriarchal system, rendered necessary by various social and political dispositions. And although in consonance with the theory of their non-Aryan origin, their Aryan colour has been put down to the climate and to the abundant shadiness of their homes and the similarity of their facial contour to the close blood-connection that has existed for centuries between the Brāhmans and the Nāyars, vitiating perhaps the results of anthropometry to some extent, sufficient evidence does not appear to have been gathered to entirely negative the possibility of their Aryan origin. As the Brahmin immigration into Malabar is to be taken as a proved fact in history, it is quite conceivable, as the Keralolpatti says, that the Sudras as their accessory adjuncts came with the Brāhmans from where so ever that might be.

**Sub-divisions.** To say that the Nāyars are a caste is not quite correct. It would be better to call them a tribe; so numerous and varied are the divisions comprised under the general head, Nāyar. And as if these divisions were not themselves enough, all the titles of distinction that have been created from time to time have come to be looked upon as so many sub-divisions. In the schedules over a hundred and thirty such classes have been returned which by a process of resolution may be compressed into 44. They are (1) Kiriyam, (2) Illam, (3) Naluvitan, (4) Svarupam, (5) Pādamangalam, (6) Tamil Pādam, (7) Vātti, (8) Daivampāti, (9) Payyampāti, (10) Itattara, (11) Cherukāra, (12) Puttur, (13) Nallur, (14) Natamukki, (15) Itachcheri, (16) Antalavam, (17) Ponnara, (18) Karuvelam, (19) Kuravan or Arikuravan, (20) Ettuvitan, (21) Pattuvitan, (22) Pantrantu Vitan, (23) Pallichchan, (24) Vantikkāran, (25) Kuzhappara, (26) Kuttina, (27) Pulkika also called Puliyam, and Veloyam, also called Kallur and Matavan (28) Otam or Kala, (29) Mantalāyi, (30) Karichcha, (31) Aravan, (32) Koyippuram, (33) Māngngālakkal, (34) Ilakutiyan, (35) Oppamtara, (36) Atikunnam, (37) Ilampi, (38) Kokkara, (39) Manavālam, (40) Vattakkātan and Chakkālan, (42) Anti (43) Manigrāmam,

(44) Ādichchan. The main divisions are only five, namely, Kiriyam, Illam, Svarupam, Pādamangalam, and Tamil Pādam. These are mostly endogamous sub-divisions. The caste that considers itself higher may take a girl from the lower, but never gives one to it.

1. The Kiriyam Nāyars belong more to Cochin and British Malabar than to Travancore and are supposed to represent the highest class.

2. The Illakkār are found in very large numbers in Travancore and may be taken as the highest class of Travancore Nāyars. The word *Illam* indicates a Namputiri Brāhman's house and tradition considers every Illam family as having once served an Illam. The Illakkār are not to use fish, flesh or liquor—a caste injunction which like many others is not now universally respected. In several parts of Malabar they have by close daily contact with the Brāhmans moulded many of their personal habits in the truly Brāhmanical style. In the schedules some of the Illakkār have returned themselves as belonging to particular Brāhman *Illams* such as Āzhvāncheri, Pattāzhi, Sripādam, Kumāranallur, Kollur, Netuvazhi, and Tennur. Of these the Pattāzhi Illakkār, consider themselves as ranking higher than all the rest, by the special favour of the local Goddess—(Mannati Bhagavati of Pattāzhi Desam in Pattanapuram Taluk). The Sripādam Illakkār are those on whom that rank was conferred by Rāni Pārvati Bhāi. Sripādam (or the foot of Lakshmi) is the name of the Travancore Rani's palace and has within its walls one of the sacred waters of the classic Anantasayanam. Priestly service at the hands of the Ilayatu and purificatory rites by the Mārān are taken to distinguish the Illam Nāyars from the other sections of the caste. Like many others, these differences are now mostly obsolete.

3. The Naluvitans (literally those belonging to the four houses) enjoy a status equal to that of the Kiriyam Nāyars. They are a differentiated section of the Illakkār.

4. The Svarupakkār are the attendants of the Kshatriya families of Travancore, as the Illakkār, of the Brāhmans. Of these the Parur Svarupam (Palace) have their purificatory rites served by the Mārān. It is said that they were once the Illakkār servants of one Karattetattu Namputiri who is said to have been the feudal lord of Parur (near Quilon) and afterwards became attached to the Royal household that succeeded to that estate, thus becoming Parur Svarupakkār. The Svarupakkār are only next in rank to the Illakkār and consist of various local denominations such as Kaippizha, Pattāzhi, and Vempanāt. The castes in British Malabar corresponding to the Svarupam are the Akattu cherna and Purattu cherna.

**5 and 6. Pādamangalam and Tamil Padam :**—There is a supposition that Pādamangalam and Tamil Pādam Sudras were not originally Nāyars but late immigrants from the Tamil country. Being confined to a few localities in Travancore, they are not known to the Nāyars of Cochin and British Malabar, and until recently there was a distinctive difference in regard to ornaments and dress between them and the ordinary Nāyars. The occupation of the Pādamangalakkār is temple service such as sweeping, cleaning, carrying lamps during processions, etc.

**7, 8, and 9.** The Vātti, the Daivampāti, and the Payyampāti are all very closely connected, but are not even mentioned in the Gātinirnaya. The Vāttis are called variously Vāttikkuruppu, Pāttukuruppu, and Nantunikkuruppu. The word Vātti is a corruption of Vāzhtti meaning "blessing" and refers to the occupation they have followed from time immemorial. Nantuni is a kind of musical instrument peculiar to Malabar which the castemen use. The Daivampāti and the Payyampāti are, as their names imply, singers of sacred songs and bear the title of Kuruppus like the Vāttis. Some of them living in the Taluk of Vilavankod follow the *Makkattayam* system of inheritance.

**10 and 11. Itattara and Cherukara**—Are not important as caste sub-divisions. They are so called merely on account of their having once served under well-known Brāhman or Kshatriya families bearing those names. Thus Itattara Nāyars are those who served the Itattara Potti, a South Travancore Brāhman chieftain of considerable prowess during the 9th century of the Malabar era.

**Natamukki Nāyar :**—Their traditional occupation is to spread washed cloths for the Namputiris to walk from the bathing *ghāt* to the *Illam* on the last day of death pollution.

15. **Itachcheris** are otherwise called Pantāris in South Travancore. They are herdsmen and engage themselves in selling butter, milk, and curds.

16. **Antalavan :**—These are personal attendants of Nāyar chieftains.

17. **The Ponnara** sub-division is allied to the preceding one and enjoys certain special privileges in the Sārkara temple in the Chirayinkil Taluk. They hold a rank equal to that of the Svarupakkār.

18. **The Karuvelattu Nāyar :**—They seem to be a specialized class of Svarupakkār and cherish the proud duty of guarding the Crown Treasury known as Karuvelam.

19. **Arikuravan :**—(Literally those that reduced the rice) are those Nāyars who, having reduced the quantity of rice out of the paddy given to them for husking at the Mahādeva temple at Kazhkkuttam, were so accosted by the local chieftain.

**20, 21, and 22. Ettuvitan, Pattuvitan, and Pantrarauvitan :**—Literally the eight, the ten, and the twelve houses, are so called because so many Nāyar houses, have been entrusted with functions at certain important temples in Travancore. Ettuvitans are the members of the eight houses whose duty it is to clean the inner courtyard and attend to the gold and silver vessels at the Sri Patmanābhasvāmi's temple at Trivandrum. The Pattuvitans or people of the ten houses are employed to carry flags, umbrellas, and other paraphernalia on festive occasions at that temple. The Pantrantuvitans, or the twelve house-people are employed to perform similar functions at the temple of Ādikesavasvāmi at Tiruvattār which is supposed to be a miniature Sri Patmanābhasvami temple.

**23. Pallichchan:**—They are the bearers of palanquins of Brāhmans and Malabar chieftains. They were also employed as their attendants to carry the sword and shield before them as their insignia of lordship. They are said to be lapses from the Illakkār.

**24. Vantikkaran** (literally cartmen):—It is said that these Nāyars were once Illakkār. But as they began to work as cartmen for taking fuel, they lost equality in status with the rest of the Illakkār.

**25. Kuttina Nāyar:**—The Kuttina Nāyars are found only in the Minachil Taluk. The peculiarity about them is that even to this day their girls are married in a cow-shed.

**26. Pulikkappanikkan':**—In some parts they are known as Puliyattu Nāyar and in other places as the Veliyattu Nāyar. Their other names are Kallur Nāyar and Matavar. The Puliyattu Nāyars are believed to have been good marksmen in ancient days. They help the Atikal (a class of the Ampalavāsis) by drawing the image of Bhadrakāli and are useful to the Chakkiyār in carrying his dress and accoutrements. The late Pāchu Muttatu, a renowned Hindu physician at his Highness's Court, says in his vernacular work on Malabar Castes that "no other section of the Nāyars bear so many names and follow such diverse occupations as the Matavars."

**27. Otattu Nāyar:**—They are also called Kusa Nāyar. Their occupation is to tile temples and Namputiri houses. Connected with the Otattu Nāyars is another class called Chempukottis, whose traditional function is to lay copper-sheets for the roofs of Hindu temples.

**28. Mantalayi:**—They may be looked upon more as a class of Nānchināt Vellālās than Nāyars. They are found exclusively in the Penmana Proverti of the Kalkulam Taluk, where a tract of land called Mantalāchchi Konam has been granted to them by the Sircār from very early times. They are the paid mourners of the State and have to attend at the Trivandrum Palace when death occurs in the Royal family.

**29. Karichcha Nāyar:**—In their occupation they are similar to the Vantikkārans.

**30. Aravans** (literally those who belong to a paddy granary):—They are the descendants of persons once employed at the granaries of certain temples in Travancore.

**31. Mangagali:**—They have to carry the Ashtamangalya plate in front of the Nāyar bride at the Tālikettu ceremony.

**32. Ilkutiyans:**—Their occupation was to cultivate and supply vegetable substances, such as plantains and betel leaves.

**33. Oppantara:**—This is not a caste name, but a title bestowed by the Cochin Rājā upon certain families in north Travancore when that territory was under his sway.

**34, 35, and 36. Atikunna, Hampi, Kokkara:**—These are the names applied to those Sudras whose position, as Mārāns or Nāyars, cannot be definitely stated, and who use the instrument called *kokkara*. This is formed of a plate of iron turned into a tube, the edges strongly serrated and not closely united. It is about 9 inches in length and one and a half in diameter. From it hangs a chain and an iron pin or spike, which is rubbed along the dentate edges of the iron cylinder, making a grating noise

**37. Manigrāmam:**—They are believed to represent Hindu recoveries from early proselytism to the Christian church.

**38. Adichchan:**—They are the attendants on the Atikals who officiate at the temples dedicated to Bhadrakāli.

**Appearances and physical features.**

The appearance of the well-nourished Nāyar is perhaps one of the finest in all India. The climate and the nature of their occupation, added to the situation of their houses which nestle as it were under a canopy of trees, are such as ought ordinarily to promote complexion and general appearance. Scrupulous attention to personal cleanliness is a conspicuous feature of the Nāyars of both sexes. And, barring the tendency that is becoming almost universal to imitate Western customs, however unconventional, needless, and expensive, the fibre of the *incha* bark, which on an evening many a tank-going Nāyar girl may be seen separating and arranging as she walks along, is still the national soap of Malābār and a very efficacious one too. The growth of the hair is very profuse, especially on the head, and both sexes take great pains to preserve its fineness and length. To the baldness of care and age and the hairlessness of certain temperaments, the Nāyar is of course no exception. But in regard to strength and endurance, the average Nāyar of to-day stands inferior to his analogue on the opposite coast.

**Clothing and ornaments.**

The general feature of Nāyar clothing is its moderateness, sometimes bordering on scantiness. The washerman is always in requisition and no dirty clothes are ever worn if at all possible. The oldest ornament of the Nāyar lady is the *nāgapatam* (snake's hood) from the shape of its gold pendant. Unlike her sister of the opposite coast, she wears no jewelry on the head. The only ear-ornament is the *takka* or its modern representative, the *tota*, which is a two-lipped, bi-convex disc holding the inside of the ear-lobes in its circumferential groove. On the front surface of the *tota* precious stones, such as rubies, emeralds, and diamonds, may be set. The nose-pendants of the Nāyar woman are the *mukkutti* and *gnattu*. No jewel adorns the right nasal cartilage. For the neck the inseparable ornament of modern days is the *addiyal*. The other ornaments are the *nālupanti*, *kanthasaram*, and the *arumpumani*. But these are being gradually displaced. Gold or silver zones around the waist are in great favour. Golden belts called *kachchappurams* are now yielding to the *oddyānam* of the East Coast. No anklets are generally used by adult women, but the younger folks are taking to the *kolusu* and the *padasaram*. The Nāyar woman is generally averse to profusion in clothing and ornaments, though Visscher wrote: "There is not one of any fortune who does not own as many as 20 or 30 chests full of robes made of silver and other valuable materials." What would that Visscher have said if, crossing to the other side of the *ghāts*, he had beheld the

nautch girls of the Coromandel coast who are, to use the words of a Sanskrit poet, "walking flesh-trees bearing golden fruits." **Tattooing.**

To Malābār tatooing was little known in olden times. Even to-day it does not find any favour with North Travancore Nāyars. It is only in the case of Nāyar women living to the south of Quilon that the custom seems to prevail: some accounts trace it to the influence of a Moghul Sirdār who invaded Travancore in 1680 A. D.

**Habitation.** The houses of the Nāyars standing in the midst of separate compounds have been by many writers supposed to be designed with special reference to the requirements of defence. The saying common in England, that every man's house is his own castle is well verified here. An ancient Nāyar house generally faces the east and commands a beautiful panorama of cheering verdure. At the entrance is an out-house with sometimes an upper storey which in medieval times must have served as a guard-room. In poorer houses, its place is taken by a roofed door-way provided in most cases with a stile to keep out cattle. A Nāyar house is usually divided into four parts, the *Arappura* or the main building, the *Patippura* or the gate-house, the *Tekketu* or the southern portion, and the *Vataketu* or the northern, which is the kitchen. Inside the house-garden, one meets with various kinds of useful plants and trees such as "the shady jack, the graceful areca, the stately cocoanut palm, the luxuriant plantain, the solid tamarind, the mighty mango, and useful talipot." On the south-western corner is the usual serpent *Kāvu* and by its side a tank. Among Nāyar houses, storied buildings were in ancient days extremely uncommon and tiled roofing was unknown till a hundred years ago. "The greater part of the houses in Malabar," writes Bartolomeo, "are built of teak wood which is much harder and heavier than oak and with which it stands corruption for a very great length of time. I have seen several houses more than 400 years old which during that period had suffered little or no decay. The palm leaves with which they are covered and the above wood have the property of attracting moisture and of suffering it again to escape as a breath of air begins to blow or the sun to shine. Hence it happens that these houses are much healthier than those of stone and lime, which, if not allowed to dry properly, evaporate for a long time after they have built a great many calcareous and highly pernicious particles."

**Food and drink.** The Nāyars are not strict vegetarians. Fish in many houses is an article of daily consumption, and even though the upper classes generally shun it, the partiality in its favour is so strong with some that it is very often smuggled in. It is believed that the appetizing properties of fish are of no mean order. The *kānji* or rice gruel is a favourite food of the Malabar Hindus, and of the Nāyars of the working classes in particular. According to a well-known writer at the commencement of the sixteenth century, drinking was unknown in Travancore. But as days advanced, that virtue seems to have unfortunately declined so that in 1787 A. D. the then Mahārāja had to formally prohibit the use of Takara or palm brandy under pain of forfeiture of property.

**Occupation.** The Nāyars with the other indigenous castes of Travancore formed a huge militia, but engaged in agricultural and other occupations during times of peace. A large standing army containing many Nāyars was also maintained. So late as the end of the eighteenth century, there were with Maharaja Rāma Varma, "a hundred thousand soldiers, Nāyars and Chegos, armed with bows, spears, swords, and battle axes." In the *Velakli*, a kind of mock fight, which is one of the items of the *Utsavam* programme in every important temple in Malabar, the dress worn by the Nāyars is supposed to be their ancient military costume. Even now among the Nāyars who form the Mahāraja's own Brigade, agriculture, to which they are by a most judiciously conceived arrangement enabled to attend during all their off-duty days, goes largely to supplement their salaries. Various other occupations all equally necessary for society, have been, according to Keralāvakāsakrama, assigned to the Nāyars and would seem to have determined their original sub-divisions. They are (1) *Illakkār*, or servants at the *Illams* (houses) of Brāhmans, (2) *Svarupakkār* or servants of the *Svarupams* or kingly houses, (3) *Pādamangalakkār*, temple servants, (4) Tamil Pādakkār, miscellaneous employés, (5) Itachcheri Nāyars or dealers in dairy produce, (6) Mārans or temple musicians and priests, (7) *Chempukottis* or coppersmiths who prepare and lay copper-sheet roofing, (8) *Otattu Nāyars* or tile-makers, (9) *Kalamkottis* or potters, (10) *Vattakkātans* or dealers in oil, (11) *Pallichchans* or bearers of palanquins, (12) *Asthikhurichchis* or undertakers, (13) *Chettis* or traders in vegetables and other domestic necessaries, (14) *Chāliyans* or weavers, (15) *Veluttetans* or washermen, and (16) *Vilakkittalavans* or barbers. Other books give other names of caste sub-divisions, but all of them agree in their functional basis. But these traditional occupations are fast ceasing to be followed by their respective sub-divisions under the ferment of the new civilization which, while it brings relief to a few castes, spells death to many.

**Religious festival and worship.** The chief festival of the Nāyars in which all the naturalized Malayālis including the East Coast Brāhmans join is the *Onam*, a contraction of *Tiruvonam* the asterism of the second day of the festival. It occurs in the last week of August or in the first week of September. It is a season of joy and merriment. "About the 10th of September the rain ceases in Malabar. All nature seems then as if renovated; the flowers again shoot up and the trees bloom; in a word, this is the same season as that which the Europeans call spring." According to some, this is the annual celebration of the Malabar new year which first began with Cheraman Perumāl's supposed departure for Mecca; but according to the orthodox majority, it is the day of the great Mahābali Chakravarti's annual visit to his dear country. There is also a belief that it is Mahāvishnu that pays a visit on the *Onam* day to this mundane universe for whose *Sthiti* or just and proper maintenance he

among the Hindu Triad is specially responsible. In certain North Malabar title-deeds and horoscopes, as Mr. Logan notices, the year is taken as ending with the day previous to the *Onam*. The presentation of cloths to relations and dependents is special to the *Onam* day. On this occasion even the poorest man tries to dine like a prince. As a Malabar proverb goes, the *Onam* must be enjoyed even by selling one's *Kanam* (estate). Various field-sports of the indigenous type, of which football is the chief, are lustily gone in for, by the *Onam* enjoyers. In more martial times, the recreation was of a more dangerous description. To quote Fr. Bartolomeo, once more, who lived and wrote at the end of the eighteenth century: "The men, particularly those who are young, form themselves into two parties and shoot at each other with arrows. These arrows are blunted, but exceedingly strong and are discharged with such force that a considerable number are generally wounded on both sides. These games have a great likeness to the Ceralia and Juvenalia of the ancient Greeks and Romans." So says Forbes also in his oriental memoirs. "Even to-day in British Malabar," says Mr. Fawcett, "each player is armed with a little bow made of bamboo about 18 inches in length, and arrows, or what answer for arrows being no more than pieces of the midrib of the cocoanut palm-leaf roughly broken off, leaving a little leaf at one end to take the place of the feather. In the centre of the spot, but on the ground, is placed the target—a piece of the heart of the plantain tree about 3 inches in diameter pointed at the top in which is stocked a small *cheppu* as the mark, which is the immediate object in view of the players so-called. They shoot indiscriminately at the mark and he who lifts it (the little arrows shoot straight and stick in readily) carries off all the arrows lying on the ground." In the earlier centuries the amusement must have been much more serious. Even to-day the bow is an instrument of reverence on the *Onam* days.

**Marriage-customs and system of inheritance.**

Marriage among this caste may mean either the formal ceremony of tying a *tāli* around the neck of a girl, accompanied by festive celebrations for four days, known as *Tālikettu* or *Kettukalyānam*, or the ceremony of actual alliance as husband and wife, extending for a few hours in the night, conducted quietly in the midst of a comparatively small gathering and with instrumental music religiously eschewed, known as *Sambandham* or *Muntukotukkuka* [cloth-giving]. The former is a public family ceremony while the latter is more a private and personal transaction, but solemn if unostentatious. In the generality of cases, the Nāyar wife does not live in her husband's house but in the house of her birth, which alone she looks upon as hers, at all stages of her life.

**The Kettukalyānam ceremony.**

"As a religious ceremony" said the late Sir T. Muttuswâmi Aiyar, "the Kettukalyānam is taken to give the girl a marriageable status." "But in relation to marriage," says the great jurist, "it has no significance save that no girl is at liberty to contract it before she goes through the *Tālikettu* ceremony . . . In some parts of South Malabar, however, there is a belief that it is a marriage; but even there the custom is to tear up a cloth, called the *Kachcha* cloth, on the fourth day of the ceremony, as a symbol that the marriage has been dissolved. A ceremony which creates the tie of marriage only to be dissolved at its close suggests an intention rather to give the girl the merits of a *Samskār* or a religious ceremony than to generate the relation of husband and wife." If as a marriage rite the Kettukalyānam of the Nāyar has no significance, it is not less so than the ceremony of *Samāvartana* or the formal termination of the *Brahmachāri Āsrama* among Brāhmans; and if the retention of the *Samāvartana* as a ceremony to be gone through immediately after the commencement of the *Vidyārthi* or pupil stage (corresponding to the date of the thread-investiture) or a few years after, irrespective of the progress made or of the expected sequel, is taken to indicate a passed time when, after the full course of instruction had been run out, a person exchanged that *Āsrama* for that of the *grihasth* (married man) or of a *Snātaka* which is, in other words, an endless post-graduate course of study and pious service, the Kettukalyānam with many of its ceremonial details similar to those of the Namputiri, refers to a period when that rite was with the Nāyars as much a sacrament as with the Namputiris themselves. If, on account of certain circumstances, the full *Brahmachāri* course had to be cut short, it is not unreasonable to assume other circumstances of an equally if not more justifiable character which required that the relationship created by a *Kettukalyānam* ceremony should be cancelled soon after. The absence of the *Pānigrahanam* and the *Saptapadi* or the walking of the seven steps and *Hōma* or sacrifices to fire in the *Kettukalyānam* rite is taken to show that the whole ceremony was an interpolation. But it may be safely assumed that these being the solemnly binding items of the programme were honestly omitted. In place of the Vedic chants of the Brāhmans the vernacular hymns and invocations of the Brāhmans (a section of the Ampalavāsis) are sung in probable imitation of the *Vedasvaram* (Vedic chant).

**Description of a Kettukalyānam.**

The details of this ceremony vary widely in different parts of Malabar. But the essential parts of the ceremony appear to be the same throughout.

After the age of eleven a Nāyar girl becomes ineligible for this ceremony. As in all castes and communities of the Hindu 'persuasion,' so among the Malabar people, the ages represented by the odd numbers, seven, nine, and eleven, are considered auspicious. A number of girls may be married at a time, and the marriage being now a mere ceremonial may include even infants, an arrangement prompted by obvious considerations of economy. The masters of the ceremony at a Nāyar *Tālikettu* in Travancore are the Machchampikkār. They are the members of the ancient Nāyar families appointed for this purpose by the Mahārājas of Travancore. Each *Kara* has three or four such families, who divide among themselves the customary services in that Kara.

*Inangngans* or relations may also act the part of bridegrooms. When an Aryappattar or Tirumulpāt is invited to tie the *tāli* in aristocratic households, there may be but one *tāli*-tier

even for a number of girls. Generally there are as many bridegrooms as there are brides. This has led some European writers to assume the existence in Malabar of what is known to sociological science as group-marriages. This is evidently wrong. At the construction of the marriage-*pandal*, the villagers take a responsible interest and render substantial aid. The actual wedding takes place in a *mandap* which being decorated with *katiru*, or ears of corn is called *Katiru mandapam*. The first item in the marriage-celebration is a sumptuous banquet called the *Ayaniyunu*, given by the bride's people to the bridegroom. The girl goes to the bathing *ghāt* on the morning of the first day of the marriage ceremony. She does so in a regular procession. One of the Machchampi females, well-dressed and wearing ornaments of price, walks in front of the girl with a vessel containing the girl's wearing apparel to be used after bath, a mirror, and other toilette articles in the left hand and with a *changngal-avattaka* or a metal hand-lamp peculiar to Malabar, in the right. Often the tender feet of the girl are protected from touching the ground below by broad cloths spread on the way. Silk umbrellas are also, according to the social station of the family, held over the head of the girl. On reaching the house she is placed in a separate room and all the assembled guests are served with a rich feast. Within the *Katirumandapam* the Brāhmans are accommodated. One of them then ties a string round the left hand of the girl (*kappuket-tuka* in vernacular or *pratisārabandham* in Sanskrit), as symbolical of a solemn resolve to do a particular act. A song called *Subhadrāveli*, which is the account of the famous marriage of Subhadra by Arjuna, is then sung by the Brāhmans. Invited by the bride's mother who proceeds to his house and places a garland round his neck, the *Manavālan* (bridegroom) starts at the auspicious time (*Muhurtam*) in procession, riding on an elephant or walking on foot according to the wealth and status of the party concerned. The brother of the bride waits at the door to receive the bridegroom and his party. The bridegroom arriving takes his seat in front of the bride and on the right side but facing the same direction as the bride, *i.e.*, the east. The bridegroom then receives the *minnu*, the wedding jewel with the string or *tāli*, at the hands of the *Asān* or the village school-master and places it around the neck of the bride or brides, who, when there are more than one, are seated in a row holding in their hands an arrow and a looking-glass. This practice, it may be remarked in passing, is not universally followed. A song known as *Ammāchchan Pāttu* or the song of the maternal uncle, is then sung, which is presumably the invocation by the uncle of prosperity to the married couple. On the second day the *pratisaram* (string tied round the left wrist of the bride) is removed, the function determined on having been duly fulfilled. On the third day is the *Avaltitti*, when confected beaten rice is served to the bridegroom and party. This, too, forms the occasion for a festive procession. With a few other ceremonies of comparatively minor importance and a finishing bath or *Nirāttu* known to all Brāhminical ceremonies as *Avabhrita snāna*, the programme is fully acted out.

In cases where a *tāli-ketiu* is beyond the means of a *tarwād*—a contingency rarely, if at all, accepted in practice—the ceremony may be gone through along with a similar ceremony at the house of a well-to-do relation or friend, in front of a Saiva temple, generally that of Tirunakkara at Kottayam or at the *Pantāramatham*, *i.e.*, in the house of the village chieftain.

**Sambandham.**

*Sambandham* constitutes the real marriage, *de facto* as well as *de jure*. The word *sambandham* means alliance or connection. In different parts of Kerala, it is differently known as *Gunadosham*, meaning a union for good and evil and *Vastradānam* or *Putavakota*, meaning the giving of cloth. The most common words in Travancore are *Putavakota* in the south and *Sambandham* in the north. It may be performed without any formal ceremony, and in several ancient families, including the most aristocratic, as a private transaction confidentially gone through. In some cases the bridegroom and a few of his select friends assemble in the house of the bride, and the bridegroom presents her with a few unbleached cloths. Presents are made to *Vaidikās* and to the relations and servants of the bride. After supper and *pān supāri* the party disperses. Just before the acceptance of the cloth, the girl makes due obeisance to uncles, mother, aunts, and other elders, as if by way of seeking and obtaining their formal assent for the transaction she is going to enter into. Another day is generally fixed for the actual consummation ceremony. On that day, too, the bridegroom goes with betel and nuts to the bride's house accompanied by a few friends who are entertained at supper.

Perpetual widowhood is not an institution among Nāyars. Divorce is theoretically unrestricted but practically not very frequent.

**General.**

While among the Nāyars the ceremonial declaring of a man and woman as husband and wife even at a *Putavakota* is not usually regarded as having any ritualistic religious sanction, *i.e.*, beyond that of ordinary propriety and general social morality or as giving rise *ipso facto* to rights of the kinds recognized by the other communities, it has to be noted, in the words of Logan, that "the very looseness of the law makes the individual observance closer; for people have more watchful care over the things they are most liable to lose." That fraternal polyandry once prevailed in Malabar on a noticeable scale and still prevails to a very small extent in certain parts of the country is not improbable. But to trace the custom to primitive bestiality is not only unkind in the extreme, but unscientific in the highest degree. On the other hand, this form of marriage, says Westermarck, seems to require a certain degree of civilization. It was probably in most cases an expression of fraternal benevolence on the part of the eldest brother, a benevolence and an absence of jealousy which, viewed from the modern standpoint, can perhaps only evoke a good-natured smile. And whatever be the relation in time or sequence between inheritance and the character of the marital tie, the recognition of a sister as much if not a more, natural kinswoman than a girl of another family

wedded and introduced into one's own, will not, on calm reflection, seem so contrary to the run of even the highest human nature, as may at first appear. But various uncharitable interpretations have unfortunately been put on the family life of a good and loving people and several arguments have been urged by way of vindication. Like every other caste for which ordinances are prescribed in the Hindu *Smritis*, the Nāyars, too, must have been once governed by the *Makkathayam* system. The political conditions of a people have a great deal to do with their marriage customs and forms of inheritance and all possible present-day abuses. What Montesquieu says * with reference to the circumstances under which Nāyar women began to be polyandrous or at least ceased to conform to the conventional rules of marital life, deserves to be noted and will account even more directly for the prevailing system of property inheritance.

But all this is now fast changing. Polyandry is not heard of except perhaps in certain remote country-parts and in these peaceful times and altered conditions of society, the continuation of such strange customs is rightly regarded as devoid of all justification. The practice at least among all decent sections of the Nāyar people is one of strict monogamy with all the constancy of a *Makkathayam* union and the right to divorce at will is sparingly exercised. Even the remarriage of widows except at tender ages is considered not quite the proper thing, if it could at all be helped. The *Kettukalyānam* or the *tāli*-tying, which at present is a mere ceremony, is beginning to be recognized as a relic and record of a different past and the trend of public opinion is in the direction of restoring it to its original binding value. The responsibility for the due care and proper maintenance of one's children is not only felt by the parents in a greater measure than formerly (*i.e.* in medieval times) but is beginning to be enforced by society and to some extent by the State. The need for legislation, in view to sanction, render stable and even stimulate, this gradual tendency towards reform, has been felt; and it is more than likely that when the actual change in conviction and in sentiment spreads wider and sinks deeper, legislation will stand clear of all charges of meddlesomeness or of being revolutionary and merely by a formal declaration of a well established public opinion intended only to serve as a recorded authority for judicial tribunals.

**Ceremonies before and after marriage.**

The first ante-natal ceremony of importance which the *enciente* woman performs at the seventh month, sometimes at the ninth, is the *pulikuti* towards whose expenses the husband has to contribute. The essential part of the ceremony consists in the brother of the woman or in his absence a Mārān dropping tamarind juice three times over a knife into her mouth, she standing on a plank with her face towards the sun. The *Annaprāsana*, the *Nāmakarana*, and the *Karnavedha* have all to be performed but in the *amantric* way, *i.e.*, without the recitation of *Mantras*. It is the barber woman that officiates as midwife. Pollution is observed for 15 days after child-birth. The *Punyāha* or purification is then performed by the Mārān. The *Nāmakarana* takes place on the twenty-seventh day. At the sixth month the rice-giving ceremony takes place. The ear is bored at the end of the first year. When a girl attains maturity there is regular festivity for full four days. The *Shashthipurti, i.e.*, when a person arrives at the 60th year, is the only important latter-day ceremony.

**Death and succeeding ceremonies.**

The dead bodies of persons above 16 years of age are burnt, while of those below that age are buried. The cremation ground is one's own compound. The ceremonial is simple. The pollution period is fifteenth day or 900 *nāzhikas*. The *Sanchayana* or the collection of the cremated remains takes place generally on the fourth day. The mourning expressed in the form of a religious convention called *Diksha* is generally observed especially in the northern parts of Travancore and lasts till the 42nd day or for six months or even a full year. In cases of death in fields of battle or under inauspicious circumstances an image of the deceased is used to be placed in the *Tekketu* (southern out-house) and worshipped.

**Names and nicknames.**

The names of the Nāyars are of diverse kinds. The most popular are Rāma, Krishna, Keshava, Nārāyan, Govinda, Velayudha, Ayyappa, Samkara, and Gopāla. The names of female deities, too, such as Kāli, are sometimes to be found. Such names, however, as Kāli, Umini, Kochchappi, Adichchan, and a host of others are gradually losing favour, and comparatively new names such as Chandrasekhara, Achyuta, and Vāsudeva are coming to be recognized. Contractions and abbreviations are most freely indulged in. The names of women also, of late, have undergone considerable alterations. In olden times, as if by an unwritten law, all Nāyar women had purely vernacular names. Thus names in ordinary use were, Nangngeli, Cochhupennu, Chiruta, Nāni, a corruption of Nārāyani, Pāru, a corruption for Pārvati and Ichchāri, a corrupted form of Isvari. Names like those of Ganaki, Gouri, Lakshmi and Kalyāni were of a later growth and latest of all names hitherto rare such as Bhavāni, Bhārgavi, Rudrāni, Sarasvati, Devaki, and Bhārati have also come into vogue.

**Amusement and recreation.**

The Nāyars participate in all the amusements of the Namputiris. The *Kathakali* was much in favour with them till recently, but this has now given place to the *Nātakam* or the drama proper. *Karislokam* or songs describing cooking and serving are passionately studied and recited. Hunting is a rather common source of recreation for the Nāyars. The *Kaikottippāttu* and *Tiruvātirappāttu* are songs recited by Nāyar women in groups. The *Tiruvātira* day comes in the month of *Dhanu* (December-January). The festival has a quasi-religious aspect about it, for it is supposed that it is annually celebrated in commemoration of the death of Kāmadeva, the Indian Cupid, at the hands of Siva. Every Nāyar woman gets out of her bed at about

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* "In this tribe the men can have only one wife while a woman on the contrary is allowed many husbands. The origin of this custom is not difficult to discover. The Nāyars are the tribe of peoples who are the soldiers of the nation. In Europe soldiers are not encouraged to marry. In Malabar where the climate requires greater indulgence they are satisfied with rendering marriage as little burdensome as possible, they give one wife amongst many men, which consequently diminishes the attachment of a family and the cares of house-keeping and leaves them in the free possession of a military spirit."

4 A.M. that day and goes to bathe in the nearest tank. A number of ladies, both young and middle-aged, assemble and, plunging into the water, take part in the song that is about to be recited. In that season, they also enjoy the *Uzhingāl* or swinging to and fro, for which special songs are studied and recited.

**General Education.**

In the matter of education the Nāyars occupy a prominent position in the scale of castes. Almost every Nāyar girl is sent to the village school to learn the three R's quite as much as a matter of course as the schooling of boys. This constitutes a feature of Malabar life that makes it the most literate country in all India, especially in respect of the female sex. In regard to Sanskrit study, the East Coast Brāhmans, who, at no period of their history, were so uncompromisingly orthodox as their West Coast brethren, are believed to have given the earliest aid. After Rāmanujan Ezhuttachchhan developed and enriched the Malāyālam language, numerous *Asans* or village teachers came into existence in different parts of Malabar. After a preliminary study of Malāyālam such of them as desired higher, *i.e.*, Sanskrit, education got discipled to an *Ampalavāsi* or a Sāshtri. Even to-day the very estimable desire to study Sanskrit is seen in several Nāyar youths who have readily availed themselves of the benefit of the local Sanskrit College. In respect of English education the Nāyars occupy an important position. The facility offered by His Highness's Government for the study of English is being largely availed of by Nāyars and it is a matter deserving to be prominently recorded that between the years 1900 and 1901 three Nāyar girls have passed the Matriculation Examination of the University of Madras.

**Character.**

The records of Nāyar character left by European writers such as Day in Cochin and Mateer in Travancore, are as unsympathetic as they are unmerited. The social and political conditions of a people have to be studied before a just estimate of their national character can be formed. The traditional features of the ancient Nāyars have undoubtedly been sweet frankness, reverence to authority, uncalculating hospitality, patient industriousness, and manly affection; and though with the altered conditions of external life these features possibly have undergone some modifications, none with any pretensions to familiarity with Malabar and its people could fail to be struck with love and regard for this good and interesting community.

**Economic condition.**

The present economic condition of the Nāyar is not free from anxiety. Agriculture, which is the only stand-by left for Sudras, generally is his chief means of subsistence Though the Native Christians, especially of the Syrian denomination, have from very early times joined the rôle of farmers in certain parts, the bulk of the country's agriculture is in their hands. But the conditions of agriculture have altered greatly. The disorganization of indigenous industries has thrown on land a large portion of its population, who not having the enterprise and the capital necessary to exploit fresh areas, the pernicious policy of sub-division of the existing agricultural holdings ending in poor cultivation, low yield, gradual depauperisation and loss of land if not unnoticed extinction has been the result. The precariousness of the seasons and the steadily diminishing rainfall have added to the anxiety of the cultivator. The Pulayas and depressed castes have long declined in strength and number and the few left are under various influences giving up their traditional partiality for agricultural labour. The wages have hence risen beyond the capacity of the land and with the steady advance of occupation, though not of cultivation of jungle and other waste lands, the pasturage has considerably shrunk in area and live-stock have begun to deteriorate, though figures which in regard to such matters are of the utmost value cannot be given. Along with the loss of animal manure, leaf-manure has become scanty. And added to all this is the false idea of indignity of particular kinds of labour. As if by a cruel irony, unproductive labour such as official and professional has been elevated to the supersession of the agricultural and industrial. All these, it will be seen, are circumstances that do not make for the prosperity of a dependent country. With the large number of cultured and still moneyed men, there is no reason to fear that an early diagnosis will not be made and prompt remedy adopted. Under present conditions agriculture must be largely supplemented by industries of all sorts, so organized as to leave intact the independent, self-reliant habit of the earlier people who would not object to do any kind of work if at their ancestral acre. Material want is the chief enemy of religion, morality, and general character, and all efforts at improvement should go forth in that direction under the ennobling stimulus of internal harmony and universal love.

The total number of Nāyars in Travancore, including the Ādichchans and Chakkālas, is 536,186. The Adichchans (72) are found only in one *tāluk, viz.*, Tiruvalla, where they are engaged in the service of the Panayannārkāvu temple. Of the 15,173 Chakkālas, as many as 11,388 are found in the Western Division. They are found in the largest number in four *tāluks* of the State, namely, Karunagapalli (2,078), Neyyatinkara (1886), Vilavankod (1,555) and Quilon (1,495). In many North Travancore *tāluks* such as Ettumanur, Minachil, Shertallay, Muvattupuzha, Kunnatnad, Alangad, and Parur, very few of them are found. All the remaining divisions of the Nāyars together number 520,941 souls. The Nāyars are scarce only in the three Tamil-speaking *tāluks* of Shencottah, Tovala, and Agastisvaram. Five *tāluks*, Trevandrum (37,854), Neyyatinkara (35,457), Mavelikara (32,344), Tiruvalla (31,378), and Quilon (31,335), contain more than 30,000 of them each. The Illam (326,208), the Svarupam (104,639), the Kiriyam (25,164) and the Itachcheri (22,944), are the most numerically important sub-divisions. The Pādamangalam (6,175), the Tamil Pādam (258), etc., appear to hold only very few adherents. In 1891, the strength of the Nāyars was 483,725.

## INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE NAYARS.

### NĀYARS.

**TITLES.** **PILLAY, CHEMPAKARAMAN, KANAKKU, TAMPI** (younger brother); **KARTA, KURUPPU, PANIKKAR, KAIMMAL, UNNITTAN, VALIYATTAN, EMAN** (yajamānan), **MENAVA** (Menon), **MENOKE.**

Sub-divisions. Septs.

**A. MAJOR.**

1. **Kiriyam** (those who have no service of any kind).
2. **Illam** (Servants of Illams or houses of Brāhmans, containing local distinctions such as Âzhvânchêri, Pattazhi, Srîpâdam, Kumāranallūr, etc.).
3. **Svarupam** (Servants of Svarupams or the palaces of kings, having the local distinctions of Parur, Kaippizha, Pattāzhi, Vêmpanād, etc.).
4. **Pādamangalam** (Temple-servants).
5. **Tamil Pādam** (Miscellaneous employés).
6, 7, and 8. **Vatti, Daivampātti** (from *Daivam* = God and *Patuka* = To sing) and Payyampāti (Singers in temples).
9. **Idacheri** (Dealers in dairy produce).
10. **Ponnara** (Temple-priests).
11. **Karuvelam** (Palace treasury employés).
12. **Kuravan or Arikuravan** (Those degraded from the Illam Sept for a traditional offence).
13. **Pallichchan** (Palanquin-bearers).
14. **Vantikkāran** (Cartmen, from *vanti*, a cart).
15. **Pulikka, called also Puliyam and Veliyam, Kallur and Matavan** (Miscellaneous employés).
16. **Kuttina** (Those marrying their girls in cow-sheds).
17. **Otattu or Kala** (employed to tile houses and temples).
18. **Mantalāyi** (Professional mourners in the palace).
19. **Karichcha** (Cartmen).
20. **Ilakutiyan** (Vegetable-dealers).
21. **Kokkara** (Exorcisers).
22 and 23. **Vattakkātan and Chakkāla** (Dealers in oil).
24. **Manigrāmam** (Nāyars who had connection with Christian churches).
25. **Ādichchan** (Attendants in a Bhadrakāli temple).

**B. MINOR.**

1. **Nāluvitan.**
2. **Itattara** (*Lit.*, men of the middle place from *Ita* = Middle and *Tara* = Place).
3. **Cherukāra** (*Lit.*, one who has joined from *Chêruka*, to join).
4. **Puttur** (*Putu* = New and *Ūru* = Village).
5. **Nallur** (*Nalla* = Good and *Ūru* = Village).
6. **Natamukki** (*Nata* = Passage, and *Mukki* = One who covers).
7. **Antalavan.**
8. **Ettuvitan** (*Lit.*, One belonging to the eight houses).
9. **Pattuvitan** (*Lit.*, One belonging to the ten houses).
10. **Pantrantuvitan** (*Lit.*, One belonging to the twelve houses).
11. **Kuzhappara.**
12. **Aravan.**
13. **Koyippuram.**
14. **Mangalakkal.**
15. **Oppamtara.**
16. **Atikunnam.**
17. **Ilampi.**
18. **Manavalan** (*Lit.*, Bridegroom.)
19. **Anti.**

# 4. Of the Dravidian Tract.

## IZHAVAS.

[*N. S. Aiyar, M.A., M.B., C.M.*]

**Designation, titles, rank in society and sub-divisions.**

The caste of people known as Izhavas in South and parts of Central Travancore and Chovas in parts of Central and in North Travancore, form an integral portion of the indigenous population of this country. They are believed to be akin to the Tamil-speaking Shānārs of Tinnevelly and South Travancore and to the Tiyas of British Malabar. Here the Malayālam-speaking castes will alone be referred to. The word Tiya is said to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word *Dvipa* (island), showing that they orginally came from an island, while the word Izhavas has been taken to indicate that that island is Izham, a corruption of Simhalam, under both of which names Ceylon was known for several centuries. The word Chova is said to be a corruption of *Sevaka* or work-man and shows the position held by these men in the country of their adoption. This derivation is not unlikely, as (in some old boat-songs current in Malabar) the word Chova occurs in a less corrupt form as Chevake. The honorific titles of the caste men in Travancore are Chānnān, the Malayālam word for Shānār and Panikkan. Many Izhavas are doctors, astrologers, and general teachers and call themselves Vaidyan, Gyotsyan, and Āsān. Being a large and progressive community they hold in many places an equal position with the artisan classes. For social purposes, however, the artisans and the Izhavas stand apart. There are many sub-divisions among the Izhavas. But, broadly speaking, they may be divided into three classes, the Pāndi Izhavas or the Izhavas of the Tamil District, the Malayālam Izhavas or Chovas, and the Tiyas of British Malabar. They are divided into several *illams* or family-groups, such as Mut *illam*, Choti *illam*, Mariyanāt *illam*, Mātampi *illam*, etc. The real significance of this division is not clear.

**History of the caste.**

There are numerous traditions in vogue regarding their early history. In the Mackenzie manuscripts, we read that a Gandharva woman had seven sons from whom the Izhavas were descended. Another story says that a Pandyan Princess known as Alli married Narasimha, a Rājā of the Carnatic. The royal couple migrated to Ceylon and there settled themselves as the sovereigns of the country. When that line became extinct, their relations and adherents returned to the old country where they have since remained. But apart from tradition, it is possible that the original habitat of the Izhavas was the island of Ceylon, as the etymology of their caste-names goes to show. As Dr. Caldwell observes, "The general and natural course of migration would, doubtless, be from the mainland to the island; but there may occasionally have been reflex waves of migration, even in the earliest times, as there certainly were later on, traces of which survive in the existence in Tinnevelly and the Western coast, of castes whose traditions, and even in some instances whose names connect them with Ceylon." In his Essay on the Tinnevelly Shānārs, he says, "It is tolerably certain that the Izhavas and Tiyas who cultivate the cocoanut palm of Travancore are descendants of Shānār colonists from Ceylon. There are traces of a common origin among them all, Shānārs, for instance, being a title of honour among the Travancore Izhavas. The other portions of the immigrants, esteemed a lower division of the caste, came by the sea to the south of Travancore, where vast numbers of them are still found and whence having but little land of their own they have gradually spread themselves over Tinnevelly, on the invitations of the Nātāns and other proprietors of land, who, without the help of their poorer neighbours, as climbers, could derive but little profit from their immense forests of palmyra." There is even a tradition that they brought from Ceylon the cocoanut and the Palmyra palms to the continent. There is, however, no question that much of the planting industry of the sea-port Tāluks is due to their persevering toil. During the middle ages, the Izhavas were largely employed as soldiers, along with the Nāyars, by the rulers of the different chiefships in Travancore. The chief of them was the Rājā of Ambalapuzha. J. C. Vischer writing about him says, "The Rājā of Porkad has not many 'Nairs' in the place of whom he is served by Chegos." Even so late as in the days of Mahārājā Rāma Varma (who died in M.E. 973), large numbers of Chovas were employed as soldiers by the State, if we may believe in the account of Friar Bartolomeo, who is generally an accurate writer.

**Appearance, dress and ornaments.**

The males of the middle and richer classes of Izhavas are neat and comely in their appearance and cannot always be distinguished from Nāyars. The women are seldom well-favoured and in this respect furnish a contrast to the Tiya women of British Malabar. The Tattu form of dressing is not prevalent among Izhava women. The ornaments of the Izhava women were, till recently, quite unlike those of the Nāyars. Bangles of brass and silver alone were in use. The *Pāmpatam*, a Tamil ear-jewel, took the place of the Nāyar *tota* as ear-ornament. A change in the direction of Nāyar jewelry is fast progressing as in the case of Nāyars in imitation of east-coast Brāhmans. But the *mukkutti* and the *guāttu* are not yet worn. The Izhava and the Nāyar women may further be distinguished from each other by the tie of the hair-lock; the Izhava women usually bring it to the centre of the forehead, while the Nāyars bring it on either side. This distinction is also going out. Tattooing, as among the Nāyars, is very common in the south. In North Travancore, on the other hand, it may be said to be rare.

**Inheritance.** The Izhavas, like the rest of the practically indigenous population of Malabar, inherit in the female line. In certain parts of Travancore, however, a portion of the paternal property, never exceeding one-half, is given to the children. This custom is absent in the northern parts of the State, where the form of inheritance is as strictly *Marumakkathayam* as that of the Nāyars.

**Occupation.** The cultivation of the cocoanut and rarely of the palmyra palm is their chief occupation. They make toddy and distil *arrack*. Some of them are boatmen and weavers. Among this community, women are as much the earning members of the family as men. In this community are also found teachers, astrologers, and doctors and Vaidyan is an honorific suffix in the case of some. Sanskrit is freely studied and a goodly number of Sanskritists adorn the caste.

**Religious worship.** The Izhavas constitute one of the orthodox Hindu communities in Travancore. They furnish few converts to alien religions as compared with the Shānārs. In many places they have got their own temples with a member of their own community as priest. The deity usually worshipped is Bhadrakāli. Propitiatory offerings are also made to Sāsta, Virabhadran, and Mātan. The usual festivals in honour of Bhadrakāli, namely, *Tukkan*, *Kuttivettam*, and the *Bharani*, are observed by the Izhavas. As the cult of Bhadrakāli is taken to require animal sacrifice, the image of Bhadrakāli in many Central and South Travancore temples has been, at the instance of one Nanu Āsān, a good Sanskrit scholar and pious religious reformer of that community, replaced by that of Subrahmanya. The worship of Anchutāmpurākkal or the five masters, now identified with the Panchapāndavas of the Mahābhārata commonly met with among Pulayas, was once prevalent among the Izhavas. At Maiyanātu in Quilon there is still an Izhava temple dedicated to those Anchutampurākkal.

**Ceremonies.** Among the Izhavas there is, as in the case of the Nāyars, the formal *tāli*-tying when the girl is yet young. This does not entitle the person who tied the *tāli* to husband the girls. The cloth-giving ceremony or the actual wedding usually takes place after the girl attains puberty. As a rule the person who ties the *tāli* is paid a small sum, generally 25 Travancore *fanams* (3½ rupees) together with the expenses incurred by him in connection with the ceremony. Cases where the *tāli*-tyer becomes the real husband occur but rarely. In those cases no money-gift is paid to the bride and the cloth-presentation ceremony is dispensed with.

As in the case of the higher castes, shaving was originally not a mere personal toilette but a sacrament and the priestly function was not inaptly combined with that of the barber. The Izhavattis who are the barbers of the Izhavas are, therefore, their recognized priests. It is a barber woman that ties the *pratisaram* or the *dikshā*-string around the bride's wrist and formally hands over the bridegroom the *tāli* to be tied. In regard to this relation between the barber and the priest, it has, of course, to be noted that the theory is now entirely repudiated, though the practice survives as its relic and record. For a week, the married couple remain at the house of the bride. On the seventh day the marriage is over. On the occasion of the cloth-presentation ceremony, a money-present is made to the bride's party, the amount depending on the wealth and the social position of the parties concerned and varying between Rs. 10 and Rs. 100. Divorce is free as with the Nāyars. Both burying and burning of corpses are resorted to. Pollution lasts for 16 days.

The total number of Izhavas in Travancore is 491,774. They form 17 per cent. of the total population of the State. Of these, 343,265 are found in the Western and 148,509 in the Eastern Division. The largest number of Izhavas (59,711) is returned from Shertāllay. At the 1891 Census, 414,217 persons were recorded under this heading.

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## INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE IZHAVAS.

*Titles.*—**CHANNAN** (shānār); **PANIKKAN** (*Pani*=work; *Panikkan* is the same as *Panikkār* that we saw among Nāyars. But the latter is the honorific form which is denied to the *Izhavas*); **VAIDYAN** (Physicians), **GYOTSYAN** (Astrologer); **ĀSSĀN** (Teacher).

*Sections*—

**PANDI.**
**MALAYĀLAM (CHŌRAS and TIYAS).**
**MUT.**
**CHOTI.**
**MARIYANAT.**
**MATAMPI.**

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# 4. Of the Dravidian Tract.

## SANTĀL.

[*H. H. Risley, C.I.E., I.C.S.*]

**Origin and Traditions.**

*Sonthāl, Saontār,* a large Dravidian tribe, classed on linguistic grounds as Kolarian, which is found in Western Bengal, Northern Orissa, Bhāgalpur and the Santāl Parganās. According to Mr. Skrefsrud the name Santāl is a corruption of Sāontār, and was adopted by the tribe after their sojourn for several generations in the country about Sāont in Midnapur. Before they went to Sāont they are said to have been called Kharwār, the root of which, *khar,* is a variant of *hor,* 'man', the name which all Santāls use among themselves. As regards the derivation of the name of the tribe from Saont, an obscure village, somewhat off the main line of their recent migrations, it may be observed that Colonel Dalton suggested a doubt whether the name of the place may not have been taken from the tribe, and this view seems to derive some support from his discovery of a small tribe of Saonts in Sarguja and Keunjhar. The point, however, is not one of great importance. At the present day when a Santāl is asked what caste he belongs to, he will almost invariably reply 'Mānjhi' (literally 'village headman,' one of the commonest titles of the tribe), adding 'Santāl Mānjhi' if further explanation is demanded of him.

In point of physical characteristics the Santāls may be regarded as typical examples of the pure Dravidian stock. Their complexion varies from very dark brown to a peculiar, almost charcoal-like, black; the proportions of the nose approach those of the Negro, the bridge being more depressed in relation to the orbits than is the case with Hindus; the mouth is large, the lips thick and projecting; the hair coarse, black, and occasionally curly; the zygomatic arches prominent, while the proportions of the skull, approaching the dolichocephalic type, conclusively refute the hypothesis of their Mongolian descent.

Santāl tradition traces back the origin of the tribe to a wild goose (*hāsdak*) which laid two eggs. From these sprang Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Burhi, the parents of the race, who begat the first seven sub-tribes. Their earliest abode was Hihiri or Ahiri Pipiri, a name which Mr. Skrefsrud derives from *hir* origin, and which others identify with *parganā* Ahuri in Hazaribagh. Thence they went westward to Khoj-Kaman, where all of them were destroyed for their wickedness by a deluge of fire-rain, except a single pair who were saved in a cleft of the mountain Hara. From Hara they went to Sasangbera, a plain on the banks of a great river, and after that to Jarpi, where is the great mountain Marang Bur, through which they could find no pass. Here they offered sacrifices to the mountain god, and prayed him to let them through. After a while they found a pass leading into a country called Ahiri, where they dwelled for a time, passing on to Kendi, Chāi, and finally Champa. In Champa they sojourned many generations and the present institutions of the tribe were formed. At last the Hindus drove them out of Champa, and they established themselves in Saont, and ruled there for two hundred years. Again pressed by the Hindus, they wandered on under a Raja called Hambir Singh to the eastern part of the Manbhum district near Pachet. Here after a while their Rajas adopted the Hindu religion and set up as Rajputs, so that at the present day they intermarry with the family of the Raja of Sarguja. But the people would not change their religion, so they left their chief to rule over Hindus, and wandered on to the Santāl Parganās where they are settled now.

Neither as a record of actual wanderings nor as an example of the workings of the myth-making faculty does this story of the wandering of the Santāls appear to deserve serious consideration. A people whose only means of recording facts consists of tying knots in strings and who have no bards to hand down a national epic by oral tradition, can hardly be expected to preserve the memory of their past long enough or accurately enough for their accounts of it to possess any historical value. An attempt has indeed been made by Mr. Skrefsrud to prove from these legends that the Santāls must have entered into India from the north-west, just as Colonel Dalton uses the same data in support of his opinion that the tribe came originally from Assam. The one hypothesis is as tenable or as untenable as the other, and all that can be said is that there is not a fraction of substantial evidence in support of either. If, however, the legends of the Santāls are regarded as an account of recent migrations, their general purport will be found to be fairly in accord with actual facts. Without pressing the conjecture mentioned above, that Ahiri Pipri may be no other than *pargana* Ahuri in the north-west of Hazaribagh district, it is clear that a large and important Santāl colony was once settled in Parganās Chai and Champa in the same district. A tradition is noticed by Colonel Dalton of an old fort in Chai occupied by one Jaura, a Santāl Raja, who destroyed himself and his family on hearing of the approach of a Muhammadan army under Sayyid Ibrāhim Ali *alias* Malik Bayā, a general of Muhammad Tughlak's, who died in 1353. This tradition, so far as it refers to the existence of a Santāl fort in Chai Champā, is to some extent corroborated by the following passage from the legends of the Southern Santāls collected by the Revd. J. Phillips and published in Appendix G to *Annals of Rural Bengal,* ed. 1868:—"Dwelling there (in Chai Champā) they greatly multiplied. There were two gates, the Ahin gate and the Bahini gate, to the fort of Chai Champā." If, moreover, the date of the taking of this fort by Ibrāhim

Ali were assumed to be about 1340 A. D., the subsequent migrations of which the tribal legends speak would fill up the time intervening between the departure of the Santāls from Chai Champā and their settlement in the present Santāl Parganās. Speaking generally, these recent migrations have been to the east, which is the direction they might *primā facie* have been expected to follow. The earlier settlements which Santāl tradition speaks of, those in Ahiri Pipri and Chai Champā, lie on the north-western frontier of the tableland of Hazaribagh and in the direct line of advance of the numerous Hindu immigrants from Bihar. That the influx of Hindus has in fact driven the Santāls eastward is beyond doubt, and the line which they are known to have followed in their retreat corresponds on the whole with that attributed to them in their tribal legends.

**Internal structure.**

The internal structure of the Santāl tribe is singularly complete and elaborate. There are twelve exogamous septs, (1) Hāsdak, (2) Murmu, (3) Kisku, (4) Hembrom, (5) Marndi, (6) Saren, (7) Tudu, (8) Baske, (9) Besra, (10) Pāuria, (11) Chore, (12) Bedea. The first seven are believed to be descended from the seven sons of Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Burhi or Ayo. The five others were added afterwards. All are exogamous. In order that members of the various septs may recognize each other when they meet, each sept, except Pāuria, Chore, and Bedea, has certain pass-words peculiar to itself, which are supposed to be the names of the original homes of the septs in Champā or in one of the earlier settlements of the tribe. The pass-words are as follows:—(1) Hāsdak—Tatijhāri, Gangijauni, Kārā Guja, Sohodoro; (2) Murmu—Champāgarh, Bagsumbha, Naran Manjhi; (3) Kisku—Kundagarh; (4) Hembrom—Kunda, Khairigarh, Jalaghatia; (5) Marndi—Badoligarh, Jelen Sinjo, Dhano Mānjhi; (6) Saren—Anbali, Barha, Pero Pargana; (7) Tudu—Simgarh, Sukrihutup Baru Mānjhi; (8) Baske—Ranga, Chunuk-jhandu; (9) Besra—Dhokrapalania, Gulu, Phagu Mānjhi. These pass-words or shibboleths seem to serve among the Santāls the purpose for which Australian and North American savages tattoo the totem on the body. They preserve the memory of the tie of blood which connects the members of the sept, and thus furnish an additional security against unconscious incest. They further go to show that the sept in its earlier form must have been a group of purely local character analogous to the communal septs. If due allowance is made for the causes which must tend in course of time to scatter the members of any particular sept over a number of different villages, it will be seen to be a remarkable circumstance not that so few local septs are now to be found, but that any traces of such an organization have survived to so late a period.

Concerning the origin of the five additional septs the following stories are told. The eighth tribe, Baske, at first belonged to the seven, but by reason of their offering their breakfast (*baske*) to the gods while the Santāls were still in Champā, they were formed into a separate sept under the name of Baske. The Besras (No. 9) were separated on account of the immoral behaviour of their eponym, who was called Besra, the licentious one. The tenth sept, Pauria, are called after the pigeon, and the eleventh, Chore, after the lizard; and the story is that on the occasion of a famous tribal hunting party the members of these two septs failed to kill anything but pigeons and lizards, so they were called after the names of these animals. The twelfth sept, the Bedea, was left behind and lost when the Santāls went up out of Champā. They had no father, so the story goes—at least the mother of their first ancestor could not say who his father was, and for this reason they were deemed of lower rank than the other septs. This sept is believed to have arisen during the time of Mando Singh in Champā when the Santāls had begun to come in contact with the Hindus. Some Santāls say the father was a Rājput and the mother a girl of the Kisku sept. There would be nothing antecedently improbable in the conjecture that the well-known gypsy tribe of Bedea may owe its origin to the *liaison* of a Rājput with a Santāl girl; but the mere resemblance of the names is a slender foundation for any such hypothesis. Santāls are very particular about the honour of their women, so far at least as outsiders are concerned, and it is quite in keeping with their ideas that a sept formed by a *liaison* with a Hindu should have been looked down upon, and eventually banished from the community. Any way it seems to be clear that the legend need not be taken to indicate the prevalence of the custom of female kinship in the tribe.

**Marriage.**

No Santāl may marry within his sept (*pāris*), nor within any of the sub-septs (*khunt*) (shown below) into which the sept is divided. He may marry into any other sept, including the sept to which his mother belonged. A Santāl proverb says:—No one heeds a cow track or regards his mother's sept.

Although no regard is paid in marriage to the mother's sept, the Santāls have precisely the same rule as the Kandhs concerning the sub-sept or *khunt*. A man may not marry into the sub-sept or *khunt* to which his mother belonged, though it is doubtful whether the Santāls observe this rule for as many generations in the descending line as is customary among the Kandhs. Many of the sub-septs have curious traditional usages, some of which may be mentioned here. At the time of the harvest festival in January the members of the Sidup-Saren sub-sept set up a sheaf of rice on end in the doorway of their cattle-sheds. This sheaf they may not touch themselves, but some one belonging to another sub-sept must be got to take it away. Men of the Sādā-Saren sub-sept do not use vermilion in their marriage ritual; they may not wear clothes with a red border on such occasions, nor may they be present at any ceremony in which the priest offers his own blood to propitiate the gods. The Jugi-Saren, on the other hand, smear their foreheads with *sindur* at the harvest festival, and go round asking alms of rice. With the rice they get they make little cakes which they offer to the gods. The Mānjhi-Khil-Saren, so called because their ancestor was a Mānjhi or village headman, are forbidden, like the Sādā-Saren, to attend when the priest offers up his own blood. The Nāiki-Khil-Saren, who claim descent from a *nāiki* or village priest may not enter a house the in-

mates of which are ceremonially unclean. They have a *jāhirthān* or sacred grove of their own, distinct from the common *jāhirthān* of the village, and they dispense with the services of the priest who serves the rest of the village. The Ok-Saren sacrifice a goat or a pig inside their houses, and during the ceremony they shut the doors tight and allow no smoke to escape. The word *ok* means to suffocate or stifle with smoke. The Mundu or Badar-Saren offer their sacrifices in the jungle, and allow only males to eat the flesh of the animals that have been slain. The Māl-Saren may not utter the word *mal* when engaged in a religious ceremony or when sitting on a *panchāyat* to determine any tribal questions. The Jihu-Saren may not kill or eat the *jihu* or babbler bird, nor may they wear a particular sort of necklace known as *jihu mālā* from the resemblance which it bears to the babbler's eggs. The *jihu* is said to have guided the ancestor of the sept to water when he was dying of thirst in the forest. The Sankh-Saren may not wear shell necklaces or ornaments. The Barchir Saren plant a spear in the ground when they are engaged in religious or ceremonial observances. The Bitol-Saren are so called because their founder was excommunicated on account of incest.

Girls are married as adults mostly to men of their own choice. Sexual intercourse before marriage is tacitly recognized, it being understood that if the girl becomes pregnant the young man is bound to marry her. Should he attempt to evade this obligation, he would be severely beaten by the Jag-mānjhi, and in addition to this his father would be required to pay a heavy fine. It is curious to hear that in the Santāl Parganās, shortly after the rebellion of 1855, it became the fashion among the more wealthy Santāls to imitate the usages of high-caste Hindus and marry their daughters between the ages of eight and twelve. This fashion has, however, since been abandoned, and it is now very unusual for a girl to be married before she attains puberty. Polygamy is not favoured by the custom of the tribe. A man may take a second wife if his first wife is barren, or if his elder brother dies he may marry the widow. But in either case the consent of his original wife must be obtained to the arrangement. Instances no doubt occur in which this rule is evaded, but they are looked upon with disfavour.

There seem to be indications that fraternal polyandry may at some time have existed among the Santāls. Even now, says Mr. Skrefsrud, a man's younger brother may share his wife with impunity; only they must not go about it very openly. Similarly a wife will admit her younger sister to intimate relations with her husband, and if pregnancy occurs scandal is avoided by his marrying the girl as a second wife. It will of course be noticed that this form of polyandry need not be regarded as a survival of female kinship.

The following forms of marriage are recognized by the Santāls and distinguished by separate names:—(1) Regular marriage (*bapla* or *kiring behu*, literally bride-purchase); (2) *Ghardi jāwāe*; (3) *Itut*; (4) *Nir-bolok*; (5) *Sanga*; (6) *Kiring jawae* or husband-purchase. The negotiations antecedent to a regular marriage are opened by the father of the young man who usually employs a professional match-maker to look for a suitable girl. If the match-maker's proposals are accepted by the girl's parents, a day is fixed on which the girl, attended by two of her friends, goes to the house of the Jag-mānjhi or superintendent of morals, in order to give the bridegroom's parents an opportunity of looking at her quietly. A similar visit of inspection is made by the bride's parents to the bridegroom's house, and if everything is found satisfactory the betrothal is concluded and an instalment of the bride-price is paid. The ordinary price of a girl is Rs. 3, and the bridegroom must also present a cloth (*sāri*) to the girl's mother and to both her grandmothers if alive. If more than this is paid, the bridegroom is entitled to receive a present of a cow from his father-in-law. In the case known as a *golāt* marriage, when two families, each having a daughter and a son of marriageable age, arrange a double wedding, one daughter is set off against the other, and no bride-price is paid by either party. For a widow or a woman who has been divorced the bride-price is only half the standard amount, the idea being, as the Santāls pointedly put it, that such women are only borrowed goods, and must be given back to their first husbands in the next world. As the second husband has the use of his wife only in this world, it is clearly fair that he should get her for half-price. In an early stage of the marriage ceremony both bride and bridegroom separately go through the form of marriage to a *mahuā tree* (*Bassia latifolia*). In the case of the bride a double thread is passed three or five times from the little toe of her left foot to her left ear, and is then bound round her arm with some blades of rice and stems of *dhuba* grass (*Cynodon dactylon*) grass. The conjecture suggests itself that this may be a survival of some form of communal marriage, but from the nature of the case no positive evidence is available to bear out this hypothesis, or to throw any light upon the symbolism of the usage. The essential and binding portion of the ritual is *sindurdān*, the smearing of vermilion on the bride's forehead and on the parting of her hair. This rite, however, is supposed to have been borrowed from the Hindus. The original Santāl ceremony is believed to have been very simple. The couple went away together into the woods, and on their return were shut up by themselves in a room. When they came out they were considered to be man and wife. A practice closely resembling this was found by Colonel Dalton to be in vogue among the Birhors, and it is quite in keeping with what is known of the doings of primitive man in the matter of marriage. The memory of it, however, only survives among the Santāls in the form of a vague and shadowy tradition upon which no stress can be laid. *Sindurdān*, on the other hand, is nothing but a refined and specialised form of the really primitive usage of mixing the blood of a married couple and making them drink or smear themselves with the mixture, and although it is possible that the Santāls may have borrowed *sindurdān* from the Hindus, there are certainly good grounds for believing that the Hindus themselves must have derived it from the Dravidian races.

The second mode of marriage, *ghardi jāwāe*, is resorted to when a girl is ugly or deformed and there is no prospect of her being asked in marriage in the ordinary way. An instance has

been reported to me in which a girl who had on one foot more than the proper number of toes was married in this fashion. The husband is expected to live in his father-in-law's house and to serve him for five years. At the end of that time he gets a pair of bullocks, some rice and some agricultural implements, and is allowed to go about his business.

The third form, *itut*, is adopted by pushing young men who are not quite sure whether the girl they fancy will accept them, and take this means of compelling her to marry them. The man smears his fingers with vermilion or, failing that, with common earth, and, watching his opportunity at market or on any similar occasion, marks the girl he is in love with on the forehead and claims her as his wife. Having done this, he runs away at full speed to avoid the thrashing he may expect at the hands of her relations if he is caught on the spot. In any case the girl's people will go to his village and will obtain from the headman permission to kill and eat three of the offender's or his father's goats, and a double bride-price must be paid for the girl. The marriage, however, is legal, and if the girl still declines to live with the man, she must be divorced in full form and cannot again be married as a spinster. It is said that an *itut* marriage is often resorted to out of spite in order to subject the girl to the humiliation of being divorced.

The fourth form, *nirbolok* (*nir*, to run, and *bolok* to enter) may be described as the female variety of *itut*. A girl who cannot get the man she wants in the regular way takes a pot of *hāndiā* or rice-beer, enters his house and insists upon staying there. Etiquette forbids that she should be expelled by main force, but the man's mother, who naturally desires to have a voice in the selection of her daughter-in-law, may use any means short of personal violence to get her out of the house. It is quite fair, for example, and is usually found effective, to throw red pepper on the fire, so as to smoke the aspiring maiden out; but if she endures this ordeal without leaving the house, she is held to have won her husband and the family is bound to recognize her.

The fifth form, *sauga*, is used for the marriage of widows and divorced women. The bride is brought to the bridegroom's house attended by a small party of her own friends, and the binding proportion of the ritual consists in the bridegroom taking a *dimbu* flower, marking it with *sindur* with his left hand, and with the same hand sticking it in the bride's back hair.

The sixth form, *Kiring jāwāe*, is resorted to in the comparatively rare case when a girl has had a *liaison* with, and become pregnant by, a man of her sept whom she cannot marry. In order that scandal may be avoided, some one is procured to accept the post of husband, and in consideration of his services he gets two bullocks, a cow, and a quantity of paddy from the family of the man by whom the girl is pregnant. The headman then calls the villagers together, and in their presence declares the couple to be man and wife, and enjoins the girl to live with, and be faithful to, the husband that has been provided for her.

A widow may marry again. It is thought the right thing for her to marry her late husband's younger brother, if one survives him, and under no circumstances may she marry his elder brother. Divorce is allowed at the wish of either husband or wife. If neither party is in fault, the one who wants a divorce is expected to bear the expenses. The husband, for example, in such a case would not be entitled to claim a refund of the bride-price originally paid, and would also have to pay a fine and give the woman certain customary dues. If, on the other hand, it is the wife who demands a divorce without just cause, her father has to make good the bride-price in addition to a fine for her levity of behaviour. The divorce is effected in the presence of the assembled villagers by the husband tearing asunder three *sāl* (*Shorea robusta*) leaves in token of separation, and upsetting a brass pot full of water.

**Inheritance.** In the matter of inheritance Santāls follow their own customs, and know nothing of the so-called codes which govern the devolution of property among Hindus. Sons inherit in equal shares; a daughter has no claim to a portion as of right, but usually gets a cow given to her when the property is divided. Failing sons, the father takes; failing him, the brothers; after them, the male agnates. Failing agnates, the daughter inherits with succession to her children. If a man dies leaving young sons, his widow manages the property till all the sons are old enough to divide and start separate households. She then takes up her abode with the youngest. Should the widow marry outside the family, the mail agnates take the property in trust till the sons are of age, and she gets nothing. If a man has male relatives, he cannot give away his property even to a son-in-law. Wills are unknown.

**Religion.** According to Mr. Skrefsrud traces may be discerned in the background of the Santāl religion of a *faineant* Supreme Deity called Thakur, whom the Santāls have long ceased to worship for the sufficient reason that he is too good to trouble himself about anybody and does neither good nor ill to mankind. Some identify him with the Sun, whom the Santāls regard as a good god and worship every fifth or tenth year with sacrifices of slain goats. But this point is uncertain, and I am myself inclined to doubt whether a god bearing the Hindu name Thakur, and exercising the supreme powers which mark a comparatively late stage of theological development, can really have formed part of the original system of the Santāls. However this may be, the popular gods of the tribe at the present day are the following:—(1) Marang Buru, the great mountain or the high one, who now stands at the head of the Santāl Pantheon, and is credited with very far-reaching powers, in virtue of which he associates both with the gods and with the demons. (2) Moreko, fire, now a single god but formerly known to the Santāls under the form of five brothers. (3) Jāir Era, a sister of Moreko, the goddess of the sacred grove set apart in every village for the august presence of the gods. (4) Gosain Era, a younger sister of Moreko. (5) Parganā, chief of the Bongas or gods and more especially master of all the witches, by reason of which latter functions he is held in especial reverence. (6) Mānjhi, a sort of second-in-command to Parganā, a personage who is supposed to be particularly active in restraining the gods from doing harm to men. The two

latter are clearly deities constructed on the model of the communal and village officials whose names they bear. The idea is that the gods, like men, need supervising officials of this sort to look after them and keep them in order. All the foregoing gods have their allotted place in the sacred grove (*Jāhirthān*), and are worshipped only in public. Marang Buru alone is also worshipped privately in the family.

Each family also has two special gods of its own—the Orak-bonga or household god, and the Abge-bonga or secret god. The names of the Orak-bongas are (1) Baspahar, (2) Deswāli, (3) Sās, (4) Goraya, (5) Barpahar, (6) Sarchawdi, (7) Thuntatursa. The Abge-bongas are the following :—(1) Dharasore or Dharasanda, (2) Ketkomkudra, (3) Champa-denagarh, (4) Garhsinka, (5) Lilachandi, (6) Dhanghara, (7) Kudrachandi, (8) Bahara, (9) Duārseri, (10) Kudraj, (11) Gosāin Erā, (12) Achali, (13) Deswāli. No Santāl would divulge the name of his Orak-bonga and Abge-bonga to any one but his eldest son; and men are particularly careful to keep this sacred knowledge from their wives for fear lest they should acquire undue influence with the *bongas*, become witches, and eat up the family with impunity when the protection of its gods has been withdrawn. The names given above were disclosed to Mr. Skrefsrud by Christian Santāls. When sacrifices are offered to the Orak-bongas the whole family partake of the offerings; but only men may touch the food that has been laid before the Abge-bongas. These sacrifices take place once a year. No regular time is fixed, and each man performs them when it suits his convenience.

**Human sacrifice.**

There still lingers among the Santāls a tradition of a 'moutain-god' (Buru-bonga) of unknown name, to whom human sacrifices used to be offered, and actual instances have been mentioned to me of people being kidnapped and sacrificed within quite recent times by influential headmen of communes or villages, who hoped in this way to gain great riches or to win some specially coveted private revenge. These are not the motives which prompted human sacrifice among the Kandhs of Orissa, a tribe whose internal structure curiously resembles that of the Santāls. The Kandh sacrifice was undertaken for the benefit of the entire tribe, not in the interest of individual ambition or malevolence. It is curious to hear that one of the men credited with this iniquity was himself murdered during the Santāl rebellion of 1855, by being slowly hewn in pieces with axes, just as his own victims had been—a mode of execution which certainly recalls the well-known procedure of the Kandhs.

**Festivals.**

The chief festival of the Santāls is the Sohrai or harvest festival, celebrated in *Posh* (November-December), after the chief rice crop of the year has been got in. Public sacrifices of fowls are offered by the priest in the sacred grove; pigs, goats and fowls are sacrificed by private families, and a general saturnalia of drunkenness and sexual license prevails. Chastity is in abeyance for the time, and all unmarried persons may indulge in promiscuous intercourse. This license, however, does not extend to adultery, nor does it sanction intercourse between persons of the same sept, though even this offence, if committed during the Sohrai, is punished less severely than at other times. Next in importance is the *Baha puja*, kept in *Phalgun* (February-March) when the *sāl* tree comes into flower. Tribal and family sacrifices are held, many victims are slain and eaten by the worshippers, every one entertains their friends, dancing goes on day and night, and the best songs and flute-music are performed. A peculiar feature of this festival is a sort of water-bottle in which men and women throw water at each other until they are completely drenched.

Mention may also be made of Erok-sim, the sowing festival kept in *Asar* (May-June.); Hariar-sim, the feast of the sprouting of the rice in *Bhadra* (September-October); Trigundli-nauai, the offering of the first fruits of the millets *iri* (Panicum millaceum) and *gundli* (Panicum frumentaceum) also in *Bhadra*; Janthar puja in *Aghran* (October-November), the first fruit of the winter rice crop, *Sankrānt puja* on the 1st day of *Posh*, when bread and Chira and molasses are offered to dead ancestors; Māgh-sim in the month of *Māgh*, when the jungle grass is cut. This is the end of the Santāl year. Servants are paid their wages and fresh engagements are entered into. On this occasion all the village officials, the Mānjhi Parāmānik, Jag-Mānjhi, Jag-parāmānik, Gorait, Nāiki, and Kudam-naiki go through the form of resigning their appointments, and all the cultivators give notice of throwing up their lands. After ten days or so the Mānjhi or headman calls the village together and says he has changed his mind and will stay on as *mānjhi* if the village will have him. His offer is accompanied with free drinks of rice-beer, and is carried by acclamation. One by one the other officials do the same; the ryots follow suit, and after a vast amount of beer has been consumed the affairs of the village go on as they did before. The Sima-bonga or boundary gods are propitiated twice a year with sacrifices of fowls offered at the boundary of this village where these gods are supposed to live. *Jomsim puja* is an offering of two goats, or a goat and a sheep, to the sun. Every Santāl ought to perform this sacrifice at least once in his life. After a year's interval it is, or ought to be, followed by *Kutam dangra*, when a cow is offered to the household god, and an ox to Marang Buru and to the spirits of dead ancestors. *Makmore puja*, literally 'cut five' is the sacrifice of three goats and many fowls offered to More-ko, the god of fire, supposed to have been originally five brothers, on occasions of public calamity, such as a failure of the crops, an outbreak of epidemic disease, and the like.

**Communal organization.**

The communal organization of the Santāls is singularly complete. The whole number of villages comprising a local settlement of the tribe is divided into certain large groups, each under the superintendence of a *parganait* or circle headman. This official is the head of the social system of the inhabitants of his circle; his permission has to be obtained for every marriage, and he, in consultation with a *panchāyat* of village headmen, expels or fines persons who infringe the tribal standard of propriety. He is remunerated by a commission on the fines levied, and by a tribute in kind of one leg of the goat or animal cooked at the dinner

which the culprits are obliged to give. Each village has, or is supposed to have, the following establishment of officials holding rent-free land :—

1. *Mānjhi.*—Headman, usually also *ijardar* where the village is held on lease under a zamindar, collects rents, and allots land among the ryots, being paid for this by the proceeds of the *man* land which he holds free of rent. He receives Re. 1 as *marocha* at each wedding, giving in return a full *handi* of rice-beer.
2. *Paramanik.*—Assistant headman, also holding some *mān* land.
3. *Jag-Mānjhi.*
4. *Jag-Paramanik.*

   Executive officers, respectively, of the *manjhi* and the *paramanik* who, as the Santāls describe it, "sit and give orders," which the *Jag-Mānjhi* and *Jag-Paramanik* carry out.

5. *Naiki.*—Village priest of the aboriginal deities.
6. *Kudam Naiki.*—Assistant priest, whose peculiar function it is to propitiate the spirits (*bhuts*) of the hills and jungles by scratching his arms till they bleed, mixing the blood with rice, and placing it in spots frequented by the *bhuts*.
7. *Gorait.*—Village messenger, who holds *mān* land and acts as peon to the headman. The *gorait* is also to some extent a servant of the zamindar. His chief duty within the village is to bring to the *mānjhi* and *paramanik* any ryot they want.

The communal circles of the Santāls seem to correspond closely to the *mutas* of the Khands and the *parhas* of the Mundas and Oraons. It is a plausible conjecture that among all these tribes this organization was once connected with marriage as it is among the Khands at the present day.

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## INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE SANTĀLS.

SANTĀL, *Sāontar, Kharwar, or Safā-Hor.*

Titles :—Bunā, Mandal, Mānjhi, Pardhān, Sardār.

Sub-tribes :—Deswāli Santāl, Kharwār or Safā-Hor.

| Septs. | Sub-Septs. |
|---|---|
| **BĀSKI** | **Nij.**<br>**Sādā.** |
| **BEDIYĀ** (sheep ?) | *Nil.* |
| **BESRĀ**, hawk | **Bundra.**<br>**Kahu**, crow.<br>**Kārā**, buffalo.<br>**Nij.**<br>**Sādā.**<br>**Sibala.**<br>**Son.**<br>**Sung.** |
| **CHONRE** | *Nil.* |
| **HANSDA, HASDAK**, wild goose. | **Barwār.**<br>**Chilbindhā**, eagle-slayer.<br>**Jihu**, a bird.<br>**Kerwar.**<br>**Mānjhi-Khil.**<br>**Niāki-Khil.**<br>**Nij.**<br>**Roh-Lutur**, ear-pierced.<br>**Sādā.** |
| **HEMBRON, HEMBARAM**, betel-palm. | **Dāntela**, so called from their breeding pigs with very large tusks for sacrificial purposes.<br>**Guā**, areca nut.<br>**Jahur.**<br>**Kumār.**<br>**Laher.**<br>**Nāikā-Khil.**<br>**Nij.**<br>**'Roh-Lutur,'** ear pierced.<br>**Uh.**<br>**Abar.** |
| **KISKU** | **Ah.**<br>**Kachuā**, tortoise.<br>**Lāt**, bake meat in a leaf-platter.<br>**Nāg**, cobra.<br>**Nij.**<br>**Roh-Lutur.**<br>**Sādā.**<br>**Somal**, deer. |
| **MARNDI**, grass | **Buru-birit**, of the hills.<br>**Kekra**, crab.<br>**Laher.** |

| Septs. | Sub-Septs. |
|---|---|
| **MARNDI**, grass—*contd.* | **Mānjhi-Khil.**<br>**Naiki-Khil.**<br>**Nij.**<br>**Roht**, *pānjaun* tree.<br>**Sādā.** |
| **MURMU**, nilgai. | **Bitāl.**<br>**Boar**, fish.<br>**Chopeār.**<br>**Gānr**, fort.<br>**Hāndi**, earthen vessel.<br>**Muro.**<br>**Nij.**<br>**Sādā.**<br>**Sangda.**<br>**Sikiyā**, a chain.<br>**Tikkā.** |
| **PAURIĀ or PAULLĀ.** | *Nil.* |
| **SAREN.** the constellation Pleiades. | **Barchi**, spearmen.<br>**Hāt.**<br>**Jogi.**<br>**Lāt.**<br>**Māl.**<br>**Mundu or Badar**, a dense jungle.<br>**Nij.**<br>**Sānkh**, conch shell.<br>**Sidup or Siduk**, a bundle of straw.<br>**Turku.** |
| **TUDU** | **Agariā**, charcoal-burners.<br>**Chigi, Chiki**, impale.<br>**Dāntela**, breed pigs with very large tusks for sacrificial purposes.<br>**Lāt**, bake meat in a leaf-platter.<br>**Manjhi-Khil.**<br>**Naiki-Khil.**<br>**Nij.**<br>**Roh-Lutur**, ear-pierced.<br>**Sādā.**<br>**Sung.** |
| **ADEB AIND**, a kind of eel. | |
| **BANSDEO** | |

# 4. Of the Dravidian Tract.

## BHUMIJ.

[*H. H. Risley, C.I.E.*]

**Origin.**

A non-Aryan tribe of Mānbhum, Singbhum, and Western Bengal, classed by Dalton and others, mainly on linguistic grounds, as Kolarian. There can be no doubt that the Bhumij are closely allied to, if not identical with, the Mundās; but there is little to show that they ever had a distinct language of their own. In 1850 Hodgson published a short vocabulary prepared by Captain Haughton, then in political charge of Singbhum; but most of the words in this appear to be merely Ho. The most recent observer, Herr Nottrott, of Gossner's Mission, says that the Bhumij resemble the Mundas most closely in speech and manners, but gives no specimens of their language, and does not say whether it differs sufficiently from Mundāri to be regarded as a separate dialect. I am inclined myself to believe that the Bhumij are nothing more than a branch of the Mundas, who have spread to the eastward, mingled with the Hindus, and thus for the most part severed their connexion with the parent tribe. This hypothesis seems on the whole to be borne out by the facts observable at the present day. The Bhumij of Western Manbhum are beyond doubt pure Mundas. They inhabit the tract of the country which lies on both sides of the Subarnarekhā river, bounded on the west by the edge of the Chota Nagpur plateau, on the east by the hill range of which Ajodhyā is the crowning peak, on the south by the Singbhum hills, and on the north by the hills forming the boundary between Lohardagā, Hazaribagh, and Manbhum districts. This region contains an enormous number of Mundāri graveyards, and may fairly be considered one of the very earliest settlements of the Munda race. The present inhabitants use the Mundāri language, call themselves Mundas, or, as the name is usually pronounced in Manbhum, Muras, and observe all the customs current among their brethren on the plateau of Chota Nagpur proper. Thus, like all the Kolarians, they build no temples, but worship Buru in the form of a stone smeared with vermilion, which is set up in a *sarna* or sacred grove near the village. A *sarna* is invariably composed of purely jungle trees, such as *sāl* and others, and can therefore be recognised with certainty as a fragment of the primeval forest, left standing to form an abiding place for the aboriginal deities. They observe the *sarhul* festival at the same time and in the same way as their kindred in Lohardagā and Singbhum, and the *lāyā* or priest is a recognised village official. Marriages take place when both parties are of mature age, and the betrothal of children is unknown. Like the Mundas of the plateau, they first burn their dead and then bury the remains under gravestones, some of which are of enormous size. On certain feast days small supplies of food and money are placed under these big stones to regale the dead, and are abstracted early the next morning by low-caste Hindus.

On the eastern side of the Ajodhya range, which forms a complete barrier to ordinary communication, all is changed. Both the Mundāri language and the title of Munda have dropped out of use, and the aborigines of this eastern tract call themselves Bhumij or Sardār, and talk Bengali. The physical characteristics of the race, however, remain the same, and although they have adopted Hindu customs and are fast becoming Hindus, there can be no doubt that they are the descendants of the Mundas who first settled in the country, and were given the name of Bhumij (autochthon) by the Hindu immigrants who found them in possession of the soil.

The early history of the tribe and its general characteristics are sketched by Colonel Dalton in the following passages :—

**Early history.**

"The Bhumij of the Jungle Mahāls were once, under the nickname of *chuār* (robbers), the terror of the surrounding districts, and their various outbreaks were called *chuāris*. On several occasions since they came under the British rule they have shown how readily a *chuāri* may be improvised on very slight provocation. I do not know that on any occasion they rose, like the Mundas, simply to redress their own wrongs. It was sometimes in support of a turbulent chief ambitious of obtaining power to which, according to the courts of law, he was not entitled; and it was sometimes to oppose the Government in a policy which they did not approve, though they may have had very little personal interest in the matter. Thus, in the year A.D. 1798, when the Pānchet estate was sold for arrears of revenue, they rose and violently disturbed the peace of the country till the sale was cancelled. After hostilities had continued for some time, in reply to a very pacific message sent to them by the officer commanding the troops, they asked if the Government were going to sell any more estates. I do not think that the settlement of any one of the Bhumij Jungle Mahāls was effected without a fight. In Dhalbhum the Rājā resisted the interference of the British power, and the Government set up a rival; but after various failures to establish his authority they set him aside and made terms with the rebel. In Barābhum there was at one time a disputed succession. The courts decided that the eldest born of Rājā Vivikā Nārāyan, though the son of the second wife, should succeed in preference to the son of the first wife, the Pāt Rāni. The Bhumij did not approve of the decision, and it was found necessary to send a military force to carry it out. This was the origin of the last disturbance, known as Ganga Nārāyan's rebellion, which

broke out in 1832. Lakshman, the son of the Pāt Rāni alluded to above, continuing to oppose his brother, was arrested, and died in jail, leaving a son, Gangā Nārāyan. On the death of Rājā Raghunāth Singh he also was succeeded by the son of his second Rāni, who was declared by the Supreme Court to be heir, in opposition to a claim against set up by Mādhab Singh, the younger son, but the son of the Pāt Rāni; but failing in his suit, Mādhab Singh resigned himself to his fate, and was consoled by being appointed *diwān*, or prime minister, to his brother. In this capacity he made himself thoroughly unpopular, more especially by becoming an usurious money-lender and extortionate grain-dealer, and soon Gangā Nārāyan found that, in opposing a man so detested, a majority of the people would side with him. Accordingly, in the month of April 1832 he, at the head of a large force of *ghātwāls*, made an attack on Mādhab Singh and slew him. This foul crime was committed with great deliberation, cunning, and cruelty. Mādhab was seized and carried off to the hills to be sacrificed. Gangā Nārāyan himself first smote him with his battle-axe, then each *sardār ghātwāl* was compelled to discharge an arrow at him, and thus all the leading *ghātwāls* became implicated in the plot. A system of plundering was then commenced, which soon drew to his standard all the *chuārs*, that is, all the Bhumij of Barābhum and adjoining estates. He attacked Barābāzār, where the Rājā lived, burned the Munsif's *kāchāri* and the police station, from which the police had fled, but three unfortunate peons (runners) of the Munsif's court were caught and killed. The officials and the police fell back on Bardwan, and for some time Gangā Nārāyan had the country at his mercy. He sacked every place worth plundering, but in November following a force was collected, consisting of three regiments of Native Infantry and eight guns, and military operations against the insurgents commenced. They were soon driven to take refuge in the hills, but being pressed there also Gangā Nārāyan fled into Singbhum, and endeavoured to enlist in his favour the reputed invincible and irrepressible Larkās. They were just then at issue with one of the chiefs, who claimed supremacy over a portion of them, the Thākur of Kharsawān; and though they were not unwilling to join in the row, they wished, before they committed themselves to Gangā Nārāyan's leadership, to test his capacity to lead. They therefore demanded that he should in the first place make an attack on the fort of the Thākur of Kharsāwān. In complying with this request he was killed, and the Thākur had the pleasure of sending his head to Captain Wilkinson with a letter quite in the style of Falstaff.

"I have not been able to discover that the Bhumij possess any independent traditions of migrations. Those who live in proximity to Chutiā Nāgpur recognise no distinction between themselves and the Mundas. They intermarry and associate and coalesce in all matters indicating identity of race; for, though it may be said that they are not much troubled with caste prejudices, there is no portion of the old Indian population which is quite free from it. The Bhumij farther east have become too Hinduised to acknowledge the relationship. The Dhalbhum Bhumij consider themselves autochthones, and will not admit that they are in any way connected with the Mundas, Hos, or Santāls. It is pretty certain that the *zamindārs* of all these estates are of the same race as their people, though the only man among them whom I found sensible enough to acknowledge this was the Rājā of Bāghmundi; the others all call themselves Kshattriyas or Rājputs, but they are not acknowledged as such by any true scion of that illustrious stock. In claiming to be Rājputs they do not attempt to connect themselves with any of the recognised families of the tribe, but each family has its own special legend of miraculous production. The family legend of the Rājā of Barābhum may be given as a specimen of their skill in making pedigrees:— 'Nath Varāha and Kes Varāha, two brothers, quarrelled with their father, the Rājā of Virāt, and settled at the Court of Vikramāditya. (This has some connection with the tradition of the adjoining estate of Pātkum, the Rājā of which claims descent from Vikramāditya.) Kes, the younger brother, was sawn into two pieces; and with his blood Vikram gave a *tikā* or mark on the forehead to the elder brother, and a pair of umbrellas, and told him that all the country he could ride round in a day and night should be his. Nath mounted his steed and accomplished a circuit of eight *yojanas* within the time specified in what is now Barābhum; and this must be all true, as the prints of his horse's hoofs are still visible on the southern slopes of the hills.' With one or two exceptions all the *ghātwāls* (captains of the border and their men) of the Bhumij part of Mānbhum and Singbhum districts are Bhumij, which is a sure indication of their being the earliest settlers. They were the people (like the Mundāri Bhuinhārs in Chutiā Nāgpur, the Bhuiyās in Bonāi, Gāngpur, Keunjhār, etc., and Gonds in Sargujā and Udaipur) to whom the defence of the country was entrusted. The Bhumij *ghātwāls* in Mānbhum have now, after all their escapades, settled down steadily to work as guardians of the peace. The Rājā of the extensive *zamindāri* of Dhalbhum is no doubt of Bhumij extraction, but for him the Heralds' College of the period failed to manipulate a Rājput descent. His ancestor was a washerman who afforded refuge to the goddess Kāli when, as Rankini, she fled from a demon in Pānchet. The goddess, in gratitude, gave the washerman a young Brāhmani, a ward of her own, to wife, and the Rājās of Dhalbhum are the descendants of this union. The origin of the story appears to be that a Bhumij chief of Dhalbhum, probably at the instigation of a Brāhman, stole from its shrine in Pānchet an image of Rankini and set it up as his own tutelary deity. The shrine from which the image was abstracted is shown at the village of Pārā, near Puruliā in Mānbhum, and it became the popular object of worship in Dhalbhum for all classes of people there. Rankini especially rejoiced in human sacrifices. It is freely admitted that in former years children were frequently kidnapped and sacrificed at her shrine; and it cannot be very positively asserted that the practice of offering such victims has long been discontinued. At the shrine of this goddess a very cruel scene was enacted every year till 1865, when, with the concurrence of the *zamindār*, it was put a stop to. It was called the *Bindaparab*; and Gangā Nārāyan

probably had it in his mind when he so cruelly disposed of Mādhab Singh. At this *parab* two male buffaloes are driven into a small enclosure, and on a raised stage adjoining and overlooking it the Rājā and suits take up their position. After some ceremonies the Rājā and his *purohit* or family priest discharge arrows at the buffaloes, others follow their example, and the tormented and enraged beasts fall to and gore each other, whilst arrow after arrow is discharged. When the animals are past doing very much mischief, the people rush in and hack at them with battle-axes till they are dead. The Santāls and wild Kharriās, it is said, took delight in this festival; but I have not heard a murmur at its discontinuance, and this shows it had no great hold on the minds of the people. Many of the Bhumij tribe are well off. Some of them, who are *sardār ghātwāls*, are in virtue of their office proprietors of estates, comprising each from one to twenty manors; but as most substantial tenants under them are also hereditary *ghātwāls* rendering service and paying besides but a very low fixed rent, these *ghātwāli* estates are not so valuable to the proprietor as villages on the ordinary tenure would be. The Bhumij live in commodious, well-built houses, and have all about them the comforts to which the better class of cultivators in Bengal are accustomed. Those who live quite amongst the Bengalis have retained few of their ancient customs; none, perhaps, except the great national amusement, the gay meetings for dance and song both at their villages and at *jātras*, which are characteristic of all Kols. In appearance they are inferior to the Hos of Singbhum and to the best of the Mundas of Chutiā Nāgpur. They are short of stature, but strongly built, and, like the Santāls, rather inclined to fleshiness. In complexion they are variable, like the Mundas, ranging from a dark chocolate to a light brown colour; they observe many of the Hindu festivals, but retain their sacred groves, in which they still sacrifice to the old gods. They have generally left off eating cow's flesh, in which their unreformed brethren in Singbhum and Chutiā Nāgpur indulge, but eat fowls. The Bhumij have in a great degree lost the simplicity and truthfulness of character for which their cognates are generally distinguished. They have acquired from the Bengali Hindus the propensity to lie, but they have not the same assurance or powers of invention, and their lies are so transparent that they are easily detected."

**Internal structure.**

The internal structure of the Bhumij tribe is shown below. The sub-tribes are numerous, and vary greatly in different districts. With the possible exception of the iron-smelting Shelo in Mānbhum, the names of these groups seem to have reference to their supposed original settlements. It deserves notice that the tendency to form endogamous divisions seems to be stronger in outlying districts than it is at the recognized head-quarters of the tribe. Thus in Mānbhum and Singbhum we find only one sub-tribe, Shelo, which obviously got detached from the parent group by reason of its members adopting, or perhaps declining to abandon, the comparatively degraded occupation of iron-smelting. In Midnapur, on the other hand, where the Bhumij settlements are of comparatively recent date, we find five territorial sub-tribes in addition to the functional group of Shelo. The reason seems to be that when the stream of emigration is not absolutely continuous, successive sections of immigrants into distant parts of the country are affected in various degrees by the novel social influences to which they are exposed. Some groups become more rapidly Hinduised than others, and thus there arise divergences of usage in matters of food and drink, which constitute a bar to intermarriage, and in time lead to the formation of sub-tribes. These divisions often outlast the differences of custom and ritual from which they took their origin, and in some cases the prohibition of intermarriage comes to be withdrawn, and the names alone remain to show that such a prohibition was once in force. The exogamous divisions of the tribe are totemistic, and closely resemble those met with among the Mundas.

**Marriage.**

The rule of exogamy is simple. A man may not marry a woman of his own sept, nor a woman who comes within the standard formula for reckoning prohibited degrees, calculated as a rule to three generations in the descending line, but sometimes extended to five where *bhaiyādi* or mutual recognition of kinship has been maintained between the families.

The aboriginal usage of adult-marriage still holds its ground among the Bhumij, though the wealthier members of the tribe prefer to marry their daughters as infants. The extreme view of the urgent necessity of early marriage is unknown among them, and it is thought no shame for a man to have a grown-up daughter unmarried in his house. Sexual intercourse before marriage is more or less recognised, it being understood that if a girl becomes pregnant arrangements will at once be made to marry her to the father of her child. Brides are bought for a price ranging usually from Rs. 3 to Rs. 12, and the wedding may take place, according to arrangement, at the house of either party. When, as is more usual, it is celebrated at the bride's house, a square space (*marwa*) is prepared in the courtyard (*angan*) by daubing the ground with rice-water. In the centre of this space branches of *mahuā* and *sidha* trees are planted, bound together with five *cowrie* shells (Cyprœa moneta) and five pieces of turmeric, and at the corners are set four earthen water-vessels connected by a cotton thread, which marks the boundary of the square. Each vessel is half filled with pulse and covered with a concave lid, in which a small lamp burns. On the arrival of the bridegroom with his following of friends, he is led at once to the *marwa* and made to sit on a bit of board (*pira*). The bride is then brought in and given a similar seat on his left hand. A sort of mimic resistance to the introduction of the bride is often offered by her more distant female relatives and friends, who receive trifling presents for allowing her to pass.

After the bride has taken her seat and certain *mantras* or mystic formulæ have been pronounced by the priest, usually a Bengal Brāhman, the bridegroom proceeds to light the lamps at the corners of the square. As fast as each lamp is lighted the bride blows it out, and this is repeated three, five, or seven times, as the case may be. The couple then return to

their seats, and the bride is formally given to the bridegroom, appropriate *mantras* being recited at the time, and their right hand being joined together by the officiating priest. Last of all, the bridegroom smears vermilion on the bride's forehead and his clothes are knotted to hers, the knot being kept intact for three, four, five, seven, or ten days, according to the custom of the family. At the end of that time they must rub themselves with turmeric and bathe, and the knot is solemnly untied in the presence of the bridegroom's relations. No priest is present on this occasion.

**Widow-marriage.** The Bhumij recognise polygamy, and in theory at least impose no limitation on the number of wives a man may have. The tribe, however, are for the most part poor, and their meagre standard of living proves an effectual bar to excessive indulgence in the luxury of polygamy. When a man has no children by his first wife he usually marries again if he can afford to do so; and it frequently happens that the second wife is a young widow, whom he marries by the *sanga* ritual, paying a nominal bride-price and incurring far less expenditure than would be necessary in the event of his marrying a virgin. Widow-marriage is freely permitted by the *sanga* ritual, in which a widow smears on the bride's forehead vermilion which the bridegroom has previously touched with his great toe. It is deemed right for a widow to marry her late husband's younger brother or cousin, if such an arrangement be feasible; and in the event of her marrying an outsider, she forfeits all claim to a share in her late husband's property and to the custody of any children she may have had by him. Traces of the growth of a sentiment adverse to the practice of widow-marriages may perhaps be discerned in the fact that the children of widows by their second husbands experience some difficulty in getting married, and tend rather to form a class by themselves.

**Divorce.** The Bhumij of Mānbhum allow divorce only when a woman has been guilty of adultery. A council of relations is called, who hear the evidence and determine whether the charge has been proved. If their finding is against the woman, her husband solemnly draws from her wrist the iron ring, which is the visible sign of wedlock. Water is then poured on a *sāl* leaf, and the husband tears the wet leaf in two to symbolise separation. This ceremony is called *pāt pāni chirā*, 'the wet leaf rent' and besides making the divorce absolute, relieves the husband from any claim by the wife for maintenance. He is himself socially impure after the ceremony until he has shaved and performed certain expiatory rites, the most important of which appears to be giving a feast to the relatives who came together to adjudicate on the case. A woman has no right to divorce her husband, and if neglected or ill-treated her only remedy is to run away with another man. Divorced wives may marry again by the *sanga* ritual, but their offspring by their second husbands are at the same social disadvantage in respect of marriage as has been noticed above in referring to the children of widows. In both cases the sentiment is unquestionably due to the influence of Hinduism in modifying the original usages of the tribe.

**Succession.** In matters of inheritance and succession the tribe usually affect to follow the school of Hindu law in vogue in their neighbourhood, and hardly any vestiges of special tribal custom can now be traced. Almost all Bhumij, however, give the eldest son an extra share (*jethangs* or *bara angs*) when the property is divided; and the *ghātwāli* members of the tribe follow the local custom of primogeniture, the younger sons being provided for by small maintenance grants. If a man leaves no children, his widow takes a life-interest on the property.

**Religion.** The religion of the Bhumij varies, within certain limits, according to the social position and territorial status of the individuals concerned. Zamindārs and well-to-do tenure-holders employ Brāhmans as their family priests, and offer sacrifices to Kāli or Mahāmāyā. The mass of the people revere the sun under the names of Sing-Bonga and Dharm, as the giver of harvests to men and the cause of all changes of seasons affecting their agricultural fortunes. They also worship a host of minor gods, among whom the following deserve special mention:—

(1) **Jāhir-Buru,** worshipped in the sacred grove of the village (*jāhir-thān*) with offerings of goats, fowls, rice, and ghee at the Sarhul festival in the months of *Baisakh* (April-May) and *Phālgun* (January-February). The *lāyā* presides at the sacrifice, and the offerings are divided between him and the worshippers. Jāhir-Buru is supposed to be capable of blasting the crops if not duly propitiated, and her worship is a necessary preliminary to the commencement of the agricultural operations of the year.

(2) **Kārākātā,** (*Kāra*='buffalo,' and *Kātā*='to cut') another agricultural deity, to whom buffaloes and goats are offered towards the commencement of the rains. The skin of the buffalo is taken by the worshippers; the horns form the perquisite of the *lāyā*; while the Doms, who make music at the sacrifice, are allowed to carry off the flesh. In the case of goats the *lāyā's* share is one-third of the flesh. If Kārākātā is neglected, it is believed there will be a failure of the rains. The cult of this deity, however, is not so universal as that of JĀHIR-BURU.

(3) **Bāghut or Bāgh-Bhut,** who protects his votaries from tigers, is worshipped in *Kārtick* (October-November) on the night of the *Amābasyā* or that preceding it. The offerings are goats, fowls, ghee, rice, etc., which may be presented either in the homestead or on the high land (*tānr*) close to the village. In the former case the head of the family officiates as priest; in the latter the *lāyā's* services are enlisted, and he can claim a share of the offerings.

(4) **Grām-Deotā and Deoshāli,** gods of village life, who ward off sickness and watch over the supply of water for drinking and irrigation of the crops. They are propitiated in *Āshār* (July-August) with offerings of goats, fowls, and rice, at which *lāyās* preside.

(5) **Buru,** a mountain deity associated with many different hills throughout the Bhumij country, and worshipped for recovery from sickness and general prosperity on the first or second *Māgh*. The head of the family or a *lāyā* serves as priest.

(6) **Kudra and Bisaychandi** are malignant ghosts of cannibalistic propensities, whom the *lāyās* propitiate in the interests of the community. Private individuals do not worship them.

(7) **Pānch-bahini and Bāradelā** are local deities worshipped by the Bankura Bhumij in much the same fashion as Jahir-Buru, the chief difference being that the offerings to Pānchbahini are she-goats and a kind of scent called *māthāghashā*, while only fowls are presented to Bāradelā.

**Festivals.**

With the Bhumij, as with other non-Aryan tribes of Chotā Nāgpur, the Karam festival seems to be especially popular. The Bhumij of Bānkura district celebrate this feast in the latter half of the month *Bhādra*, corresponding roughly to the first half of September. A branch of the Karam-tree (*Nauclea parvifolia*) is planted by the *lāyā* in the centre of the village dancing-ground (*ākhrā*). At the foot of this branch is a vessel partly filled with earth, into which, on the first day of the festival, the unmarried girls of the village throw various kinds of seed grain. These are carefully tended and watered from time to time so as to germinate by the *Sankrānti*, or last day of the month, when the girls give the sprouting blades to each other, and wear them in their hair at the dance, which usually lasts the whole of that night.

**Priests.**

The sacerdotal arrangements of the tribe have already been incidentally referred to. The upper classes employ Brāhmans of their own, and ignore the cult of the earlier gods; while the mass of the tribe are guided in their regular observances by the teachings of the *lāyās* or priests of the forest gods, and only call in the assistance of Brāhmans on the comparatively rare occasions when it is deemed necessary to propitiate one of the standard Hindu deities. But the Brāhman who serves the Bhumij *zamindār* or tenure-holder as a family priest takes a higher place in the local community of Brāhmans than the casual Brāhman who ministers to the spiritual needs of the ordinary cultivator. The former will call himself a Rārhi Kulin, and will be received on equal terms by all other members of the sacred order; while the latter belongs to a much lower class, and associates with the comparatively degraded Brāhmans who work for Kurmis and Dhobās.

**The disposal of the dead.**

The funeral rites of the Bhumij are characteristic, and lend strong support to the opinion that the tribe is merely a branch of the Mundās. On the death of a Bhumij his body is laid with the head to the south on a funeral pyre, which is kindled by his male relatives. When the pyre is well alight, the males go home, and the wife, sister, or other female relative of the deceased comes to the burning-place, carrying an earthen vessel of water. There she waits till the fire has burned down, quenches the ashes with water, and picks out and places in the vessel the fragments of bone left unconsumed. Some of these fragments are interred at the foot of *tulsi* plant (*Ocymum sanctum*) in the courtyard of the dead man's house, others are taken in the vessel to the original cemetery of his family.* There a hole is dug and the vessel of bones placed inside, supported by three stones. The earth is then filled in, and a large flat stone laid over all, on which a fowl is sacrificed to ensure the repose of the dead. The spirits of those whose bones rest in the same place are solemnly informed that another has been added to their number, and are enjoined not to quarrel, but to abide peacefully in the land of the dead. The survivors then partake of a feast of rice, *dāl*, and other vegetables prepared by the more distant relatives of the deceased. This strictly non-Aryan ritual has of late years been to some extent overlaid by observances borrowed from the regular Hindu *Srāddh*. On the tenth day the mourners are shaved, and on the eleventh balls (*pinda*) of rice, sesamum, molasses, and plantain are offered to ancestors under the supervision of a Brāhman, who receives such presents as the means of the family permit them to give. A more primitive mode of appeasing the departed spirit is met with among the Shelo Bhumij. On the eleventh day after death the chief mourner beats a bell-metal drinking vessel with a stick, while another relation, standing by his side, calls loudly on the name of the dead. After a while a third man, unconnected with the family, and often a *lāyā*, comes forward to personate the deceased, by whose name he is addressed, and asked what he wants to eat. Acting thus as the dead man's proxy, he mentions various articles of food, which are put before him. After making a regular meal he goes away, and the spirit of the deceased is believed to go with him. The relatives then finish the food prepared for the occasion.

**Police service.**

Mention is made in the article on the Mundās of the custom by which the graves of the *bhuinhārs*, or representatives of those who first cleared the soil and founded the village, are marked by an upright stone pillar in addition to the horizontal slab which covers the bones of an ordinary *raiyat* not descended with from one of these pioneer families. Precisely the same distinction is made among the Bhumij *ghatwāls* of Mānbhum between village *sardārs*, or holders of entire *ghatwāli* tenures, and the *tābidārs*, or rural constables, who make up the rank and file of the *ghatwāli* force. The graves of the former are invariably distinguished by an upright monolith, sometimes bearing traces of rude attempts at ornamental shaping, while the tombs of the latter consist merely of a slab laid flush with the ground. This

* The theory is that the bones should be taken to the village in which the ancestors of the deceased had the status of *bhuinhārs* or first clearers of the soil; but this is not invariably acted up to and the rule is held to be sufficiently complied with if a man's bones are buried in a village where he or his ancestors have been settled for a tolerably long time. It deserves notice that the Tamārhiā Bhumij of Midnapur transport the bones of their dead to the great Munda cemetery at Chokahatu, 'the place of mourning' in *pargana* Tamārh of Lohardagā. No stronger proof could well be given of the identity of the Bhumij with the Mundas. The Desi Bhumij of Midnapur go to Kuchong, in Singbhum, and some of the Singbhum Bhumij to Suisa, in Bagmundi of Manbhum.

singular correspondence of funeral usage, coupled with the fact that many of the Mānbhum *ghatwāls* call themselves by the title *bhuinhār* or *bhuinyā*, suggests the conjecture that the *ghatwāli* tenures in the south of that district are a survival under different names and changed conditions of the ancient tribal holdings known in Lohardagā as *bhuinhāri*. Personal service of various kinds is one of the oldest incidents of the *bhuinhāri* tenure, and it is not difficult to see how in a border district like Mānbhum the character of this service might gradually be changed in accordance with local necessities until it came to take the form of the petty police functions which the *ghatwāls* perform, or are supposed to perform, at the present day. Their duties, it is true, are now discharged under the orders of Government, and not at the will of the *zamindār*, but this change has been brought about gradually, and is due partly to local disturbances, in which the Bhumij took the lead, and partly to the fact that the *zamindārs* of Barabhum, originally the heads of the Bhumij community, have within the last hundred years assumed the style of Rajputs, and have spared no effort to sever their connection with their own tribe. The antagonism thus set up between the chief and his retainers showed itself on his side by constant endeavours to resume their privileged tenures, and on theirs by steady resistance to his authority and assertion of their direct subordination to the Magistrate of the district. Thus in course of time it has come about that a number of very ancient tenures, representing in their inception the tribal rights of the first clearers of the soil, have been transformed into police *jāgirs*, and have recently been surveyed and demarcated at the cost of Government in the interest of the executive administration of the Mānbhum district.

**Occupation.**

The original occupation of the Mānbhum Bhumij is believed by themselves to have been military service, and there can be little doubt that the bands of Chuārs or plunderers, who repeatedly overran the Midnapur district towards the end of last century, were largely recruited from this tribe. The circumstance, however, that they took a more or less prominent part in a series of marauding attacks on an unarmed and unwarlike population affords no ground for a belief in the existence among them of any real military instinct; and in fact they are conspicuous for the dislike of discipline, which is one of the prominent characteristics of the Kolarain races. For many years past agriculture has been the sole profession of all the sub-tribes except the iron-smelting Shelo. A few have engaged in petty trade, and some have emigrated to the tea districts of Assam. Their relations to the land are various. The *zamindārs* of Barabhum, Dhalbhum, Mānbhum, Patkum, and Bagmundi probably belong to the Bhumij tribe, though they now call themselves Rājputs. Next to them rank the *sardār ghatwāls* of the large service-tenures known in Mānbhum as *tarafs*. Three of these admit themselves to be Bhumij, while the fourth, Manmohan Singh, of Taraf Satarakhāni, now claims to be a Rājput, regardless of the fact that a few years ago his grandfather wrote himself down in public documents as Bhumij. I mention this instance as an illustration of the facility with which brevet rank as a self-made Rājput may be obtained. Manmohan Singh keeps a Brāhman to support his pretensions, and professes to be very particular in all matters of ceremonial observance. His descendants will doubtless obtain unquestioning recognition as local Rājputs, and will intermarry with families who have undergone the same process of transformation as themselves. The great bulk of the Bhumij who are simple cultivators and labourers, stand on a far lower social level than the landholding members of the tribe. They rank somewhat below the Kurmi, and members of the higher castes will not take water from their hands. In their turn the Bhumij, though eating fowls and drinking spirituous liquors, look down upon Bauris, Bagdis, Doms, and Ghasis as more unclean feeders than themselves.

## INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE BHUMIJ.

***Titles:—Mānki,*[1] *Matkum,*[2] *Mura,*[3] *Sardār.*[4]**

| Sub-tribes. | Septs. | Septs. |
|---|---|---|
| **Desi.** | **Baddā, Kurkutiā,** a kind of worm. | **Nāg,** snake. |
| **Tamāriā, Murā,** or **Mānki-Mura.**[5] | **Bārdā.** | **Obārsāri,** a bird. |
| **Sikhariyā or Meno.**[6] | **Bhuiyā,** fish. | **Pilā.** |
| **Pātkumiā.**[7] | **Chandil.** | **Sāgmā.** |
| **Shelo,** iron-smelters. | **Gulu,** fish. | **Sālrishi,** *sal* fish. |
| **Barābhumiā,** zamindar Bhumij.[8] | **Hānsdā,** wild goose. | **Sāndilya,** a bird. |
| | **Hemrong,** betel palm. | **Sāolā.** |
| | **Jāru,** a bird. | **Tesā,** bird. |
| | **Kāsyab,** tortoise. | **Tumārug,** pumpkin. |
| | **Leng,** mushroom. | **Tuti,** a sort of vegetable. |

[1] This title is common among the Mundas.
[2] Applied to the Bhumij of Dhalbhum.
[3] Mura is the common form of Munda in Manbhum.
[4] Possibly borrowed from the *ghatwali* system, the leading executive unit of which is the *sardār* or head of subordinate *ghatwals* (*tabidars*) of a village.
[5] The two latter appellations clearly suggest Munda descent.
[6] This group is supposed to come from Manbhum.
[7] The Patkumiā and Tamāriā sub-tribe occasionally intermarry.
[8] Probably descended from members of the Barabhum *zamindāri* family.

# 4. Of the Dravidian Tract.

## MUNDA.

[ *H. H. Risley, C.I.E.* ]

**Origin.**

Mura, Horo-hon, a large Dravidian tribe of Chota Nāgpur, classed on linguistic grounds as Kolarian, and closely akin to the Hos and Santāls, and probably also to the Kandhs. The name Munda is of Sanskrit origin. It means headman of a village, and is a titular or functional designation used by the members of the tribe, as well as by outsiders, as a distinctive name much in the same way as the Santāls call themselves Mānjhi, the Bhumij Sardār, and the Khambu of the Darjiling hills Jimdār. The general name Kol, which is applied to both Mundas and Oraons, is interpreted by Herr Jellinghaus to mean pig-killer, but the better opinion seems to be that it is a variant of *horo*, the Mundāri for man. The change of *r* to *l* is familiar and needs no illustration, while in explanation of the conversion of *h* into *k*, we may cite *kon*, the Mundari for 'child,' which in Korwa becomes *kon* and *koro*, the Muāsi form of *horo*, 'a man.' It may be added that the Kharias of Chota Nagpur call the Mundas Kora, a name closely approaching Kol.

**Tradition.**

The Munda myth of the making of mankind tells how the self-existent primeval deities Ote Borām and Sing Bonga created a boy and a girl and put them together in a cave to people the world. At first they were too innocent to understand what was expected of them, but the gods showed them how to make rice-beer, which inflames the passions, and in course of time their family reached the respectable number of twelve of either sex. As is usual in myths of this class, the children were divided into pairs; and Sing Bonga set before them various kinds of food for them to choose from before starting in the world. The fate of their descendants depended on their choice. Thus "the first and second pair took bullocks' and buffaloes' flesh, and they originated the Kols (Hōs) and the Bhumij (Matkum); the next took of the vegetables only, and are the progenitors of the Brāhmans and Chhatris, others took goats and fish, and from them are the Sudras. One pair took shell-fish and became Bhuiyās; two pairs took pigs and became Santāls. One pair got nothing, seeing which the first pairs gave them of their superfluity; and from the pair thus provided spring the Ghasis, who toil not, but live by preying on others."

**Internal structure.**

The Mundas are divided into thirteen sub-tribes, several of which, such as Kharia-Munda, Mahili-Munda, Oraon-Munda, appear to be the result of crosses with neighbouring tribes, while others again, like Bhuinhār-Munda and Mānki-Munda, have reference to the land and communal system of the tribe. The Mahili-Munda sub-tribe has the pig for its totem, and for them pork is tabooed. But appetite has proved stronger than tradition, and the taboo is satisfied by throwing away the head of the animal, the rest of the carcase being deemed lawful food. The septs or *kilis*, which are very numerous, are mainly totemistic, and the totem is taboo to the members of the sept which bears its name. A list of the septs is given below. If it were possible to identify them all, and to ascertain precisely to what extent and in what manner the taboo of the totem is observed by each, the information would probably throw much light upon the growth of early tribal societies.

**Marriage.**

A Munda may not marry a woman of his own sept. The sept-name goes by the father's side, and intermarriage with persons nearly related through the mother is guarded against by reckoning prohibited degrees in the manner common in Behār. Adult marriage is still in fashion and sexual intercourse before marriage is tacitly recognised, but in all respectable families matches are made by the parents, and the parties themselves have very little to say in the matter. The bride-price varies from ₹4 to ₹20. *Sindurdān*, or the smearing of vermilion on the bride's forehead by the bridegroom and on the bridegroom's forehead by the bride, is the essential and binding portion. The practice described by Colonel Dalton of marrying the bride to a *mahua* tree [*Bassia latifolia*] and the bridegroom to a mango seems now to have been abandoned. Traces still survive among the Mundas of a form of marriage, resembling the Santāli *nir bolok*. It is called *dhuko era*, meaning a bride who has entered the household of her own accord. The children of a woman thus married seem to have an inferior status in respect of their rights to inherit the landed property of their father. The late Babu Rākhāl Dās Hāldār, Manager of the estate of the Maharāja of Chota Nāgpur, gave me an illustration of this fact. Some years ago the *mundā* or headman of one of the villages of the Government estate of Barkagarh died, leaving an only son by a *dhuko era* wife, and a question was raised as to the latter's right to succeed. Under Colonel Dalton's orders, a number of headmen of villages were called together, and their opinions were taken. No decided results, however, could be arrived at. Some thought the son should get the whole property. Others proposed to exclude him altogether, and a third party considered him entitled to maintenance. Eventually the question was compromised by admitting the son's right to one-fourth of the land and the whole of the personal property. The case is a curious comment on the uncertainty of tribal custom. Widows may marry again by the ritual known as *saṇāi*, in which *sindurdān* is performed with the left hand. Divorce is allowed at the instance of either party, and divorced women are permitted to marry again. In cases of adultery the seducer is required to pay to the husband the full amount of the bride-price.

**Religion.** At the head of the Munda religion stands Sing-Bonga, the sun, a beneficent but somewhat inactive deity, who concerns himself but little with human affairs, and leaves the details of the executive government of the world to the gods in charge of particular branches or departments of nature. Nevertheless, although Sing-Bonga himself does not send sickness or calamity to men, he may be invoked to avert such disasters, and in this view sacrifices of white goats or white cocks are offered to him by way of appeal from the unjust punishments believed to have been inflicted by his subordinates. Next in rank to Sing-Bonga comes Buru-Bonga or Marang-Buru, also known as Pāt-Sarnā, a mountain god, whose visible habitation is usually supposed to be the highest or most remarkable hill or rock in the neighbourhood. "In Chota Nāgpur," says Colonel Dalton, "a remarkable bluff, near the village of Lodhma is the Marang-Buru or Maha-Buru for a wide expanse of country. Here people of all castes assemble and sacrifice—Hindus, even Mahomedans, as well as Kols. There is no visible object of worship; the sacrifices are offered on the top of the hill, a bare semi-globular mass of rock. If animals are killed, the heads are left there, and afterwards appropriated by the *pāhan* or village priest." Marang-Buru is regarded as the god who presides over the rainfall, and is appealed to in times of drought, as well as when any epidemic sickness is abroad. The appropriate offering to him is a buffalo. Ikir Bonga rules over tanks, wells and large sheets of water; Garhāera is the goddess of rivers, streams and the small springs which occur on many hill sides in Chota Nāgpur; while Nāge or Nāga-era is a general name applied to the minor deities or spirits who haunt the swampy lower levels of the terraced rice-fields. All of these are believed to have a hand in spreading disease among men, and require constant propitiation to keep them out of mischief. White goats and black or brown cocks are offered to Ikir Bonga, and eggs and turmeric to the Nāge. Deswāli or Kārā-Sarnā is the god of the village, who lives with his wife Jāhir Burhi or Sarhul-Sarnā in the Sarnā or sacred grove, a patch of the forest primeval left intact, to afford a refuge for the forest gods. Every village has its own Deswāli, who is held responsible for the crops, and receives periodical worship at the agricultural festivals. His appropriate offering is a *kārā* or he-buffalo;—to his wife fowls are sacrificed. Gumi is another of the Sarnā deities whose precise functions I have been unable to ascertain. Bullocks and pigs are sacrificed to him at irregular intervals. Chandor appears to be same as Chando Omol or Chanala, the moon worshipped by women, as the wife of Sing-Bonga and the mother of the stars. Colonel Dalton mentions the legend that she was faithless to her husband, and he cut her in two, 'but repenting of his anger he allows her at times to shine forth in full beauty.' Goats are offered to her in the *Sarnā*. Hāprom is properly the homestead, but it is used in a wider sense to denote the group of dead ancestors who are worshipped in the homestead by setting apart for them a small portion of every meal and with periodical offerings of fowls. They are supposed to be ever on the watch for chances of doing good or evil to their descendants and the Munda fully realise the necessity for appeasing and keeping them in good humour.

**Festivals.** The festivals of the tribe are the following:—(1) Sarhul or Sarjum-Bābā, the spring festival corresponding to the Baha or Bah-Bonga of the Santāls and Hos in *Chait* (March-April) when the *sāl* [*Shorea robusta*] tree is in bloom. Each household sacrifices a cock and makes offerings of *sāl* flowers to the founders of the village in whose honour the festival is held. (2) Kadletā or Batauli in *Asarh* at the commencement of the rainy season. "Each cultivator," says Colonel Dalton, "sacrifices a fowl, and after some mysterious rites a wing is stripped off and inserted in the cleft of a bamboo and stuck up in the rice-field and dung-heāp. If this is omitted, it is supposed that the rice will not come to maturity." (3) Nanā or Jom-Nanā, the festival of new rice in Āsin, when the highland rice is harvested. A white cock is sacrificed to Sing Bonga, and the first fruits of the harvest are laid before him. Until this has been done, it would be an act of impiety to eat the new rice. (4) Khariā puja or Kolom Singh, called by the Hos Deswāli Bonga or Māgh Parab celebrating the harvesting of the winter rice, the main crop of the year. Five fowls and various vegetables are offered to Deswāli, the god of the village at the *kalihan* or threshing floor. Among the Hos of Singbhum the festival is kept as a sort of *saturnale*, during which the people give themselves up to drunkenness and all kinds of debauchery. This is less conspicuously the case with the Mundas of the plateau who live scattered among Hindu and Christian neighbours, and do not form a compact tribal community like the Hos of the Kolhan. The festival, moreover, is kept by the Mundas on one day only, and is not spread over a month or six weeks, during which time the people of different villages vie with each other in dissipation, as they do in the Kolhān.

The funeral ceremonies of Mundas do not differ materially from those of the Hos.

**Succession.** Succession among the Mundas is governed by their own customs, which appear to have been little affected by the influence of Hindu law. Property is equally divided among the sons, but no division is made until the youngest son is of age. With them, as with the Santāls, daughters get no share in the inheritance; they are allotted among the sons just like the live-stock. "Thus if a man dies, leaving three sons and three daughters and thirty head of cattle, on a division each son would get ten head of cattle and one sister; but should there be only one sister, they wait till she marries and divide the *pan*" or bride-price, which usually consists of about six head of cattle. Among the Hos of Singbhum the brides-price is higher than with the Mundas, and the question of its amount has there been found to affect seriously the number of marriages.

**Village communes and officials.** According to ancient and universal tradition, the central tableland of Chota Nāgpur Proper was originally divided into *parhās* or rural communes, comprising from ten to twenty-five villages, and presided over by a divisional chief, called the *rājā* or *munda* of the *parhā*. In 1839, titular *rājās* of the *parhā* were still existing in the Fiscal Division of Khukrā near Rānchi, who retained considerable authority in tribal disputes, and at times of festival and hunting. But this

element in the Munda village system has now fallen into decay, and survives only in the *jhanḍās* or flags of the *parhā* villages, and in the peculiar titles bestowed on the cultivators themselves. The exclusive right to fly a particular flag at the great dancing festivals is jealously guarded by every Munda village, and serious fights not unfrequently result from the violation of this privilege. Besides this, individual villages in a *parhā* bear specific titles, such as *rājā, diwān kunwār, thākur, chhotā lāl*, etc., similar to those which prevail in the household of the reigning family, which obviously refer to some organization which no longer exists. I am informed that these officials still make the arrangements for the large hunting parties which take place at certain seasons of the year.

A Kol village community consists, when perfect, of the following officers :—*Munda, māhato, pāhn, bhandāri, gorāit, goālā*, and *lohār*. Washermen, barbers, and potters have been added since 1839, and even now are only found near much frequented halting places, and in villages where the larger Hindu tenure-holders live. The Kols invariably shave themselves, and their women wash the clothes.

(1) *Munda.*—The *munda* is the chief of the *bhuinhārs*, or descendants of the original clearers of the village. He is a person of great consequence in the village and all demands from the *bhuinhārs*, whether of money or labour, must be notified by the owner of the village through the *munda*. He is remunerated for his trouble by the *bhuinhāri* land, which he holds at a low rate of rent, and receives no other salary. In *parganā* Lodhmā, and in the south-eastern portion of Lohardagā, he somtimes performs the *māhato's* duties as well as his own, and he then gets a small *jāgir* of half a *pāwā* of land rent-free.

(2) *Māhato.*—The functions of a *māhato* have been compared to those of a *patwāri* or village accountant, but he may be more aptly described as a rural settlement officer. He allots the land of the village among the cultivators, giving to each man a *goti* or clod of earth as a symbol of possession ; he collects the rent, pays it to the owner, and settles any disputes as to the amount due from the *raiyats* ; and, in short, manages all pecuniary matters connected with the land. He is appointed by the owner of the village, and receives one *pāwā* of *rājās* land rent free as a *jāgir* or service tenure. But the office is neither hereditary nor permanent, and the *māhato* is liable to be dismissed at the landlord's discretion. Dismissal, however, is unusual, and the *māhato* is often succeeded by his son. Where the *māhato* collects the rents, he almost universally receives a fee, called *bāttā*, of half an anna from each cultivator, or of one anna for every house in the village. In one village *bāttā* amounts to four annas and a half on every *pāwā* of land. Occasionally, where there is no *bhandāri* or agent for the owner's rent-paying land, the *māhato* gets three bundles (*karāis*) of grain in the straw, containing from ten to twenty *sers* apiece, at every harvest. Thus during the year he would receive three bundles of *gondli* [*Sorghum vulgare*] from the cold weather crop, and the same amount from the *gorā* or early rice, and the *don or* late rice. In *khālsā* villages, which are under the direct management of the Mahārājā, the *māhato* often holds, in addition to his official *jāgir*, a single *pāwā* of land, called *kharcha* or *rozina kket*, from the proceeds of which he is expected to defray the occasional expenses incurred in calling upon cultivators to pay their rent, etc.

The functions of the *māhato* are shown in greater detail in the following extract from Dr. Davidson's Report of 1839:—"On a day appointed, the *thikādār* or farmer proceeds to the *akhrā* or place of assembly of the village, where he is met by the *māhato, pāhn, bhandāri*, and as many of the *rayats* as choose to attend. He proceeds, agreeably to the dictation of the *māhato*, to write down the account of the cultivation of the different *raiyats* stating the number of *pāwās* held and the rent paid by each. Having furnished this account, any new *raiyats* who may wish to have lands in the village, after having the quantity and rent settled, have a *goti* given to them. If any of the old *raiyats* require any new land, a *goti* is taken for that, but not for the old cultivation. The *māhato* collects the rent as the instalments become due, according to the above-mentioned account given to the farmer ; and all differences as to the amount of rent payable by a *raiyat*, if any ever arise, which very seldom happens, are settled by the opinion of the *māhato*. So well does this mode answer in practice, that in point of fact a dispute as to the amount of rent owed by a *raiyat* is of rare occurrence. When a farmer wishes to cheat a *raiyat*, he accuses him of having cultivated more land than he is entitled to, or of owing him *maswār* or grain rent for land held in excess ; and if such a thing as a dispute as to the amount of rent owed ever does arise, the *māhato's* evidence is generally considered conclusive by both parties."

(3) *Pāhn.*—The importance of the *pāhn*, or priest of the village gods, may be inferred from the current phrase in which his duties are contrasted with those of the *māhato*. The *pāhn*, it is said, "makes the village" (*gāon banātā*), while the *māhato* only "manages it" (*gāon chalātā*). He must be a *bhuinhār*, as no one but a descendant of the earliest settlers in the village could know how to propitiate the local gods. He is always chosen from one family ; but the actual *pāhn* is changed at intervals of from three to five years by the ceremony of the *sup* or winnowing-fan, which is used as a divining rod, and taken from house to house by the boys of the village. The *bhuinhār* at whose house the *sup* stops is elected *pāhn*. On the death of a *pāhn*, he is frequently, but not invariably, succeeded by his son. Rent-free lands are attached to the office of *pāhn* under the following names :—(1) *Pāhni*, the personal *jāgir* or service-tenure of the priest, generally containing one *pāwā* of land. (2) *Dālikatāri*, for which the *pāhn* has to make offerings to Jāhir Burhi, the goddess of the village. It is called *ḍālikatāri*, as it is supposed to defray the expenses of the *Karm* festival, when a branch (*ḍāli*) of the *karma* tree is cut down and planted in the fields. (3) *Desauli*, a sort of *bhutkheta* or devil's acre, the produce of which is devoted to a great triennial festival in honour of Desauli, the divinity of the grove. This land is either cultivated by the *pāhn* himself, or by *raiyats* who pay him rent. (4) *Pānbhārā* and *tāhālu* are probably the same. Lands held under these names are cultivated by the *pāhn*

himself or his near relations ; and whoever has them, is bound to supply water at the various festivals.

(4) *Bhandāri.*—The *bhandāri,* or bailiff, is the landlord's agent in respect of the management of the village. He is usually a Hindu, and represents the landlord's point of view in village questions, just as the *pāhn* is the spokesman of the *bhuinhārs,* or original settlers. He generally holds one *pāwā* of land rent-free from the owner, receiving also from every *raiyat* three *karāis* or sheaves of each crop as it is cut—one of *gondli,* one of early rice, and one of wet rice. Instead of the land, he sometimes gets ₹3 or ₹4 in cash, with 12 *kāts,* or 4½ cwt., of paddy.

(5) *Gorāit.*—The *gorāit* is, in fact, the *chaukidār,* or village watchman. He communicates the owner's orders to the *raiyats,* brings them to the *māhato* to pay their rents, and selects coolies when required for public purposes. As a rule he holds no service land, but receives the three usual *karāis,* or sheaves, from every cultivator.

(6) *Āhir* or *Goala.*—The *āhir's* duty is to look after the cattle of the village, and to account for any that are stolen. He is remunerated by a payment of one *kāt* of paddy for each pair of plough-bullocks owned by the cultivators whose cattle are under his charge. He also gets the three *karāis,* or sheaves, at harvest time, besides an occasional *sup* or winnowing fan full of paddy. If cows are under the *āhir's* charge, the milk of every alternate day is his perquisite. In the month of *Āghan* (December) he takes five sers of milk round to the cultivators, receiving in return *pakhirā* or 20 sers of paddy as a free gift. He always pays the *ābwāb* known as *dādani ghi,* and in some villages has to give the *baithāwān ghi* as well. In a very few cases the *āhir* holds half a *pāwā* of land rent-free.

(7) *Lohār.*—The *lohār,* or blacksmith gets one *kāt* of paddy and the three *karāis* for every plough in the village, and is also paid two or three *ānnās* for every new *phār* or ploughshare ; in a very few villages he holds half a *pāwā* of land rent-free.

The *kotwāl* or constable, and the *chaukidār* or watchman, do not belong to the genuine Munda village system, and need not be mentioned here.

In the Fiscal Division of Tori the bulk of the inhabitants belong to the Kharwār sub-tribe of Bhogtās, and the village system differs from that which prevails on the central plateau. Here the *pāhn* is the only officials who holds service land, and he gets half a *pātti,* or not quite two standard *bighās.* He performs the village *pujās,* and often does the work of a *māhato,* when the owner of the village is an absentee. But even then the landlord sometimes employs a bailiff, called *bārhil,* to collect the rents.

In the tract known as the Five Parganās, including Tāmār, Bundu, Silli, Rāhe, and Barandā, as well as in the Mānkipatti, or that part of Sonpur *parganā* which borders on Singbhum district, we meet with *mānkis* and *mundas,* who are undoutedly the descendants of the original chiefs, and still hold the villages which their ancestors founded. Here the *parhā* divisions exist in their entirety, as groups of from twelve to twenty-four villages each of which has its own *munda* or village head ; while the whole commune is subject to a divisional headman called *mānki,* who collects the fixed rents payable by the *mundas.* The chief village officer is the *pāhn,* who holds from one to five *kāts* of land rent-free as *dālikatāri.* A *kāt* in this sense is a measure of land analogous to, if not identical with, the *khandi* of the Kolhān in Singbhum, and denotes the quantity of land which can be sown with one *kāt* of seed. In this part of the country the *munda* sometimes has a deputy called *diwān* who assists him to collect his rents, and *bhandāris* are occasionally met with.

## INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE MUNDA.

[ MUNDA, MURA, HORO-HON. ]

***Titles :—Bhuinhar, Dhangar, Kol, Konkpat, Mahato, Manki, Nagbansi.***

| Sub-tribes. | Septs. | Septs. |
|---|---|---|
| **Bhuinhār-Munda.** | **Aind,** a kind of eel. | **Bahera,** a fruit. |
| **Karangā-Munda.** | **Amba,** mango. | **Bahomar.** |
| **Khangar-Munda.** | **Ambras,** a fruit. | **Balamdār,** spearman. |
| **Kharia-Munda.** | **Area,** a kind of fish. | **Balmus,** a kind of insect which is found in the sand of rivers. |
| **Kol-Munda.** | **Aru,** yam. | **Balum,** salt. |
| **Konkpāt-Munda.** | **Arul.** | **Baman,** may not touch or be touched by a member of the Brāhman caste. |
| **Mahali-Munda.** | **Ashār,** a month—June. | **Banda,** a kind of leaf. |
| **Mānki-Munda.** | **Asur, Lohara.** | **Bando,** small jackal. |
| **Munda-Mānjhi.** | **Aura,** fruit. | **Bar,** Ficus Indica. |
| **Nāgbansi-Munda.** | **Baba,** rice. | **Barabhaiā,** the twelve brothers' sept. |
| **Oraon-Munda.** | **Bage,** anything forbidden. | |
| **Sad-Munda.** | **Bagear,** tiger. | |
| **Savar-Munda.** | **Baghela,** quail. | |
| | **Baghtuar,** a devotee. | |

| Sub-tribes. | Septs. | Septs. |
|---|---|---|
| | **Barha**, hog. | **Gondli**, a kind of grain. |
| | **Bari**, flower. | **Goria**, red earth. |
| | **Barjo**, name of an ancestor's village some miles south of Ranchi. | **Gua**, areca nut. |
| | **Barjoki**, fig tree root. | **Gundki**, a kind of wood. |
| | **Barla**, a fruit. | **Gundri**, a bird. |
| | **Barukandal**, the *kussum* [*schleichera trijuga*] tree. | **Gurni**, a kind of vegetable. |
| | **Barunda**, a big frog. | **Guru**, may not eat beef. |
| | **Barupendil**, *kussum* tree. | **Habin**, a tree. |
| | **Barwa**, small cocoon. | **Hadung**, big black tree-ant. |
| | **Basaroar**, a kind of small hawk. | **Hajeri**, a kind of tree or bush. |
| | **Batkuar**, a bird. | **Haluman**, monkey. |
| | **Beng**, frog. | **Han**, nest of ants. |
| | **Besra**, small hawk. | **Hanjait**, a wild fruit. |
| | **Bhaji Sāg**, vegetable. | **Hanre**, a bird. |
| | **Bhaonra**, a large black bee or hornet. | **Hansa**, swan. |
| | **Bhengra**, a horse. | **Hanthi**, elephant. |
| | **Bhinjraj**, king crow. | **Hardwar.** |
| | **Bhinjo**, a yellow bird. | **Hargurra**, bone. |
| | **Bhuina.** | **Hari**, ancestors did not wash their mouths after eating. |
| | **Bhutkuar.** | **Harin**, deer. |
| | **Bihan**, seed. | **Hasada.** |
| | **Binha.** | **Hasarā.** |
| | **Binjuar**, a kind of eel. | **Hassa ara**, a kind of vegetables. |
| | **Bisrot.** | **Hausakar.** |
| | **Bisru**, a kind of bird. | **Heding**, a bird. |
| | **Bocho**, a bird. | **Hembowar**, ancestor. |
| | **Bodra.** The ancestors of this sept did not wash their mouths after eating. | **Hemram**, a kind of fish. |
| | | **Hemromi**, ashes. |
| | | **Heride**, a bird. |
| | **Bojra**, a kind of grass. | **Herung**, a kind of bird. |
| | **Budh**, or **Budhwar**, Wednesday. | **Hoduar**, a bird. |
| | **Buim**, a worm. | **Homjah.** |
| | **Bukru**, a kind of bird. | **Hong**, a kind of bird with a long tail. |
| | **Chadil**, place of worship of a headman. | **Horia**, a wood bush. |
| | | **Horo**, a red ant on tree. |
| | **Chadu**, a kind of bird. | **Hularbaha**, a flower used to flavour curry. |
| | **Chali**, rice soup. | **Hundar**, wolf. |
| | **Champia**, a bird. | **Huni**, mouse. |
| | **Chata**, umbrella. | **Hutar.** |
| | **Chauria**, rats. | **Imli**, tamarind. |
| | **Chelekchela**, a small bird. | **Indur katea**, house-rat. |
| | **Chilhia**, kite. | **Ingaria**, moonlight. |
| | **Chirko**, mushroom. | **Jagdar.** |
| | **Chitti**, a kind of snake. | **Jago**, tamarind. |
| | **Chocha**, a bird. | **Jamtuti**, a kind of grain or vegetable. |
| | **Chota**, a kind of bird. | |
| | **Chutia**, a small rat. | **Jangatras**, the bone of a cow. |
| | **Dāng**, a big stick. | **Jatrama.** |
| | **Dahanga**, torch-bearer. | **Jatria.** |
| | **Dangarwar.** | **Jhuri**, dried bushes. |
| | **Dauru.** | **Jia**, a river fish. |
| | **Demta**, red tree-ant. | **Jirhul**, a flower, used for curry. |
| | **Dhan**, paddy. To this sept rice and rice soup are forbidden; they eat only *jondli* or millet. | **Jitiapipar**, a kind of fruit. |
| | | **Jonk Haper**, leech. |
| | | **Kachhuā**, tortoise. |
| | **Dhechua**, a kind of black bird. | **Kakin**, aunt. |
| | **Dhelakata**, a kind of tree. | **Kamal**, lotus. |
| | **Dirwar**, a wood fruit. | **Kanda**, a kind of sweet potato. |
| | **Dobongwar.** | **Kandir**, a bird. |
| | **Dodrai**, a kind of bird. | **Kandru**, fish. |
| | **Dub Sāg**, vegetable. | **Kandurua**, a fruit. |
| | **Dumriar**, figs. | **Karania**, a *kussum* tree. |
| | **Dundu**, a kind of eel. | **Karma**, a tree. |
| | **Dungdung**, a river fish. | **Katea**, a field mouse. |
| | **Dura**, a fruit. | **Kaua**, crow. |
| | **Ergat**, a kind of mouse which lives in plum bushes. | **Kawnria**, a water snake. |
| | | **Kera**, plantain. |
| | **Gandura**, a big bird. | **Kerketa**, a bird. |
| | **Garabing**, a big river-snake. | **Khandania.** |
| | **Gari**, a monkey. | **Khondua.** |
| | **Garria**, a kind of bird. | **Khoyea**, a wild dog with a long tail. |
| | **Ghager**, field bird. | **Khukri**, a kind of mushroom. |
| | **Ghi**, clarified butter. | **Kiri**, rice weevil. |
| | **Ghunri**, a kind of fruit. | **Kissi.** |
| | **Gidh**, a vulture. | **Koā**, cocoon. |
| | **Gobolachan**, may not eat beef. | **Kodosāg**, a kind of water vegetable. |

| Sub-tribes | Septs. | Septs. |
|---|---|---|
| | **Kongaddi**, crow. | **Rugri**, a kind of mushroom. |
| | **Kotah kaisi**, a small vulture. | **Rukhi**, squirrel. |
| | **Kujri**, a fruit from which oil is made. | **Runda**, leopard. |
| | **Kukur**, dog. | **Rutā**, a tree. |
| | **Kukura.** | **Sadom**, horse. |
| | **Kundula.** | **Sailum**, porcupine. |
| | **Kurkuti**, red ant. | **Saisarunduar.** |
| | **Kursi**, fruit. | **Sal**, a big pond-fish. |
| | **Kusumbaha**, *kussum* flower. | **Salkar**, a kind of potato. |
| | **Lang**, a kind of bird. | **Salu**, a root in pond. |
| | **Lāpung**, a small bird. | **Samal** or **Samar**, deer. |
| | **Larapa**, monkey-eater. | **Samdoar.** |
| | **Larsunar.** | **Sandi**, plough. |
| | **Lenda**, earthworm. | **Sandiguria**, black monkey. |
| | **Lilla**, a wild cow. | **Sandil**, full moon. |
| | **Lipo**, a tree. | **Sandipurti**, cock. |
| | **Litiya**, a bird. | **Sandi Sarin**, fowl. |
| | **Logna Kotra**, small deer. | **Sanga**, sweet potato. |
| | **Logo**, a kind of animal. | **Sang Chiria**, a kind of bird. |
| | **Lohrakhukhri**, a kind of mushroom. | **Sangoar**, sweet potato. |
| | **Longa**, a bird with a long tail. | **Sankura**, kingcrow. |
| | **Lugniar**, rabbit. | **Sanpuri**, a resident of Sanpur. |
| | **Lugum**, a tree. | **Sarai**, a tree. |
| | **Lugun**, a tree. | **Sarnar**, a curry vegetable. |
| | **Lugunki.** | **Semarkanda**, root. |
| | **Lupu**, paddy husks. | **Sengra**, horse. |
| | **Luti**, small black fly. | **Seorniā.** |
| | **Machli**, fish. | **Serhar**, a kind of bird. |
| | **Madhuras**, honey. | **Setampa**, dog-eater. |
| | **Mahukal**, a bird. | **Sewar**, moss. |
| | **Maina**, a bird. | **Siar Tuyio**, jackal. |
| | **Mar**, new rice soup. | **Sikcharo**, a bird. |
| | **Marmu.** | **Sikra**, hawk. |
| | **Matha Sāg**, a kind of vegetable. | **Sindur**, vermilion. |
| | **Mathia**, brass bracelet. | **Singh**, horn. |
| | **Maugh**, fish. | **Sisungi**, a kind of fish. |
| | **Mind.** | **Soa**, a kind of vegetable. |
| | **Minjur**, peacock. | **Soai**, a bird. |
| | **Mowl.** | **Sobarnarekha**, name of a river three miles east from Ranchi. |
| | **Muduk.** | **Soeka**, a wood bush. |
| | **Mundoraj**, a tree. | **Sohek**, a kind of fish. |
| | **Mundri**, quail. | **Soi**, spring. |
| | **Munga Sāg**, a kind of vegetable. | **Sokoe**, a kind of fruit. |
| | **Munri**, fried rice. | **Solai**, fish. |
| | **Murum**, stag. | **Sonarwa**, a bird. |
| | **Muri**, a wild fowl. | **Sone**, may not wear gold. |
| | **Musa** or **Musu**, mouse. | **Sonkharihan**, a place where they worship before cutting grain. |
| | **Mutri.** | **Son Maghia.** |
| | **Nadi Samp**, a river snake. | **Soso bheloa**, a fruit. |
| | **Nāg**, cobra. | **Suga**, parrot. |
| | **Nagduar**, a water-insect. | **Sukru**, potato. |
| | **Nagrua**, a kind of mud. | **Sulankhi**, a kind of bird. |
| | **Nimak**, salt. | **Surhi**, a wood-cow. |
| | **Nois.** | **Suri**, fly. |
| | **Oaria**, verandah. | **Suril**, do not propitiate the Churin Deota. |
| | **Orea**, basket-maker. | **Surin.** |
| | **Pakhora.** | **Susan.** |
| | **Pamia**, a tree. | **Taitum.** |
| | **Pandar**, a tree. | **Tāmbā**, copper. |
| | **Panduchone.** | **Tamgarihar.** |
| | **Panduki**, dove. | **Tamghuria.** |
| | **Pankhi**, a bird. | **Tarwar**, may not touch a sword. |
| | **Panr**, a tribe. | **Tatia**, a kind of bird. |
| | **Pardhiel kokaw.** | **Telia**, a tree. |
| | **Parsi**, a tree. | **Tewan raja**, a kind of bird. |
| | **Parsu**, a bush. | **Thithio**, a bird with long legs. |
| | **Peo**, a bird. | **Tirango**, a wood-bird. |
| | **Peroan**, pigeon. | **Tirki**, a bird. |
| | **Phurti.** | **Tirkiar**, tree-mice. |
| | **Phuti**, a rainbow. | **Tiro**, a small bird. |
| | **Pikord**, a bird. | **Tirtia**, a bird. |
| | **Porti**, crocodile. | **Tiru**, a kind of bird. |
| | **Pussi**, cat. | **Tiruhar**, a kind of bird. |
| | **Putam**, dove. | **Toeba**, flower of *parās* [*Butea frondosa*] tree. |
| | **Raja**, a bird. | |
| | **Ramgharia.** | |
| | **Rani Poka**, a red worm. | |
| | **Rāut**, the Rautia caste. | |

| Sub-tribes. | Septs. |
|---|---|
| | **Toewa,** a kind of bird. |
| | **Tongsi,** a bird. |
| | **Tono,** a big tree-ant. |
| | **Topna,** tree. |
| | **Topoar,** a bird. |
| | **Tow,** a kind of bird. |
| | **Tulsiar,** a kind of flower. |
| | **Tumbli,** a red flying-ant. |
| | **Tunduar,** a tree. |
| | **Turania.** |
| | **Tursia.** |
| | **Turu,** squirrel. |
| | **Turuar,** a fruit—*kussum* [*Schleichera trijuga.*] |
| | **Tuti,** a kind of vegetable. |
| | **Uchring,** an insect. |
| | **Udbarn,** a tree, the oil of which is not used by members of the sept. |
| | **Urdwar.** |
| | **Uring,** a wild bird. |

# 4. Of the Dravidian Tract.

## BHILS.

[*Captain C. E. Luard.*]

The particular group of Bhils, which I propose to take as an illustration in this instance, are those who live in Barwāni. They inhabit the Sātpuras, which they have divided up into Hads, each nominally under a Nāik.

The Bhil of this region has been little affected by civilization and lives a most primitive kind of existence. The report that a white man is approaching is often enough to cause immediate flight. My informant adds, "this Bhil is almost always in hot water and I do not think he would be happy without a good deal of excitement (*sic*)." There are no fixed villages in this part. The collection of huts which does duty for them is abandoned at the least alarm, and each hut in such collections even is built far away from its neighbour, as the Bhil himself says, to guard against treachery and against too much attention being paid to one's wife by one's neighbours.

**Totemistic origin.** This group is a good instance of a tribe which has as yet absorbed little from contact with its Hindu neighbours. The group is divided into 41 septs, which as a rule have each its own tutelary deity. There are some points of general custom which I will first touch on. All these septs reverence the *bor* tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*). At a marriage the *chula* on which the feast to the marriage party is cooked is always made out of earth from round the roots of this tree.

Some septs, however, have this tree as the object of their special worship. Septs with different names, but whose object of special worship is the same, cannot intermarry, *e.g.*, the Kulbi sept cannot marry with the Kalamia sept.

They all pay reverence to their own totem, in the case of a tree by never cutting or injuring it, or as a rule employing it in any way, while in case of other objects they avoid injuring them in any way. They make obeisance to the totem when passing and their women do *Ghungat*, *i. e.*, veil the face when passing. Women desirous of children make an offering called *Mānnat* to the totem. As a rule some spirit is supposed to live in the tree, or other object. The names of the septs are as follows :—

**Septs.**

(1) **Āvā** (called after a moth, *āvā*). They never injure moths.

(2) **Avashya** or **Avya.**—This sept derives its name from a locality.

They belong to *Avashya*, a village in the Barwāni State. Their tutelary deity called Nilāi Mātā is supposed to live in a *bor* tree, which tree is therefore the object of their special worship, and they never injure it.

(3) **Avaya.**—Named after the *āvlā* tree.

(4) **Badir** (or **Padir**).—From the village of *Padvi* in Gujarath. Tiger worshippers, *wāg-deo*, as they call him.

(5) **Bagvāi.**—Worship the *bor* tree. Their women are not allowed to approach close to it.

(6) **Bāmnia.**—Local name from Bāmnai, a village in Gujarāth. They worship the tiger. This sept is considered of higher social standing than the others and will not take food from the rest. This is a beginning of development into a caste as no restrictions exist as to food among the other septs.

(7) **Bondar.**—They worship a tutelary deity *Bondar Devi*, probably a local goddess. She lives in the *sāg* tree (*Tectona grandis*) or *sāli* tree (*Shorea robusta*) which are therefore reverenced by this tribe.

*Bondar Devi* is a local goddess whose chief place of residence is at Bijāsan on the banks of the Narbadā.

(8) **Chauhānia**—Claim descent from the Rājput tribe. But their object of reverence is the *astara* tree. This is another instance of the insertion of the wedge which will gradually widen the gap between themselves and the other septs. It is curious that they do not as yet, so far as I have been able to ascertain, show signs of having adopted restrictions regarding food, marriage, customs, etc.

(9) **Chaungar.**—Name not explained. Worship snake as Nāg-deo.

(10) **Daoria.**—Name not explained. Worship same as *Dutia*.

(11) **Dudwa.**—Name not explained. Worship the *agan* tree.

(12) **Dutia.**—Name not explained. Worship the Bamboo.

(13) **Gadari.**—(*lit.* shepherd). Worship the *pipal*.

(14) **Gaolia-Chothānia.**—Named after a creeper called *gaola*.

They worship this plant. They never touch it with the feet intentionally ; if they do so accidentally, they at once *salaam* to it.

(15) **Ghāt Baeria.**—Worshippers of Ghāt Baeria Devi in Dondwāra in Pānsemal *Pergana*, Barwāni State.

(16) **Iskia.**—Name not explained. Worhip the *bor*.

(17) **Jāmnia.**—Worship the *jāmun* tree (*Eugenia jambolana*) which they respect.

(18) **Jamra.**—Name not explained. Worship bamboos.

(19) **Kharāli.**—No explanation. No special totem known.

(20) **Khatta.**—Worshippers of a fish called the *khattia*, which they preserve.

(21) **Khuntia.**—Worship the stem (*khut*) of the *sāg* [Tectona grandis] tree, and never injure it.

(22) **Kikria.**—Name not explained. Worship the *agan* tree.

(23) **Kulbi** or **Kalāmia.**—They worship the *kalāmi* plant (*Convulvulus repens*).

(24) **Māoli.**—This sept worship a goddess whose shrine is on a hill called Ambāpuri Pahār at Bhilvāni (Rājpur, Barwāni). The shape of this shrine is the same as that of the grain basket known as *kilya* and in consequence they never make or use baskets of this shape. Women may not worship at this shrine. They may, however, offer *mānnat*. No one is allowed to tattoo anything resembling the shape of a *kilya* on the body. The *khākria* (*Butea frondosa*) tree is also connected with this goddess and is never cut or injured in any way.

One section of this tribe is beginning to lay claim to Rājput descent and say that their ancestor was one Mālia, a Rājput who kept a Bhil woman. This is a very modern development, and is the beginning of a social rise. I have been unable to find any signs of the adoption of Hindu restrictions as to food or marriage. The tribe has two divisions, Mundia Māolias, who wear no *choti* or tuft of hair, and the *Chotia* Māolias, who do wear it.

(25) **Meheda.**—Worship the *bahera* (*Beleria Myrobolan*) tree, whence they are said to have got their name.

(26) **Mori.**—Worshippers of the peacock. They will not injure it. When they wish to worship it they go into the jungles and look for its tracks. On seeing, they *salaam* to them. They clean the ground near the foot-mark and spreading a piece of red cloth by it, put their offering of grain upon it. They describe a *swastika* or fylfot cross beside the offering.

No tattooing of any kind whatever is allowed in this clan, a curious prohibition, for which I have been unable to obtain any reason from the clan. A woman on seeing a peacock must veil the face or look away. If a Mori puts his foot on the trace of a peacock knowingly, he is sure to suffer from some disease afterwards.

(27) **Mujalda.**—Called after their goddess Mujāi Mātā, whose shrine is at Nisarpur.

(28) **Ningwāl.**—Named from the local god Ningwāl Deo, who is said to live under the *āmli* (*Tamarindus indica*) and *thuwar* (*Euphorbia carinata*). As usual, their women may not pray to these trees.

(29) **Nirgāi or Nirgawan.**—Worship the Nirgun shrub (*Vitex negundo* or *trifolia*).

Another section of this tribe have taken to worshipping the *bor* tree under which they say their goddess Nirgun Devi sits. This section also worship the original *nirgun* shrub, but the *nirgun* worshippers proper will not have anything to say to the *bor* tree worshippers.

(30) **Pavār.**—Worshippers of the *bor* tree and also reverence pigeons.

(31) **Pipliā**—Worship the *pipal* tree.

(32) **Rastala.**—They worship the **Astera** or *Āpta* tree (*Bauhinia tomentosa*).

(33) **Sanyār.**—(The cat tribe.) Tradition has it that one of this sept was chasing a cat. It ran for protection under the cover which they put over the stone figure of their goddess known as a *Ghuba*. The cat then appeared in the shape of the stone which served to represent the goddess, and the deity herself appeared seated on this stone. The cat *Sanyār* is therefore reverenced by them. None of them will ever touch anything into which a cat has thrust its mouth. They must never touch a cat except to preserve it from harm. That a cat should enter the house is considered unlucky, and to guard against this they as a rule keep a dog tied up near the door.

(34) **Semlia.**—Worshippers of the *Semel* tree (*Bombax heptaphyllum*). They will not touch a pot in which the flowers of this tree have been cooked.

(35) **Sisodyā.**—Spurious Rājputs they claim to be. But save adoption of the name they have as yet advanced no further.

(36) **Solia.**—

(i) *Ātā Solia.*—In this section the marriage always takes place at sunrise.

(ii) *Jātā Solia.*—Marriages in this section always take place at sunset.

(iii) *Tariā solia.*—This section always watch the sky at sunset and as soon as they can count 16 stars they begin the marriage ceremony.

(iv) *Tār solia.*—The section of the tribe apparently connect their name with cotton thread, as they wrap several skeins of raw thread round the bridegroom and bride at the marriage ceremony.

(37) **Thakāria**—Name not explained. They worship the sparrow.

(38) **Valanka**—Worship the *sāli* tree.

(39) **Vaskala**—Worship the bamboo and other trees.

(40) **Veria**—Worship the *nim* (*Melia azadirachta*) tree.

(41) **Vhāgella**—Worship the tiger.

## INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF VINDHYAN BHILS.

| Endogamous. | Section. Badi. | Section. Badi. | Section. Badi. | Section. Chho. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Exogamous | (1) Bāmnia. | (18) Piplia. | (35) Singādia. | (1) Bāmnia. |
| | (2) Daoria. | (19) Setia. | (36) Bhuria. | (2) Awaya. |
| | (3) Budod. | (20) Bhāyādia. | (37) Pachaya. | (3) Mehba. |
| | (4) Sidmia. | (21) Ganawa. | (38) Bilwal. | (4) Kanāsia. |
| | (5) Mori. | (22) Kharāda. | (39) Siplia. | (5) Kāocha. |
| | (6) Mohnia. | (23) Māwi. | (40) Mināwa. | (6) Chongad. |
| | (7) Barādia. | (24) Mākodia. | (41) Dodwa. | (7) Dodwa. |
| | (8) Chuhān. | (25) Ajrāonia. | (42) Gāmia. | (8) Budod. |
| | (9) Bhābra. | (26) Deorādia. | (43) Dasnia. | |
| | (10) Kadasia. | (27) Retla. | (44) Dhanak. | |
| | (11) Dhedia. | (28) Guthria. | (45) Kirādia. | |
| | (12) Waskala. | (29) Wasunia. | (46) Jamra. | |
| | (13) Ajnāria. | (30) Kikria. | (47) Parmap. | |
| | (14) Kaocha. | (31) Lakhma. | (48) Baria. | |
| | (15) Bābria. | (32) Mākdia. | (49) Masania. | |
| | (16) Saslia. | (33) Māodia. | (50) Paranda. | |
| | (17) Kikdia. | (34) Saknia. | (51) Bangi. | |

# 4. Of the Dravidian Tract.

## KHANGAR.

[*Captain C. E. Luard.*]

Constitution

The *Khangar* as found in Bundelkhand gives us an example of the evolution of a caste out of a tribe, one portion being still to a great measure in a primitive state, while the other section has been admitted within the circle of Hinduism. The *Khangars* appear to have been the original habitants and rulers of a large part of Bundelkhand before the Rājputs invaded the country. They were apparently of Dravidian stock. As we find them now they are divided into three large endogamous groups, "*Rāj-Khangars*," "*Ārakhs*," and "*Dhanuks*," though there is some doubt, however, as to the last group, and they are at any rate insignificant locally. Each of these is again sub-divided into exogamous divisions. Of these divisions the first is now a caste proper, though not a high one, while the other two are looked on as jungle tribes or at best but on the fringe of the caste system.

Tradition.

There is the usual tradition to account for the rise of Rāj-Khangars. It runs briefly thus:— A *Khangar* chief ruled at Kurār now in the Orchha State. The Bundelās had begun to enter the country and a Bundelā noble was living at the *Khangar* court. He had a beautiful daughter with whom the *Khangar* chief's son fell in love. The Bundelā hesitated to allow a marriage, and said a consultation with his caste fellows was necessary. He went off and on returning said the marriage might take place, but that both sides must first of all dine together. The feast was attended by a large number of Rājputs who, when the *Khangars* were stupefied with drink, set upon them and proceeded to kill them to the last human being. One woman, however, who was near her confinement, escaped and hid in a grove of *kasam* trees. A Brāhman of the Sandal caste interceded for her, and her life was spared on the condition that should a son be born he would enter the Bundelā chief's service and become his shoe-bearer. A son was born and entered the chief's service and he and his descendants took and have since borne the prefix of "Rāj."

Later on an illegitimate daughter was born of this same woman; she was named *Ārakh* and her descendants are so called. They took a lower social position and returned to their own jungles.

Hinduised Khangars.

The Rāj-Khangars, it will be seen, have become far more Hinduised than the rest of the caste. This section is occupied in agriculture, they are enlisted as sepoys and they have entirely abandoned predatory habits. Widow-marriage though not absolutely unknown among them is considered as degrading and is very seldom practised. They abstain from wine, employ Brāhmans in all ceremonies, they thatch the *Marwa* or shed used at marriages with *Jamun* leaves, and they bore the noses of their women for the nose-ring.

The Ārakhs, on the other hand, engage chiefly in hunting, and are not allowed to be sepoys. Widow-marriage is the rule among them. They drink wine freely in public, never employ Brāhmans, thatch the *Marwa* with *Kans* grass and do not bore their women's noses. They are well-known as thieves. Their worship is chiefly that of the snake, whom they call *Kartāl* Deo, while the *Rāj-Khangars* worship Hindu Gods.

There does not seem to be any trace of hypergamy among them as yet, though one might have expected to see it in the upper group, perhaps their exogamous sub-divisions have not as yet been in existence long enough.

The *Dhanuk* section are not very numerous and are in habits akin to the *Ārakhs*, but are said to keep pigs, and the other two groups often disclaim connection with them. There appears to be no sort of doubt as to the blood connection between the two first groups, who admit it readily.

The children of both Rāj-Khangars and Arakhs are always called after the father's sept, and on marrying, the woman adopts the husband's sept name as hers. The totemism exhibited by the septs is shown in the scheme.

We see that the Rāj-Khangars have apparently kept their old sept names while becoming Hindus. They are an example of the 4th class of conversion as given by Mr. Risley. We have here a whole section of a tribe converted to Hinduism without abandoning the tribal name and retaining its totemistic exogamous subdivisions. It will be interesting to see if in 10 or perhaps better 20 years this tribe will have forgotten its totems and taken to more high-sounding designations, their Hindu customs being more and more rigid, and hypergamy introduced. The Ārakh too, may be, will have risen in the social scale.

# INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE KHANGARS OF BUNDELKHAND.

## RĀJ-KHANGARS.

[*Main divisions—Rāj-Khangars, Ārakh.*]

Exogamous septs :—

(1) **Bel-gotia.**—Revere the *Bel* (*Ægle marmelos,*) tree, which they never cut or injure.
(2) **Bela-gotia.**—Revere the *Bela* plant and never cut it, etc.
(3) **Samad-aotig.**—Hold the *Samad* tree sacred.
(4) **Suraj.**—Profess to be descended from, and be worshippers of, the sun.
(5) **Guae.**—Called after the iguana (*Guae*), which they never injure.
(6) **Nāg.**—Revere the serpent and never destroy any snake.
(7) **Ghur.**—Revere the horse (*Ghur, ghora*). Never mount one and will not allow them to be used in marriage processions.
(8) **Hāthi.**—Revere the elephant.
(9) **Gau.**—Have the cow as a totem.
(10) **Magar.**—The alligator is their totem. Special acts of worship are paid to it at weddings, etc.
(11) **Chandan-guae.**—Another species of iguana. They never injure it.
(12) **Kusam.**—Revere the *Kusam* (*Schheichera trijuga*) tree and never use clothes dyed in its juice.
(13) **Nim.**—Revere the *Nim* (*Melia azadirachta*) tree and never use its fruit or cut it
(14) **Karil.**—Revere the *Karil* tree.
(15) **Chanwar.**—Have rice as a totem. Never eat it.
(16) **Haldi.**—Revere the turmeric and never use its dye, etc.
(17) **Bharat.**—
(18) **Bat.**— } Origin of name not known.

## ĀRAKH.

Exogamous septs :—

(1) **Lāhher Gotia.**—Abstain from touching the *Lāhera* tree, which is their totem.
(2) **Ent.**—*Ent*, a brick. Never use bricks, all their houses are made with plain wattle and mud.
(3) **Hāthi.**—Revere the elephant.
(4) **Gau.**—Cow is worshipped.
(5) **Pahan.**—Not known.
(6) **Chandan.**—Worship the *Chandan* (*Santalum album*) tree and never harm it.
(7) **Chanwār.**—*Chanwār*, rice. They never eat rice or touch it.
(8) **Ghorā.**—Revere the horse.
(9) **Sāndal.**—This is Eponymous, the sept being called after the *Sāndilya* Brāhman who saved the woman (*vide* tradition of Rāj-Khangars in text). It will be noted that **Sāndal-gotia** occurs only among the jungly section of the tribe.

# 5. Of the Aryo-Dravidian Tract.

## CHAMĀR.

[*W. Crooke, I.C.S.*]

1. The caste of curriers, tanners, and day-labourers found throughout Upper India. Their name is derived from the Sanskrit *charma-kāra*, a "worker in leather." Traditionally the Chamār is the offspring of a Chandāla woman by a man of the fisherman caste. The Kārāvara of Manu, "who cuts leather," is descended from a Nishāda father and Vaideha mother. The Nishāda, again, is said to be the child of a Brāhman and a Sudra woman, and the Vaideha of a Vaisya father and a Brāhman mother. On this Mr. Sherring remarks:—"If the workers in leather of the present day are lineal descendants of the workers in leather in Manu's time, the Chamārs may fairly consider themselves as of no mean degree and may hold up their heads boldly in the presence of the higher castes." Mr. Sherring appears to have been impressed with the high-bred appearance of some Chamārs. This may, perhaps, be to some extent accounted for by *liaisons* with some of the higher castes; but most observers will agree that Mr. Risley is right in his opinion, that "the average Chamār is hardly distinguishable in point of features, stature, or complexion from the members of those non-Aryan races from whose ranks we should *primâ facie* expect the profession of leather-dressers to be recruited." Mr. Nesfield believes the Chamār to have sprung out of several different tribes, like the Dom, Kanjar, Hāburā, Chero, etc., the last remains of which are still outside the pale of Hindu society. "Originally he seems to have been an impressed labourer (*begār*) who was made to hold the plough for his master, and received in return space to build his mud hut near the village, a fixed allowance of grain for every working day, the free use of wood and grass on the village lands, and the skins and bodies of the animals that died. This is very much the status of the Chamār at the present day. He is still the field slave, the grass-cutter, and the carrion-eater of the Indian village." But it is, perhaps, at present, until the existing evidence from anthropometry is largely increased, premature to express a decided opinion of their origin further than this, that the tribe is in all probability occupational, and largely recruited from non-Aryan elements. Among all the Indo-Aryan races the use of hides for clothing prevailed in primitive times. The Vishnu Purāna enjoins all who wish to protect their persons never to be without leather shoes; and Manu warns the Brāhmans never to use shoes that have been worn by another. In the Rāmāyana, Bharata places on the vacant throne of Ajudhya a pair of Rāma's slippers,* and worships them during his exile. The Charmal of Pliny's list have been identified with the inhabitants of Charma Mandala, a district of the West, mentioned in the Mahābhārat, and also in the Vishnu Purāna under the title of Charma-Khanda. **Origin.**

2. One curious legend of the origin of the tribe has been referred to in connection with the Agarwāla Banyas:— **Traditions of origin.**

Once upon a time a certain Rāja had two daughters, Chāmu and Bāmu. These married, and each gave birth to a son who was a prodigy of strength (*pahlwān*). An elephant happened to die in the Rāja's palace, and being unwilling that it should be cut up, he searched for a man strong enough to take it out whole and bury it. Chāmu undertook and performed the task. Bāmu pronounced him an outcaste; so the Banyas are sprung from Bāmu, and the Chamārs from Chāmu. Another legend tells how five Brāhman brothers were passing along together. They saw a carcass of a cow lying on the way. Four of them turned aside; but the fifth removed the dead body. His brethren excommunicated him, and since then it has been the business of his descendants to remove the carcasses of cattle. Another tradition makes them out to be the descendants of Nona or Lona Chamārin, who is a deified witch much dreaded in the eastern part of the Province. Her legend tells how Dhanwantari, the physician of the gods, was bitten by Takshaka, the king of the snakes, and knowing that death approached, he ordered his son to cook and eat his body after his death, so that they might thereby inherit his skill in medicine. They accordingly cooked his body in a cauldron, and were about to eat it, when Takshaka appeared to them in the form of a Brāhman, and warned them against this act of cannibalism. So they let the cauldron float down the Ganges, and as it floated down, Lona, the Chamārin, who was washing on the bank of the river, not knowing that the vessel contained human flesh, took it out and partook of the ghastly food. She at once obtained power to cure diseases, and especially snake-bite. One day all the women were transplanting rice, and it was found that Lona could do as much work as all her companions put together. So they watched her and when she thought she was alone she stripped off all her clothes (nudity being an essential element in all magic), muttered some spells, and throwing the plants into the air they all settled down in their proper places. Finding she was observed, she tried to escape, and as she ran the earth opened, and all the water of the rice fields followed her, and thus was formed the channel of the Loni river in the Unāo District.

3. The Census Returns show eleven hundred and fifty-six sub-divisions of Chamārs; of these the most important locally are:— **International structure.**

**Sahāranpur.**—Ajmar, Baliyān, Dharaun, Mochi, Sagahiya, Sirswāl.

* But they were made of wood and called *pāduka*. (B. A. G.)

**Bulandshahr.**—Bharwāriya, Chandauliya or Chandauriya, Lālman.
**Aligarh.**—Chandauliya, Harphor, Kathiyāra, Mochi, Ojha.
**Mathura.**—Chaurāsiya, Kadam, Tiñgar.
**Mainpuri.**—Loniyān, Pajhasiya, Suji.
**Etāwah.**—Amrutiya, Bisaili, Nakchhikna.
**Etah.**—Nagar, Nunera.
**Bareilly.**—Bardwāri, Bhusiya, Chandauliya, Nona.
**Bijnor.**—Sakt.
**Budāun.**—Baharwār, Chauhān, Kokapāsi, Uriya.
**Morādābād.**—Bhāyar, Rāmanandi.
**Cawnpur.**—Gangapāri, Rangiya.
**Fatehpur.**—Desi, Dhuman, Domar, Panwār, Rangiya, Turkatwa.
**Bānda.**—Barjatwa, Dhaman, Dhundhiya, Dhindhor, Janwār.
**Rangiya.**—Seth, Sorahiya, Ujjain.
**Hamirpur.**—Dhindhor, Rangiya, Umre.
**Allahābād.**—Autarbedi, Chand Rāe, Ghātiya, Kahār, Turkiya.
**Lalitpur.**—Bhādāuriya.
**Benares.**—Dhuriya.
**Mirjapur.**—Turkiya.
**Jaunpur.**—Banaudhiya, Turkiya.
**Ghāzipur.**—Kanāujiya.
**Ballia.**—Kanaujiya.
**Gorakhpur.**—Bamhaniya, Belbheriya, Birhariya, Dakkhinaha.
**Desi.**—Ghorcharha, Ghosiya, Kanaujiya, Mohahar, Rājkumāri, Sarwariya, Siudas, Tatwa, Uttarāha.
**Basti.**—Birhariya, Chhagoriya, Chamārmangta.
**Dakkhinaha.**—Desi, Mohahar, Sarwāriya, Tanbuna, Uttaraha.
**Azamgarh.**—Gual, Kanāujiya.
**Lucknow.**—Chauhān, Dusādh.
**Unāo.**—Chauhān.
**Rae Bareli.**—Chāndel, Dhaman, Dhundar, Dhuriya, Ghor-Charha, Gorait, Hārphar, Khālkatiya, Kulha, Nonā, Tanbuna.
**Sitāpur.**—Chauhān, Pachhwāhān.
**Sultānpur.**—Banāudhiya, Dhaman, Nonā, Tanbuna.
**Partabgarh.**—Banāudhiya, Chandāl, Dhāman, Dhingariya, Jogeya, Nona, Surahiya, Tanbuna, Turkiya.
**Bārabanki.**—Jogiya, Pachhwāhān.

**Sub-castes.**

4. In the detailed lists we find the Chamārs of the province classified into sixteen main sub-castes. Aharwār (principally found in the Allahābād Division), Chamār (chiefly in Meerut); Chamkatiyas (mostly in Bareilly); Dhusiyas (in Meerut and Benares); Dohars (in Agra, Rohilkhand, Allahābād, Lucknow); Gole (in Etāwah); Jaiswāras (strongest in Benares, Allahābād, Gorakhpur, and Faizābād); Jatwas (in Meerut, Agra and Rohilkhand); Koris (in Faizābād and Gorakhpur); Korchamras (in Lucknow); Kurils (in Lucknow and Allahābād); Nigoti (a small sub-caste chiefly in Manipur); Patthargotis (in Agra); Purabiyas (in Lucknow and Faizābād); Rāedāsis (tolerably evenly distributed throughout the province), and Sakarwārs (in Agra and Allahābād). But there is hardly a district which does not possess, or pretend to possess, the sevenfold division which is so characteristic of castes of this social standing. Thus, in Ballia, we find Dhusiyas, Jaiswāras, Kanaujiyas, Jhoghiyas, Jatuas, Chamartantoes, and Nonas; in Agra, Mathuriya, Jadua, Domara, Sakarwār, Batariya, Guliya, and Chandauriya. Some of these sub-castes are of local origin, some are occupational, and some take their name from their eponymous founder. Thus the Aharwār are connected with the old town of Ahār, in the Bulandshahr District, or with the Ahar tribe; the Chamkatiyas take their name from their trade of cutting hides (*cham katna*). This sub-caste claims to have produced the saints Rāe Dās and Lona Chamārin. The Jatua or Jatiya have, it is said, some unexplained connection with the tribe of Jāts. The Kaiyān is also a sub-caste of the Bohras, and is said to be derived from their habit of always saying *kaha*, "what?" "when?" The Jaiswāras trace their origin to the old town of Jais, though some have a ridiculous story that it is a corruption of *Jinswār* in the sense that they are agriculturists and grow various crops (*jins*). The *Koli*, or *Kori*, a term usually applied to the Hindu weaver, as contrasted with the Julāha or Muhammadan weaver, are connected by some with the Kols; by others with the Sanskrit *Kaulika*, in the sense of "ancestral" or a "weaver." They say themselves that they take their name from their custom of wearing unbleached (*kora*) clothes. The Jhusiya, and also perhaps the Dhusiyas, have traditions connecting them with the old town of Jhusi, near Allahābād. There are, again, the Azamgarhiya of Azamgarh; the Jatlot of Rohilkhand, who, like the Jatiya, say they are kinsfolk of the Jāts; the Sakarwār connect themselves with Fatehpur Sikri; in the Central Duāb are the Saksena, who say they come from Sankisa, and the Chanderiya from Chanderi. In Mirzapur we find the Jaiswāra, Jhusiya, Kanaujiya, Kurla, Dusādhu, kinsmen of the Dhusādhā, the Kori, the Mangta or "beggars," the Dolidhauwa or "palanquin-carriers," the Azamgarhiya, and the Banaudhiya, who are residents of Banaudha,—a term which includes the western parts of Jaunpur, Azamgarh, and Benares, and the south of Oudh. To these Mr. Sherring adds:—In Benares the Rangua (*rang*, "colour") who are dyers; the Katua or "cutters," (*kātna*) of leather; and the Tantua, who manufacture strips or strings of leather known as *tānt*. According to the same authority some of these sub-castes are

differentiated by function. Thus, many of the Jaiswāra are servants; the Dhusiya or Jhusiya, who trace their origin to Sayyidpur, in Ghāzipur, are shoe-makers and harness-makers; the Kori, weavers, grooms, and field labourers; the Kuril, workers in leather; and the Jatua or Jatiya, labourers. The Jaiswāras will not carry burdens on their shoulders, but on their heads, and are liable to excommunication if they violate this rule. They supply most of our syces, and are liable to be expelled if they tie up a dog with a halter, which they worship. Anyone who offends in this way is fined five rupees and a dinner to the brethren. The Mangatiyas or Mangtās live on alms, which they take only from the Jaiswārs. In Mirzapur they describe these functions somewhat differently. There the Jaiswāras make shoes and work as day-labourers; the Jhusiyas are labourers and keep pigs, which is also the occupation of the Dusādhu; the Koris make shoes and weave cloth; the Dolidhauwās carry palanquins; the Azamgarhiyas are menial servants of Europeans, and tend swine; the Banaudhiyas tend swine and are day-labourers. There is, again, another local division of the Eastern Chamārs into Uttarahas or "Northerners," Dakkināhas or "Southerners," who live respectively north and south of the river Sarju, and do not intermarry. The Chandaur or Chandauriya, of the Central Duāb, claim to be descended from Chānura, the famous wrestler of Kansa, who was killed by Krishna.

**Rules of exogamy.**

5. These sub-castes are now all, or practically all, endogamous; but there seems reason for believing that this fission into endogamous groups may be comparatively recent. Thus there seems no reason to doubt that in the east of the Province the Dhusiya and Kanaujiya intermarry. The rule of exogamy within the sub-caste seems to vary. Those who are more advanced say that marriage is prohibited within seven degrees in the descending line. Others say that they do not intermarry as long as any previous relationship between the parties is known or ascertainable. In Ballia, a careful observer states that they do not marry in a family from which their mother, grandmother, or great grandmother has come; nor do they marry in the family of their parent's sister. A man may marry two sisters, but not a daughter of a brother-in-law. The descendants of one common stock are called *dayād*, and among them marriage is prohibited. Besides, this occupation plays a very important part in marriage alliances: thus, those who remove manure or night-soil cannot intermarry with those who practise the cleanlier duty of horse-keeping. As a rule they marry locally within their own neighbourhood, if a suitable match can be so arranged. If a Chamār entice away the wife of a clansman, in addition to the punishment inflicted by the tribal council, he is obliged to repay her marriage expenses. If a girl is detected in an intrigue with a caste-fellow, her parents are fined one and-a-quarter rupees, and in Mirzapur the same is the punishment inflicted on a man who marries again while his first wife is alive. In fact, polygamy is discouraged unless the first wife be barren, when a second marriage will usually be sanctioned by the council. Among Chamārs in particular it seems to be believed that rival wives do not get on together; and this sort of quarrelling has the special name *sautya dāh*—"the ill-will between the co-wives." Other sayings to the same purport are "*Kāth ki saut bhi buri hoti hai*".—"Even a co-wife of wood is an evil"; and when one wife is being carried to the burning-ground, the other says:—"*Mor jiya na patiāwe; saut ka pair hilta jāwe.*"—"I cannot believe that she is dead; I am sure her legs are shaking still." In Ballia it is said that if a Chamār marries a second time, the first wife usually leaves him, and that her desertion for this reason is recognised as according to tribal custom.

**Tribal council.**

6. Chamārs have a particularly well-organised and influential tribal council or *panchāyat*. The head of every family is supposed to be a member of the *panchāyat*, and nearly every village has a headman (*pradhān, jamadār*). In large towns there is often more than one headman. In small matters the village council is competent to decide; but for the settlement of weightier questions the councils of several villages assemble under their own headman, and then a general meeting is formed. Custom varies as to whether the headman is a permanent official or not. The most usual rule is that, if the son of the late headman is competent, he is generally appointed; if he be found guilty of misconduct, the headman is as liable as any of the members to fine and excommunication. The cases which come before the council may be classified as (*a*) cases of illicit sexual relations or violation of tribal rules concerning food, etc.; (*b*) matrimonial disputes; (*c*) petty quarrels, which would not come under the cognizance of a Court; (*d*) disputes about small money transactions; (*e*) cases in connection with *jajmāni*: this last is very common. Every Chamār family has assigned to it a certain number of families of higher caste, which are known as its *jajmān* (Sans. *Yajamāna*), for which its members perform the duties of cutting the cord at births, playing the drum at marriages and other festive occasions, removing and disposing of the carcasses of dead cattle, and in return for these services they receive money fees, cooked food, and sometimes grain, flour, etc. In return they sometimes supply shoes at marriages, a certain number of shoes annually in proportion to the hides they receive, and also do repairs to leather articles such as well buckets used in cultivation. These rights are very jealously watched, and any interference with the recognised constituents of a family is strongly resented and brought before the tribal council. These orders of the council in the way of fine or entertainment of the clansmen are enforced under penalty of excommunication, of which the most serious result is that, until the ban is removed, all marriage alliances with the family of the offender are barred, and if anyone marries a member of such a family, he at once becomes liable to the same punishment as that which they are undergoing. Every council has a mace-bearer (*chharidār*), who goes round and calls the members to the meetings, and he is allowed a small money fee for this service. The amount of fine varies from one to five rupees, and it is very seldom that the process of excommunication has to be used to enforce payment. If a person think fit to lay a charge before the council he has to pay a fee of one

and-a-quarter rupees to the chairman, who will not take up the case until the fee is paid. This money, which to the east of the Province is known as *nālbandi* or *lehri*, is spent in purchasing spirits for the refreshment of the members.

Marriage.

7. Chamārs show an increasing tendency to the adoption of infant-marriage. The usual age to the east of the Province is between four and eight, and it is not uncommon in Ballia for little girls of three to be married. It is very seldom that a girl remains unmarried after the age of eight. There are no regular marriage brokers employed; the negotiations are conducted by a member of the family who is known as *agua*. As among other Hindu castes, marriage is looked upon as a sacrament, and not based on contract. It is complete and binding once the prescribed ceremonies are gone through, and its validity does not depend on the express or implied consent of the parties. But no marriage is carried out without the consent of all the relations, even those who are distant, and the descent and family connections of both bride and bridegroom are carefully enquired into before the engagement is made. In Mirzapur the bride-price payable to her relations is two rupees and five seers of coarse sugar. In Ballia they deny that there is a bride-price; but it is admitted that, if the parents of the bride are very poor, the father of the bridegroom may give as much as four rupees to defray the marriage expenses. As has been said, both bride and bridegroom are carefully examined as to whether they are free from any physical defect, and, as a general rule, if such be subsequently ascertained, it would not be a valid ground for annulling the marriage. If the husband become a lunatic after marriage, the wife in Ballia would not be entitled to leave him, provided his relations continued to support her; and in the same way the husband of a mad wife is held bound to support her. Impotence or such mutilation as renders sexual intercourse impossible is valid ground for dissolving the marriage. But, as a matter of fact, impotency, proved to the satisfaction of the council, is the only valid reason for a wife abandoning her husband. Divorce in the strict sense of the term is unkown; but a husband may turn his wife out of the house for proved infidelity, while she cannot leave him even if he be unfaithful to her, provided he gives her food and clothes. A woman, whose expulsion has been recognised by the council, can remarry by the *sagāi* or *karāo* form. The offspring of such informal marriages rank equally for purposes of inheritance with those of regularly-married virgin brides. As regards the offspring of illicit connections they follow the caste and tribe of the father unless the mother was a Musalmān, or of some tribe lower than a Chamār in the social scale. Such people are known by the name of Suratwāl or Suratwāla. When a Chamār takes a woman from a caste superior to his own, their children will be recognised as members of the caste; but if she be inferior to him, their children are considered illegitimate, and will not inherit. This is always the case when the woman is a Bhangi, Dom, Dhobi, Kunchbandhua, or Musahar.

The child of a Chamār at Ballia by a Dusādh woman is known as Chamār Dusādha, and this is the only case in which a similar fusion of castes is known to have been recognised. The importance of such facts in connection with the problem of the origin of the mixed castes is obvious.

Widow-marriage and the levirate.

8. Widow-marriage is, as has been said, fully recognised; but among Chamārs who have, like those at Cawnpore, risen in the world, there seems a tendency to prohibit it. The levirate is recognised, but the widow can live only with the younger brother of her late husband. If the widow be young, and her younger brother-in-law of a suitable age, they usually arrange to live together; if this cannot be arranged, she usually marries some widower of the tribe by the *sagāi* or *karāo* form. In this case the brother and father of her late husband have a right to the custody of the children of the first marriage: this rule is relaxed in the case of a baby, which accompanies its mother. In some cases the widow is allowed to take with her to her new home all the children of the first marriage. Any dispute as to matters of this sort is settled by the tribal council. If a widow marry an outsider, she loses all claim to the estate of her first husband, and so do any children she takes with her to the house of her new husband.

In such cases the property passes to the brothers of her first husband. If, on the contrary, she marry her husband's brother, she or her husband will inherit only if there was no male heir by the first marriage. At the same time, though Chamārs are quite ready to lay down definite rules on this subject, the tribal custom does not appear to be quite settled, and when there are in the case of the levirate or widow-marriage two families, the matter is usually left to the council, who make a partition.

Birth ceremonies.

9. Among some branches of the tribe, as, for instance, at Sultānpur, when the first pregnancy of a wife is announced, a ceremony known as *sathāi* is performed, which consists of the distribution of cakes (*puri*) to the clansmen at their houses. But as Chamārs are particularly exposed to fear of witchcraft and diabolical agency generally, careful precautions are taken to guard the woman from evil. To the east of the Province promises of offerings are made to Vindhybāsini Devi of Bindhāchal, Bānru Bir, Birtiya, and to the sainted dead of the family if they vouchsafe an easy delivery. Thorny branches of the *bel* tree (*Aegle marmelos*) are hung at the door of the delivery room to intercept evil spirits, who are also scared away by the smoke from an old shoe, which is burnt for the purpose. The woman sits on her heels during accouchement, and is supported by her female relatives. She is attended by a woman of the caste for six or twelve days, which is the period for impurity. When it is announced that the child is a boy, the women sing the *sohar* or song of rejoicing. Much of this consists of the invocation of *Māta*, the goddess of small-pox. After the cord is cut, if the child be a boy, the mother is bathed in warm water; if a girl, she gets a cold bath. After the mother and baby are bathed, she gets a meal consisting of molasses, turmeric, and oil, and after twelve hours she is given *halwa* sweetmeat. Next day she gets her ordinary food. All through the period of impurity the singing of the *sohar* is repeated. At the door of

the delivery room (*sauri*; Sans. *sutaka*) a fire is kept constantly burning, and into it some *ajwain* (*lingusticum ajowan*) is occasionally thrown. At least for the first six days a light is kept constantly burning. On the night of the sixth day the women sit up all night and worship Shashti or Chhathi, the goddess of the sixth, with an offering of cakes made of barley-flour and rice boiled with sugar. These are presented in a leaf platter (*dauna*), and then eaten by the members of the household. An iron cutting-instrument is also kept near the mother and child during the period of pollution. If the child be a boy the father is expected to entertain his friends, which is usually done on the twelfth day.

On that day the parents or brothers of the mother—if they can afford it—send her a coat and cap made of red cloth for the baby, and a yellow loin-cloth for the mother. This present is sometimes accompanied by a special sort of sweetmeat known as *suthaura* (*sonth*, dry ginger), made of sugar, ginger, and other spices; sometimes with the *suthaura* is sent some candle (*aṛhwāni*). There is no distinct trace of the couvade, except that the husband has to take the first sup of the cleaning draught given to the mother, and that he does not shave for six days after his wife's delivery. There are no special ceremonies in connection with twins, but they are considered inauspicious. If during the pregnancy of a woman an eclipse happen to occur, she is made to sit quiet while it lasts with a stone pestle in her hand, and is not allowed to move or touch any cutting instrument. If she move, it is believed that her child will be deformed, and if she touch a cutting implement, that, it will be born mutilated. The child is named by the senior member of the family. On the fourth or fifth day after the mother rejoins her family, the child's head is shaved (*munran*), and when about six months old, it is fed for the first time on grain (*annaprāsan*); it is at this time that it is usually named. At the age of five or seven its ears are bored (*kanchhedan*), and this constitutes the initiation: after this the child must conform to the rules of the tribe regarding food.

**Adoption.**

10. When it is proposed to adopt a boy, the clansmen are invited, and in their presence the parents make over the boy to the adopter with these words,—"You were my son by a deed of evil (*pāp*); now you are the son of so-and-so by a virtuous act (*dharm*)." As the boy is accepted, the members of the caste sprinkle rice over him and the adopter gives a feast.

**Betrothal.**

11. The customs of betrothal vary somewhat in different places. Thus, in Mirzapur, when a marriage if proposed, the bridegroom's father with his uncle and other near relations visit the bride. She is carefully examined to make sure that she has no physical defect, and, if approved, the boy's father gives her a rupee, and some coarse sugar is distributed. Then her father entertains the party. Next follows the regular betrothal (*barrekhi*). This generally takes place at the village liquor shop, where the two fathers exchange platters (*dauna*) full of liquor five times, and at the last turn the bride's father puts a rupee into the cup of his relation-to-be. Liquor is served round, two-thirds of the cost of which is paid by the father of the boy, and one-third by the father of the girl. On this day the date of the wedding is fixed by the Pandit. In Ballia, on the contrary, the parents and relations of the girl go to the boy's house and present him with a rupee and loin-cloth. This is known as *paupuja*, or "the worshipping of the feet" of the bridegroom.

When these presents are received in the presence of the members of the caste, the engagement is complete.

**Marriage ritual.**

12. Marriage is of two kinds—the *shādi, charh, charhaua*, which is the respectable form, and the *dola*, used by poor people. In Mirzapur the wedding invitation is distributed by the father's sister's husband of the boy. The marriage pavilion (*mānro*) is then erected. In the Gangetic valley it consists of four bamboos; Chamārs above the hills make it of nine poles of the *siddh* tree (*Hardwickia binata*) in obvious imitation of the Dravidian races by whom they are surrounded. On this day the Pandit ties round the wrist of the bride an amulet formed of mango leaves and thread. The next day is devoted to feeding the clansmen, and cakes of various kinds are offered to the sainted dead. Then follows the *matmangara* ceremony. Then as the procession starts, the bridgroom's mother does the wave ceremony (*parachhan*) to keep off evil spirits. With the same object the bride's mother puts some lamp-black on the bride's eyelids, and hangs a necklace of beads round her neck. At the same time, as an assertion or acknowledgment of maternity, she offers the girl her breast. The bridegroom's father is expected to take with the procession five ankle rings (*mathiya*) for the bride. The marriage is then performed by making the pair revolve five times round the ploughbeam (*haris*), which is fixed in the centre of the pavilion. There also is erected a rough wooden representation of a flock of parrots (*suga*) sitting on a tree. When the marriage is over all present scramble for the wooden parrots; but the pole on which they were hung is carefully kept for a year. During the marriage, a special dance known as the *natua nāch*, is performed by members of the tribe, some of whom dress in women's clothes. Chamārs can give no explanation of this practice, which may possibly be a symbolical ceremony done with the hope that the first child may be a boy, as the Argive brides used to wear false beards when they slept with their husbands.* It is specially to be noticed that Brāhmans are not employed in the marriage ceremony. The whole business is done by the uncle and brother-in-law (*phupha, bahnoi*) of the bridegroom. Before they leave the pavilion a goat or ram is sacrificed to Paramesarī Devi, and the flesh is cooked at the marriage feast. The marriage ends with a general carouse at the nearest liquor shop.

13. The *dola* marriage is done in quite a different way. The following is the ritual at Ballia. The friends and relations are invited to attend at the bridegroom's house, and they are supplied with a meal known as *kelewa*, which ordinarily consists of rice and pulse or parched grain (*sattu*) or wheat cakes. The men then proceed to the bride's house and halt

* Frazer, Totemism, 79: Folklore, II, 181.

about a mile off to take refreshment. The boy's father subscribes twelve pice and the others two pice each with which liquor is purchased. The sum given by the boy's father is known as *batsāri* or *nisāri*, and that contributed by his friends *behri*. After drinking they go to the bride's house, which they reach usually about sunset. There the guardian of the boy pays twenty-four pice, known as *neg*, to the father of the bride, who supplements it with sufficient to provide another drink for the party. Then they are all fed, and next morning they go away with the bride. The boy's guardian presents two sheets (*sāri*), one for the bride and one for her mother, and gives a couple of rupees to her father, who in return gives a loin cloth (*dhoti*) and a sort of handkerchief worn over the shoulder (*kandhāwar*) to the boy, as well as a sheet for his mother. The barber, washerman, and village watchman, receive a present of two annas each on this occasion. Sometimes the owner of the village charges a rupee as *marwachh* or *marwāna* (*mānro*, the nuptial shed), which is paid by the father of the bridegroom, and may perhaps be a survival of a commutation of the *jus primæ noctæ*, but is more probably one of the ordinary village dues levied from tenants by the landlord. This, however, is not invariably taken, and in return he usually supplies some wood, etc., for the wedding. The bride is supplied by her guardian with a sheet (*sāri*), brass bracelets (*māthi*), and anklets (*pairi*), made of bell-metal. Her brother or some other person as her representative accompanies her to the house of the bridegroom. It is a peculiar custom that on this occasion he always walks behind the bride. In the *dola* form of marriage the bridegroom or his father very seldom goes to the house of the bride. The duty of escorting the bride home is left to some relation or clansman.

14. After the bride has arrived, that very day or very soon after the date of the wedding (*lagan*) is fixed. The family barber takes ten pieces of turmeric, of which he gives five to the bride and five to the bridegroom. With this he brings one and-a-quarter *sers* of paddy, which he divides equally between them. The turmeric is ground into a paste, which is rubbed on the foreheads of the pair, and the paddy is parched and made into *lawa* for use in the ceremony of *lāwa parachhana*. This part of the ritual is called *haldi* or *haldidhān*. The next day or a day after comes the ceremony of *matkor* or "the digging of the earth." This commences by the bridegroom's mother worshipping a drum (*dhol*). If his mother be dead, this is done by his aunt or some other elderly female relation.

Turmeric and rice are ground into a paste (*aipan*). The woman smears her hand in this and applies it to the drum. This is known as *thappa lagāna*. A leaf of betel, a betel nut, and two pice are also placed on the drum, which are the perquisite of the owner. Five marks (*tika*) are then made on the drum with vermilion, and the women form a procession and go into a field, led by the drummer playing away vigorously. The senior woman then worships Dharti Māta or Mother Earth and digs five spadesful of earth, which are brought home and placed in the courtyard. In the middle of the yard are placed an earthen pot full of water with its top covered with a mango leaf and an earthen lid. Near it is a ploughbeam (*haris*) and a green bamboo fixed in the earth. The earthen pot is known as *kalsa*. In the evening there is a feast known as *matkora*. It may be noticed here that there are in all five marriage feasts—the *haldidhān* and *matkora* already described and the *byah*, *marjād*, and *kankan* or *bidāi*. From the commencement of the *haldi* ceremony up to the end of the marriage ceremonies the women sing songs both morning and evening.

15. The actual marriage always takes place at night. No Brāhman is called in, but the village Pandit is consulted as to the auspicious time, and he receives two pice for his trouble. For the marriage a square (*chauk*) is marked out in the courtyard with barley-flour, and the bride and bridegroom are seated within it, the bridegroom on a stool (*pirha*) or on a mat made of leaves (*patal*). The service is done by some one in the caste who knows the ritual. He begins by the *gotra uchchāra* or recital of the names of the couple, their fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers. Then the marriage jar (*kalsa*) is worshipped, and an offering of butter, rice, and barley is made to the fire which is lighted close beside the jar, and a similar offering is made to a fire which is lighted in the oratory (*deokuri*) sacred to the household god. The bride's father then gives her away to the bridegroom (*kanyādān*). He accepts the gift and marks her forehead with a line of vermilion, which is the binding part of the ceremony. The ceremonies in the *dola* and *charhaua* marriage are practically identical. The only difference is that in the former the ceremony is performed at the house of the bridegroom; in the latter at that of the bride.

**Death ceremonies.**

16. Those who have been initiated into the Siva Nārāyani or Sri Nārāyani, Kabirpanthi or Rāmanandi sects are buried, unless before death they have expressed a wish to be cremated. Their corpses are removed to the burial-ground on a gaily decorated bier without any marks of mourning and accompanied with shouts of *Rām! Rām! Sat hai!*—"The Lord is the Lord of Truth." Ordinary Chamārs are burnt in the usual way. Those who are poor only scorch the face of the corpse (*mukhāg*). The ashes, when the body is properly cremated, are thrown into some neighbouring stream. The chief mourner, who has fired the pyre, on the day after the cremation places outside the house an earthen pot full of milk and rice gruel (*mānr*) with a pitcher of water for the use of the disembodied spirit. On the third day after death comes the *tirātri* ceremony which consists of the offering of oblations and cakes of barley-flour (*pinda*) to the departed soul. On the tenth day (*daswān*), this ceremony is repeated, and the castemen are fed. On that day the person who fired the pyre (*dagiha*) is purified by being shaved. On the eleventh the utensils and private property of the dead man are made over to his sister's husband (*bahnoi*), who acts as the officiant priest—perhaps a survival of the matriarchate. In some places, however, and particularly where Chamārs are becoming rich and influential, the Mahābrāhman

offers the sacred balls (*pinda*). When the service is done by a member of the tribe he says—*Ar Ganga, pār Ganga; Bihāri ka beta, Rāmbakhsh ka nāti, pindadet; Ganga Māi bujbuji det*—"Ganges on this side, Ganges on that side; the son of Bihāri (or whatever his name may be) the grandson of Rāmbakhsh offers the cakes, but Mother Ganges gives only bubbles in return." Some plant a few stalks of grass near a tank as an abode for the spirit which wanders about until the funeral ceremonies are complete. On this water is poured daily for ten days. Some again give a tribal feast on the twelfth, some on the sixteenth day after death. On the anniversary of a death twelve balls are offered, and, if the family can afford it, the clansmen are fed. Some, again, after the usual balls and oblations during the fortnight (*pitra paksha*) sacred to the dead, join in removing the corpse and each of the five touches his mouth with a burning brand. By this procedure none of the five incurs any personal defilement.

**Religion.**

17. Chamārs in the main conform to the popular type of village Hinduism. To the east of the Province all, except the richer and more advanced members of the caste, dispense with the services of Brāhmans, except in so far as they usually consult them about the marriage auspices. To the west their marriage ceremonies are performed under the guidance of the low Gurra or Chamarwa Brāhmans. To the east, as they become rich and influential, they employ Sarwariya or Kanaujiya Brāhmans of a degraded type. To the west the mourners accompanying the corpse address the Creator in the words—*Tuhi hai; tain ne paida kiya, aur tain ne mār liya.* "Thou art He; Thou hast created and then destroyed." In Rohilkhand their clan deities are Bhawāni, Jagiswār or "the lord of the world," Kāla Deo, Gaja Dewat, Zāhir Pir, and Nagarsen. In Agra they call themselves of the Gorakhi sect, and worship Devi, Chamara, and Kuānwāla, "he of the well." In Ballia they usually worship a deity whom they call *Parameswar* or "the Supreme Being." The godling is supposed to dwell in a mound of earth erected in a room of the house. On the day of the Dasahra festival seven wheaten cakes and some *halwa* are offered, and some cloves and cardamoms are ground up and mixed in water, which is poured on the ground. This is known as *chhāk*. Sometimes the offering consists of a young pig and some spirits. When a person is absent from home, he does not erect any mound or oratory (*deokur*) until he returns. In Mirzapur they have a special deity known as Tera Deva or "the crooked one;" they also worship the Vindhyabāsini Devi, of Bindhāchal; Bānru Bir, a demon of whom they know nothing but the name; Sairi Devi, Birtiya, and the sainted dead (*purkha log*). All these deities are worshipped in times of trouble with the sacrifice of a pig, the meat of which is eaten by the worshippers and with a libation of spirits. On the Pachainyān festival milk and parched grain are offered at the hole occupied by the domestic snake. Those who have no children fast and worship the sun godling, Suraj Nārāyan, in the hope of offspring. Fire and the moon are also occasionally worshipped. To the east their chief festivals are the snake feast at the Pachainyān; the Kajari, which is a sort of saturnalia held in the rainy season, when women drink and the rules of modesty are held in abeyance; the Tij, on which women fast for the welfare of their husbands and sons, and next day eat cakes (*puri*); the *Phagua* or Holi. A second wife wears an image representing the deceased, known as *sirajna*, round the neck, and when she puts on fresh clothes or jewelry she touches them first with the image as a sign that they have been offered to the spirit of her predecessor. If this be not done, it is believed that the offended spirit of the first wife will bring disease or death.

**The Siunārāyan or Srināiāyani sect.**

18. But the most remarkable form of worship is that of the deistic revivalist sect of the Srinārāyani or Siunārāyani. The founder of this sect was Rāedās or Ravidās, who was a disciple of Rāmanand. Curiously enough in the Dakkhin quite a different legend has been invented and the so-called Rohidas is said to have been born at Chambhargonda now Ahmadnagar, and is described as a contemporary of Kabir in the twelfth or thirteenth century. The Northern India legend, as recorded in the commentary of Priya Dās on the Bhaktmāla, tells how a Brāhman disciple of Rāmanand used daily to receive the necessary alms from the houses of five Brāhmans. This was cooked by his preceptor, and offered to the Creator before being eaten. One day as it was raining and the houses of the Brāhmans were at a distance, the Brahmachāri accepted the supplies from a Banya. When Rāmanand cooked it, the Divine Light refused to accept it, as it was unclean. The preceptor made enquiries and discovered that the Banya had money dealings with Chamārs and that the food was hence defiled. Rāmanand, in his displeasure caused his disciple to be reborn in the womb of a Chamārin; and so it happened. When the infant was born, remembering its past life, it refused to suck from the breast of its mother because she was not initiated. Then a voice from Heaven spoke to Rāmanand and warned him that the punishment he had inflicted on his disciple was disproportionate to his offence. He was directed to go to the hut of the Chamār and initiate the whole family. He was compelled to obey this order. The child was named by his parents Rāedās. When he reached the age of 18 he began to worship a clay image of Rāma and Jānaki. This was displeasing to his father, who turned him out of doors. Rāedās then set up business as a shoemaker and continued his mode of worship. He used to present all wandering ascetics with new shoes. One day a saint appeared before him and gave him the philosopher's stone. Rāedās took no notice of it; but the Saint touched his shoemaker's knife with it and turned it into gold. This had no effect on Rāedās, and the saint finally left the stone in the thatch of his hut. Returning some time after he found Rāedās in poor circumstances, and learned to his surprise that he had not used the stone. The saint then promised that before morning 5 gold coins would appear in front of the divine image which Rāedās worshipped. These he also refused to accept. But he was warned in a dream not to continue to despise wealth; so he converted his shed into a magnificent temple and established regular worship. This enraged the Brāhmans, who appealed to the Rāja in a Sanskrit verse which means.

"Where unholy things are worshipped and holy things are defiled, three things follow—Famine, Death, and Fear."

19. Rāedās was summoned before the Rāja and ordered to exhibit his miraculous powers. He replied that he could do only one miracle—that the Sālagrāma or ammonite representing Vishnu would at his word leave its place and come down on the palm of his hand. The Rāja ordered the Brāhmans to perform a similar miracle. They failed and Rāedās succeeded. This miracle so affected the Rāni Jhāli, whom one version of the legend makes out to have been a Princess of Chithor, that she became initiated. On this the Brāhmans refused to eat in the palace, on the ground that it had been defiled, and some raw grain was given them which they began to cook in the garden. But as they were eating they suddenly saw Rāedās sitting and eating between two Brāhmans. So they fell at his feet, and then he cut his skin and showed them under it his Brāhmanical cord; so he was proved to have been a Brāhman in his former life.

**Sacred books.**

20. The Grantha or Scriptures of the sect are believed to have existed for eleven hundred and forty-five years, but to have been unintelligible until *Sitala*, an inspired Sannayāsi, translated them. The present recension is the work of the Rājput Sivanārāyana, of Ghāzipur, who wrote it about 1735 A.D. The most important of these works are the Gurunyāsa and the Santa Virāsa. The former is compiled from the Purānas, and gives an account of the ten Avatāras of Vishnu or Nārāyana in fourteen chapters, of which the first six treat of the author, of faith, of the punishment of sinners, of virtue, of a future state and of discipline. The latter is a treatise on moral sentiments. The opening lines are,—"The love of God and his knowledge are the only true understanding."

21. Siunārāyanis have a meeting house known as *Dhāmghar*, or "House of Paradise;" *Somaghar*, or "House of meeting," and *Girja Ghar*, or church, a word derived through the Portuguese *igreja* from the Greek *ekklesia*. It usually contains pictures of the Saints Gorakhnāth, Rāedās, Kabirdās, Surdās, and others. The scriptures are kept rolled up in cloths on a table at the east. They are carefully watched and never given to any one but members of their own congregation. They meet here on Friday evenings, and any educated man among them reads and expounds passages from the Gurunyāsa. The only occasion when the Santavirāsa is read is at death; it is then recited from the moment of dissolution until the corpse is buried. They are not allowed to eat meat or drink spirits before going to the weekly service, but this is the only restriction. On the Basant Panchami, or fifty light half of Māgh, a Halwāi is called in, who cooks some *halwa* sweetmeat (which is known as *manbhog*, or "food of the mind") in a large boiler (*karhāo*). This is first offered to Siunārāyana before the Scriptures of the sect, and until this is done no Chamār is allowed to touch it. The explanation of this is that Siunārāyana was a Chhatri, and it would be defilement to him if any Chamār touched it before dedication. An offering of the same kind is made to Guru Nānak by the Sikhs.

**Admit outsiders.**

22. The title Bhagat which they take does not imply that they abstain from flesh and spirits, but they are monotheists (Sanskrit *bhakta* "devoted"). They say that their chief conventicle is at a place called Barsari, in the Ghāzipur District, about which they repeat the verse,—"*As pās Chandrawār men Ghāzipur Sarkār Bindu nirauni karat sab Bāgh Rāe ke pās.*" "In the neighbourhood of Chandrawār, in the Ghāzipur District, all meet together and discuss the doctrine of Unity. This place is near the Rāe's garden."

23. Persons of any caste may join the Siunārāyani sect. When a candidate wishes to affiliate himself, they first warn him of the difficulties before him and test him for a few days, when, if approved, he is directed to bring a present according to his means to the headman, known as Guru or Mahant. The candidate comes before the Guru, who sits with the scriptures opposite him, and first makes a sacrifice by burning camphor and *dason*, or ten kinds of perfumes. These are thrown on fire, and the sweet savours which arises is their form of worship. Then some camphor is burnt before the scriptures, and all present rub the smoke over their faces. The candidate then washes the big toe of the Guru and drinks the water (*charanamrita*). Next the Guru recites privately into his ear the formula (*mantra*) of initiation which is carefully concealed from outsiders. After this the initiate distributes sweets to the congregation. He is then considered Sant or initiate, and receives a small book which he is permitted to study, and which serves as a pass of admission to future meetings. If he loses it he has to appear at the next Basant Panchami meeting, and pay two and-a-half rupees for a new copy, as well as a fine of five rupees for his negligence. At these meetings there is music and singing, men and women sit apart, and after the Mahant has finished his reading, he receives the contributions of the faithful. They are not allowed to drink in the Dhāmghar, but they may smoke *gānja, bhang;* or tobacco there. They never practise exorcisms (*ojhāi*), nor do they get into a state of religious frenzy and deliver oracles. As already stated the dead are buried with signs of rejoicing. Some camphor is burnt in the grave before the body is laid there, and then all present join in filling up the grave. All initiates, male and female, are buried in this way. Children and persons not initiated are interred without any ceremony. If the wife of an initiate die, her relatives can take away her body and cremate it. They marry like ordinary Chamārs, and get a Brāhman to fix a lucky time. A similar movement among the Chamārs of Bilāspur in the Central Provinces took place under Ghāsidās between 1820 and 1830, and in Bikāner under Lālgir about fifty years ago. Their sole worship is said to consist in calling on the invisible lord (*Alakh, Alakh*).

**Demonology.**

24. The ordinary Chamār believes that disease, death, and all troubles are due to demoniacal influence. When a person falls ill a sorcerer (*Ojah*) is called in and he points out the particular evil spirit which is responsible for the mischief, and the appropriate sacrifice by

means of which he can be appeased. In the same way barrenness in women is held to be due to her possession by some demon. A widow is very careful to worship the spirit of her deceased husband. In this case as with a deceased wife, no image is used, but a piece of ground is plastered, and on it is placed a new loin-cloth (*dhoti*) and a waist chain (*kardhani*). Sometimes a pig is sacrificed. The soul of a dead husband is called *manushya deva* or "the man-god." Persons who die in any sudden or unusual way become malevolent spirits (*bhut*), and must be carefully propitiated. Their offering is a young pig and an oblation of spirits. Chickens are offered to Ghāzi Miyān, goats to Devi, and pigs to the family godlings and evil spirits. These are offered at the house shrine, while offerings to godlings and saints are made at their temples or tombs. The regular feast in honour of the dead is the Mahālaya Amāwas *Pitrbisarjan* or *Pitrasaunan*. Among trees they respect the *pipal*, *tulasi*, and *nim*. The *pipal* is the abode of Vasudeva, the *tulasi* of Lakshmi, the *nim* of Sitala. Mother Ganges (Ganga *māi*) is a special object of reverence. The favourite method of propitiating evil spirits of those who have died by accident is to pour spirits near the place occupied by the *Bhut*, and to light some *gānja* in a pipe-bowl. For ghosts of high caste persons, the proper offering is a fire sacrifice (*hom*). The ordinary malignant evil spirit is called *Bhut* or *Daitya*; that of a Muhammadan Shahid *Mard*; the *Jinn* is higher and more powerful than these. To the *Shahid*, *Mard*, and *Jinn* the sacrifice is not a pig but a fowl and flowers.

Social regulations.

25. The Chamār from his occupation and origin ranks even below the non-Aryan tribes who have been quite recently adopted into Hinduism. He is considered impure because he eats beef, pork, and fowls, all abomination to the orthodox Hindu. He will eat cattle which die a natural death, and numerous cases have occurred where Chamārs have poisoned cattle for the sake of the hides and flesh. He keeps herds of pigs, and the Chamrauti or Chamār quarter in a Hindu village is generally a synonym for a place abounding in all kinds of abominable filth, where a clean living Hindu seldom, unless for urgent necessity, cares to intrude. One proverb describes a man setting up to be Gopāl, a respectable Krishna worshipper, while his pots and pans are as filthy as those of a Chamār (*Nem tem Gopāl aisan; hānri charui Chamār aisan*), and another says,—"The worthy are dying and the unworthy living because Chamārs are drinking Ganges water,"—*Lajūlu mare, dhithau jiye; Ganga jal Chamārān piye*). This repugnance to him is increased by his eating the leavings of almost any caste except Dhobis and Doms, and by the pollution which attaches to his wife (Chamārin, Chamāin), who acts as midwife and cuts the umbilical cord. But in spite of his degraded social position, the Chamār is proud and punctilious and very conservative as regards the rights and privileges which he receives in the village community. Their women wear, at least in the east of the Province, no nose rings; they have metal bangles (*mathaya*) on their wrists; arm ornaments (*bāju*) and heavy bell-metal anklets (*pairi*). Chamārs swear by Rāma, the Guru, the Ganges, Mahādeva Bāba, the shoemaker's last (*pharuhi*), and their sons' heads. They will not touch a Dom or Dhobi, nor the wife of a younger brother or nephew, nor will they call their wives by their names. Women eat after the men. They salute relatives and clansmen in the forms *Rām! Rām!* and *pāelagi*.

Occupations.

26. The Chamār practises a variety of occupations. His primary business is curing skins and shoemaking, and the latter business has developed what is really a separate caste, that of the Mochi (Sans. *mochika*); in a village he provides all leathern articles used in husbandry, such as whips, thongs, well buckets, and the like. As a rule, he has a circle of constituents (*jajmān*) whose dead cattle he receives, and to whom he gives leather and a certain number of shoes in return. His wife has similarly a certain number of families to whom she acts as midwife and performs various menial services at marriages and festivals. The Chamār himself is the general village drudge (*begār, pharait*) runs messages, and does odd jobs, such as thatching when he is called Gharāmi, and the like. Sometimes he receives wages in cash or kind, but perhaps more generally an allowance of grain per plough belonging to the family he serves, or a patch of rent-free land. Another part of his duties is to beat drums and blow trumpets during a marriage or when cholera or other epidemic disease is being exercised from the village. Large numbers of Chamārs take to field labour, act as ploughmen, carters, grooms, or emigrate to towns, where they do various kinds of unskilled work. In Partābgarh they are said to have usurped the business of carrying palanquins, the hereditary occupation of Kahārs. The extension of the leather trade at Cawnpore has made it a great Chamār centre. Many of them have become wealthy and aim at a standard of social respectability much higher than their rural brethren, and some have begun even to seclude their women, which every native does as soon as he commences to rise in the world.

27. The system of tanning pursued by the ordinary village Chamār is of the most primitive kind. The skins are placed in a pit and covered with water, containing lime (*chuna*) and impure carbonate of soda (*sajji*); after ten days they are taken out and the hair removed with an iron scraper (*khurpi*). They are again removed, sewn up in the form of a bag, which is again filled with the bark solution, and hung on a tree or stand. This process lasts five days, when the tanning is considered complete.

# 5.—Of the Aryo-Dravidian Tract.

## BĀBHAN.

[*H. H. Risley, C.I.E.*]

**Traditions of origin: what are Bābhans?**

*Bābhan, Bhuinhār, Zamindār Brāhman, Girhasth Brāhman, Pachhimā Brāhman, Magahayā Brāhman, Ajagyak Brāhman, Zamindār, Chaudhriji,* a large and influential caste which counts among its members some of the chief landholders of Bihar. Regarding the origin of the Bābhans, a variety of traditions are current. One story represents them as the descendants of the Brāhman rulers whom Parasu Rām set up in the place of the Kshatriyas slain by him, and who in course of time abandoned their Brāhmanical duties and took to the profession of land-holding. Another tells how a certain king of Ayodhya, being childless, sought to remove his reproach by the sacrifice of a Brāhman, and bought for this purpose the second son of the Rishi Jamadagni, the father of Parasu Ram. By the intervention of Viswāmitra, the maternal uncle of the victim, the Rājā was enabled to get a child without bloodshed; but the young Brāhman was held to have been degraded by the sale, and was called upon to settle down on the land and become the forefather of the Bābhan caste.* A third legend, perhaps the best known of all, traces the Bābhans back to a sacrifice offered by Jarāsandha, King of Magadha, at which a very large number of Brāhmans, some say a *lakh* and a quarter, were required to be present. Jarāsandha's Dewān, a Kāyasth of the Amasht or Karan sub-caste, did his best to meet the demand, but was driven to eke out the local supply by distributing sacred threads among members of the lower castes and palming them off on the king as genuine Brāhmans. Jarāsandha's suspicions being roused by the odd appearance of some of the guests, the Dewān was compelled to guarantee the respectability by eating food which they had cooked; while the Brāhmans thus manufactured, failing to gain admission into their supposed caste, had to set up a caste of their own, the name of which (Bābhan or Brāhman) is popularly supposed to mean a *sham* Brāhman; just as in some districts an inferior Rājput is called a Rāut, the corruption of the name betokening "the corruption of the caste."

**Not promoted non-Aryans.**

The last theory is at once refuted by the appearance and demeanour of the caste. "They are," says Mr. Beames, "a fine manly race, with the delicate Aryan type of feature in full perfection." This type, I may add, is singularly uniform and persistent among the Bābhans, which would not be the case if they were descended from a crowd of low-caste men promoted by the exigencies of a particular occasion; for brevet rank thus acquired would in no case carry with it the right of intermarriage with pure Brāhmans or Rājputs, and the artificially-formed group, being compelled to marry within its own limits, would necessarily perpetuate the low-caste type of features and complexion. As a matter of fact, this is what happens with the sham Rājputs whom we find in most of the outlying districts of Bengal. They marry among themselves, never among the true Rājputs, and their features reproduce those of the particular aboriginal tribe from which they may happen to have sprung.

If, then, the hypothesis of a low-caste origin breaks down, there remains the question—Are the Bābhans Brāhmans who have somehow been degraded and dropped out of ranks of their original caste? There seems to be no *primâ facie* improbability in this theory. Within the Brāhman caste itself we find plenty of instances of inferior sub-castes being formed owing to the adoption of practices deemed inconsistent with the dignity of a Brāhman. The Agradāni, Achārji and Varna Brāhmans are cases in point. There is no reason therefore in the nature of the caste system why the Bābhans should not be Brāhmans who, having lost status for some reasons now forgotten, broke off entirely from the parent caste instead of accepting the position of an inferior sub-caste. The suggestion that they were degraded by taking to agriculture must of course be put aside, for, as Mr. Beames has pointed out, "there are many thousands of Brāhmans in the same part of the country who are engaged in agricultural pursuits, but without losing caste, such as Tiwāris, Upādhyas, Ojhās or Jhās, and others."

**Nor degraded Brāhmans.**

An examination of the sections or exogamous groups into which the Bābhans are divided appears, however, to tell strongly against the hypothesis that they are degraded Brāhmans. These groups are usually the oldest and most durable element in the internal organization of a caste or tribe, and may therefore be expected to offer the clearest indications as to its origin. Now we find among the Bābhans section-names of two distinct types; the one *territorial*, referring either to some very early settlement of the section or to the birth-place of its founder, and the other *eponymous* the eponym being in most cases a Vedic *rishi* or inspired saint. The names of the former class correspond to or closely resemble those current among Rājputs; the names of the latter are those of the standard Brāhmanical *gotras*. Lists of both are given below.

Where the matrimonial prohibitions based on these two classes of sections conflict, as must obviously often happen where every member of the caste necessarily belongs to both sets, the authority of the territorial class overrides that of the eponymous or Brāhmanical class. Suppose, for instance, that a man of the Karānch territorial section and of the Sāndilya

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*The legend referred to is that of Sunah Sephas, told in the *Aitareya Brāhmana* and in a slightly different form in the *Ramayana*.

eponymous section wishes to marry a woman of the Sakarwār territorial section, the fact that she also belongs to the Sandilya eponymous section will not operate as a bar to the marriage. Whatever may be the theory of the purohits of the caste, the Brāhmanical *gotra* is disregarded in practice, and doubtful cases are decided in accordance with the *mul* or territorial section to which the parties belong. This circumstance seems to indicate that the *territorial* sections are the older of the two, and are probably the original sections of the caste; while the eponymous sections have been borrowed from the Brāhmans in comparatively recent times. It would follow that the Bābhans are an offshoot, not from the Brāhmans, but from the Rājputs. If Bābhans had originally been Brāhmans, they would at the time of their separation from the parent caste have been already fitted up with a complete set of Brāhmanical *gotras*, and it is difficult to imagine any reason which could have induced them to borrow a strange and much more elaborate set of sections from a tribe of inferior status, and to relegate their own sections to an entirely subordinate position. Territorial sections, moreover, do not lend themselves to the process of borrowing. They are as a rule exceedingly numerous; the meanings of their names are obscure and difficult to trace; and, with the exception of a few names borne by famous Rājput clans, they are wanting in the note of social distinction. The Brāhmanical *gotras*, on the other hand, form a clearly-defined and not inconveniently numerous group to which well-known and honourable traditions attach; they can be borrowed *en masse* without any particular trouble and the influence of Brāhman *purohits* is sufficient to diffuse them throughout any caste which affects a high standard of ceremonial purity and wishes to rise in the social scale. Numerous examples of the process of borrowing the Brāhmanical eponymous *gotras* can be found among most of the lower castes at the present day: I know of no instance of a caste adopting sections of another type. To take a familiar illustration: it is as unlikely that a rising caste would borrow territorial sections when the Brāhmanical *gotras* were to be had for the asking, as it is that an English manufacturer who has got on in the world and is about to change his name would select Billing, Wace, or one of the earlier English patronymics instead of some more high-sounding name which may have come in with the Conquest. Kasyapa, Sandilya, and the other Brāhmanical section names do for the rising castes of Bengal what Vavasour, Bracy, and Montresor are supposed to do for the wealthy *parvenu* in England.

It should be added here that alongside of the clearly territorial section names we find a few names of another type, such as Bāghauchhiā, Belauriā, Kastuār, which are said to have reference to the tiger, the *bel* tree (*ægle marmelos*), and the *kas* grass, and Harāriā, Kodāria, Bhusbarat, Domkatar (foundling, spade-wielder, husk-picker, Dom's knife), which seem to be nicknames of the same kind as we meet among some of the Himalayan tribes. In the absence of evidence that the members of the first three sections regard with veneration the animal and plants whose name they bear, we are hardly justified in pronouncing the names to be survivals from the totemistic stage. Some suggestion of inferiority does, however, seem to attach to the last four sections, and this point is more fully discussed below. For the purpose of controlling connubial arrangements, both of these classes seem to possess the same value as the territorial section, so that the argument stated above is not affected.

**Probably a branch of the Rājputs.**

The considerations set forth above appear to me to render it highly probable that the Bābhans are a branch of the Rājputs. It must, however, be admitted that evidence in favour of a Brāhmanical origin is not wanting. Mr. Sherring lays stress on the fact that the Bhuinhārs of Benares "called themselves Brāhmans; have the *gotras*, titles and family names of Brāhmans, and practise for the most part the usages of Brāhmans." In Behār, though the claim to be Brāhmans is not invariably put forward, Brahmanical titles, such as Misr, Pānre, and Tewāri, are used along with the Rājput titles of Singh, Rāi, and Thākur. In Shahabad and in parts of the United Provinces members of other castes accord to a Bābhan salutation *pranām* ordinarily reserved for Brāhmans; while the Bābhan responds with the benediction *asirbad*. Further south, however, this practice is unknown; and in Patna a Bābhan would give the first greeting to a Kāyasth, thereby implicitly recognising the superior status of that caste in the social system.

**Marriage: Exogamy.**

Like the Rājputs, the Bābhans exclude the section of both father and mother, or, in other words, forbid a man to marry a woman who belongs to the same section as he himself or his mother. The operation of this rule is further extended by the manner in which it is applied. Account is taken, not merely of the section to which the proposed bride herself belongs (*i.e.*, her father's section), but also of her mother's section; so that the marriage will be barred if the bride's mother belonged to the same section as the bridegroom's mother, though of course neither bride nor bridegroom can be members of that section. In respect of prohibited degrees, they follow the rules current among the Kāyasths.

**Endogamy.**

Among the Bābhans of Bihar, as among the Rājputs, no endogamous divisions exist, and they also intermarry on terms of equality with the Bābhans of the United Provinces. Some sections, however, are reckoned inferior to the rest, notably the Hararia, Kodāria and Bhusbarāt mentioned above, regarding whom there is a saying in Bihar—

*"Harāriā, Kodāria, Bhusbarāt mare, to Tirhut ka pāp hare."*

In the north of Manbhum the Rāmpai and Domkatār sections are in such low repute that members of the other sections will not give their daughters in marriage to Rāmpai or Domkatār men, although they have no objection to taking wives from those sections themselves. Consequently in that part of the country Rāmpai and Domkatār Bābhans can only get wives from each other, though their women can obtain husbands from all sections except their own. If the restrictions were carried a step further, and Bābhans belonging to other sections interdicted from taking Rāmpai and Domkatār women to wife, those sections would be wholly cut off from the *jus connubii*, and would in fact, if not in name, have hardened into a sub-caste.

I have no evidence to show that this is at all likely to take place—the Manbhum practice indeed appears to be quite exceptional—but the point deserves notice as tending to throw light on the obscure problem of the formation of sub-castes.

**Age at marriage.** All Bābhans who can afford to do so marry their daughters as infants, the bride's age being often no more than four or five years. The same rule holds good for boys, only they are married comparatively later in life, and a son unmarried at the age of puberty does not bring the same sort of reproach on the family as a daughter is supposed to do. Instances, however, are not wanting where for special reasons the daughters of wealthy families have been married after they were grown up, as was the case with the late Maharani of Tikari; and it seems to be clear that even the most orthodox members of the caste do not take the extreme sacerdotal view of the necessity of infant-marriage. Ordinarily a price is paid for a bridegroom, but the purchase of brides is by no means uncommon. A man may marry two sisters, and the number of wives he may have is subject to no limit except his ability to maintain them. Some say, however, that a second wife is only permissible if the first proves barren, is convicted of unchastity, or suffers from an incurable disease. Whatever may be the rule on the subject, it is rare to find a man with more than two wives. Widows are not allowed to marry again. Divorce is unknown: a faithless wife is simply turned out of the caste and left to shift for herself by becoming a prostitute, turning Mahomedan, or joining some of the less reputable religious sects.

**Marriage ceremony.** The marriage ceremony of the Bābhans does not appear to differ materially from the standard type of a Bihar marriage, which has been very fully described by Mr. Grierson at page 362 of Bihar Peasant Life. It should perhaps be noted that a Bābhan *marhwa* or marriage shed has six posts, not four, and that the bride is held throughout the ceremony by a woman of the Kahār caste. I may further observe that whereas according to Hindu law the completion of the seventh step by the bride renders the marriage final and irrevocable, a number of Bābhans in Patna assured me with much particularity of statement that in their opinion *sindurdān*, or the smearing of vermilion on the parting of the bride's hair, formed the binding portion of the ceremony—not the circumambulation of the sacrificial fire (*bhānwar* or *bedi ghumaeh*), which in Bihar takes the place of the Vedic *saptapadi*. My informants emphasised their statement by adding that if the bridegroom were to die after *bhānwar* and before *sindurdān* the bride would not be deemed a widow, and would be permitted to marry another man. In another place I have endeavoured to trace the origin of *sindurdān*, and have ventured to put forward the theory that it has probably been borrowed from the marriage service of the non-Aryan races.

**Disposal of the dead.** Bābhans burn their dead and perform the *srāddh* ceremony on the eleventh day after death in the fashion described by Mr. Grierson (*Bihar Peasant Life*, page 391). Bairāgi Bābhans are buried. In cases of extreme poverty the corpse is thrown into a river after the nearest relative has touched the mouth with a burning torch. At the *srāddh* ceremony, as in all other acts of domestic worship for which the services of a *purohit* are required, Kanaujiā Brāhmans officiate without thereby incurring any degradation in comparison with the Brāhmans who serve the higher castes. In some parts of Eastern Bihar Maithil Brāhmans are employed by the Bābhans. These rank below Kanaujiās, and are looked down upon by the Srotriya Brāhmans, not because they serve in Bābhans' houses, but because their own origin is believed to be of doubtful purity.

**Religion.** The religion of the Bābhans, like that of the ordinary high-caste Hindu, conforms in its details to the ritual of whatever recognised sect he happens to belong to. Representatives of all sects are found amongst the caste in much the same proportion as in the population at large. Vaishnavism, however, is said to have been only recently introduced among them, and in north Bihar most Bābhans are either Saivas or Saktas. No social consequences are involved by professing the tenets of any of the regular sects, and intermarriage between their members goes on freely within the limits of the caste. Besides the standard worship which a Bābhan performs in virtue of belonging to a particular sect, all householders offer he-goats and rams to Kāli on the 24th or 25th of *Kuar* (September-October), sweetmeats, sandal-paste, flowers to Sitalā on the 24th *Chait* (March-April), and sugared cakes to Hanumān on every Tuesday. On the 1st of *Chait* these three deities are propitiated with *puā* (wheat-flour and molasses cooked in oil), *bārā* [cakes of *urid* (*Phaseolus mango*) fried in oil], and *kachwaniā* (round balls of rice-flour, sugar, and butter). These offerings are presented by the men of the family without the aid of a Brāhman, and are afterwards divided among the members of the household. To the women is relegated the task of appeasing a lower order of gods—Bandi Mai, Sokha, and Goraiya—with molasses and *pitha*, a sort of boiled pudding made of *sattu* or meal.

**Social status.** Owing probably to the controversy about their origin, the social standing of the Bābhans is not altogether easy to determine precisely, and varies slightly in different parts of the area which they inhabit. In south-eastern Bihar they rank immediately below Kāyasths, but in Shahabad, Sāran, and the United Provinces they appear to stand on much the same level as Rājputs. The fact that in Patna and Gya the Amashtha or Karan Kāyasths will eat *kachchi* food which has been cooked by a Bābhan, while the other sub-castes of Kāyasths will not, may perhaps be a survival from times when Bābhans occupied a higher position than they do at the present day. In Champāran, according to Mr. Beames, Bābhans are not permitted to drink and smoke with Brāhmans, "and only under some restriction with Rājputs. Thus, a "Rājput may eat rice with them only when it is without condiments; he may not eat bread, "and he may drink water only from an earthen vessel, not from a brass *lota*. Similarly, when "he eats with them his food must be placed on a dish made of leaves, and not on the usual brass

"*thali*. The meaning of these apparently trifling distinctions is that the Rājput, on an emer-
"gency, may eat hastily prepared food with them, but nothing that implies a long preparation
"or deliberate intention." Bābhans themselves claim to observe a higher standard of ceremonial purity than Rājputs, in that they will not touch the handle (*parihath* or *lagna*) of the plough, and that they use the full *upanayan* ritual when investing their children with the *Janeo* or sacred thread. In the matter of food they profess to take cooked food only with Brāhmans, and sweetmeats, curds, parched rice, etc. (*pakki*), from Rājputs and the group of castes from whose hands a Brāhman can take water. As regards the latter class, they are careful to explain that, although they will take sweetmeats, etc., as guests in their houses, they will not sit down and eat with them. The Bābhan's own diet is the same as that of all orthodox Hindu, and, like theirs, depends in some respects on considerations of sect. Thus Saivas and Saktas eat flesh, while Vaishnavas are restricted to vegetable food. Spirituous liquors are strictly forbidden, and can only be indulged in secretly.

**Occupation.**

The characteristic occupation of the Bābhan caste, as indeed is indicated by the title Bhuinhār, is that of settled agriculturists; but they will under no circumstances drive the plough with their own hands. Apart from this special prohibition, they do not appear to be unreasonably fastidious as to how they get their living and will take service as soldiers, constables, darwans, nagdis or lāthiāls, cut wood, work as coolies, and do anything that is not specifically unclean. Many of them trade in grain, but it is considered derogatory to deal in miscellaneous articles or to go in for general shop-keeping. Some Bābhans hold great estates in Bihar and the United Provinces, among whom may be mentioned the Maharajas of Benares, of Bettiah in Champāran, Tikari in Gya, Hatwa in Sāran, and Tamakhi in Gorakhpur, the Rājā of Sheohar, and the Rājkumār Babu of Madhoban in Champāran. They are found as tenure-holders of all grades, and occupancy and non-occupancy *rayats*, while a very few have sunk to the position of landless day-labourers. According to their own account, although ranking as *ashrāf* or high caste cultivators, they enjoy no special privileges in respect of rent, and are not particularly sought after as tenants, because, in common with Brāhmans, Rājputs and Kāyasths, they cannot be called upon for forced labour (*begāri*) or for specific services in addition to the money-rent. The fact seems to be that, as they will not plough themselves, and therefore must employ labourers (*kamiyās*) for this purpose, they cannot pay so high a rent as men who work with their own hands; while their blood and overbearing character, and their tendency to mass themselves in "strong and pugnacious brotherhoods," render them comparatively undesirable tenants in the eyes of an exacting landlord. It is said, indeed, that the title Bhuinhār, a term which Bābhans never apply to themselves, has passed into a by-word for sharpness and cunning.

## INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE BĀBHAN.

Synonyms:—*Ajagyak Brāhman, Bhuinhār, Chaudhriji, Grihasth Brāhman, Maghayā Brāhman, Pachhimā Brāhman, Zamindār, Zamindār Brāhman.*

Titles:—**Arāpe, Bharsi-Misr, Chaube, Chaudriji, Dikshit, Dube, Mawār, Misr, Ojhā, Pānchobe, Pānde, Pāthak, Rāi, Singh, Sotri, Thākur, Tiwāri, Upadhiyā.**

### *SECTIONS.*

#### (*a*)—*Territorial.*

**Abkāhon.**
**Aggechal.**
**Agnidhaut** (purified by fire).
**Ailwār.**
**Ajaitiā.**
**Ambariā.**
**Anarai.**
**Anwār.**
**Araich.**
**Arait.**
**Arewar.**
**Arnwait.**
**Aswariā.**
**Atrab.**
**Auigh baid** (physician).
**Badoniā.**
**Badramiā.**
**Bagauchiā.**
**Bagri.**
**Balaiār.**
**Bandihā.**
**Banriā.**
**Barhambiā.**
**Barhampuriā** (territorial).
**Barnait.**
**Basmait.**
**Baswait.**
**Baurihā.**
**Begampuriā** (territorial).
**Belkuār.**
**Belonchā.**
**Bemwār.**
**Bhadsuhiā.**
**Bhaju Chakwar.**
**Bhalrait** (spearman).
**Bhatan.**
**Bheloriā.**
**Bhomāpoli.**
**Bhunasware.**
**Bigahiā.**
**Bijalpuriā** (territorial).
**Bilkhari.**
**Chaksiār.**
**Chakwār.**
**Chandrāwat** (born of the moon).
**Chasiwar.**
**Chauriār.**
**Chausā.**
**Chesiā.**
**Chiksoria.**
**Chilimār.**
**Chiwār.**
**Dabhinchhwār, Dabhanchwār.**
**Dalihare, Dullihārā.**
**Darihare.**
**Dhakāit** (Dacoit).
**Dhanichhwār.**
**Dharan.**
**Dharwār.**
**Dhaurāni.**
**Dighwait.**
**Dighwe.**
**Dipār.**
**Domkatār.**
**Donwār.**
**Dudhuait.**
**Dumrāit.**
**Dundwar.**
**Gambhariā** (from the River Gamber, C. I.).
**Gangtiait.**
**Garhiā.**
**Gaur.**
**Ghatait** (middleman).
**Goait.**
**Hararia**, (foundling).
**Hariambā.**
**Hartakia** (from myrabolam).
**Hastgame.**
**Indrawar.**
**Jaitharia.**
**Jāji.**
**Jajim.**
**Jamraiān.**
**Janwiār.**

(*a.*)—*Territorial*—continued.

**Jesiwār.**
**Jethuliar.**
**Kadarai.**
**Kalemniā.**
**Kanchanbhār.**
**Karmuā.**
**Karnautiā** (Canarese).
**Karnāyati** (Canarese).
**Kestwār.**
**Katauniā.**
**Katewar.**
**Katiāin.**
**Kathautiā.**
**Kathwait.**
**Katthawa.**
**Kausonjhiā.**
**Kinwār.**
**Korache.**
**Korānch.**
**Kulhā.**
**Kumedwār.**
**Kunjalwār.**
**Ladilā.**
**Lamgoriā.**
**Larwariā.**
**Mahbariā.**
**Mahuari.**
**Mairiā.**
**Malikauliā.**
**Malitwār.**
**Manaria.**
**Manchia.**
**Mandra.**
**Mangrauni.**
**Manikshariā.**
**Nanjorā.**
**Naradwār.**
**Niktawār.**
**Nonaitwār.**
**Okinwār.**
**Onwār.**
**Pachbhajuā** (left-handed).
**Pachgotya.**
**Panchobe.**
**Parhape.**
**Parsaria.**
**Pilchwar.**
**Piliksawār.**
**Pilkhait.**
**Raini.**
**Ramayā.**
**Rampai.**
**Ransadiyā.**
**Sahasnanghiā.**
**Sahdaulia.**
**Sakarwār.**
**Sakhwait.**
**Sakmait.**
**Salhariyā.**
**Sandaliā.**
**Sapdohā.**
**Sarwe.**
**Saubarnia** (golden).
**Semraiān.**
**Sihogiā.**
**Sihoriā.**
**Sihujiā.**
**Siriār.**
**Sirsait.**
**Sonbhadria** (living on the banks of the Sone).
**Sonewār.**
**Sorawār.**
**Suargane.**
**Surgriā.**
**Tetihā.**
**Tetihia.**
**Tilachhwar.**
**Umatwār.**

(*b*)—*Functional or Personal.*

**Bhusbarāt,** husk-gatherer.
**Chaubhaiā,** born of four brothers.
**Eksariā,** born of one brother.
**Jalewār,** holder of fishing nets.
**Kodāriā,** worker with the spade.
**Panchbhaiā,** born of five brothers.

(*c*)—*Brāhmanical.*

**Agnihotra.**
**Atharb.**
**Basisht.**
**Bharadwāj.**
**Garg.**
**Gautam.**
**Hārit.**
**Kāsyapa.**
**Kaundin.**
**Kausik.**
**Parāsar.**
**Sābarna.**
**Sāndil.**
**Vātsa.**

# 6. Of the Mongolo-Dravidian Tract.

## BĀGDI.

[ *H. H. Risley, C.I.E.*]

*Bāgdi, Bāgtit, Mudi*, a cultivating, fishing, and menial caste of Central and Western Bengal, who appear from their features and complexion to be of Dravidian descent, and closely akin to the tribes whom, for convenience of description, we may call aboriginal. A variety of more or less indelicate legends are current regarding the origin of the caste. One story tells how Pārvati disguised herself as a fisherwoman and made advances to Siva with the object of testing his fidelity to herself. When the god had yielded to the temptation, Pārvati revealed her identity, and Siva, out of pique at her triumph, ordained that the child to be born from her should be a Bāgdi and live by fishing. Another account lays the scene of this adventure in Kochh Behār, where Siva is represented as living with a number of concubines of the Koch tribe. Pārvati was moved by jealousy to come in the disguise of a fisherwoman and destroy the standing crops of the Kochnis, and Siva could only induce her to depart by begetting on her a son and a daughter. These twins were afterwards married, and gave birth to Hamvir, king of Bishanpur in Bankura, from whose four daughters—Sāntu, Nętu, Mantu, Kshetu—the four sub-castes Tentuliā, Duliā, Kusmetiā, and Mātiā are descended. According to a third tradition, the first Bāgdi was accidentally begotten by Rāma on a widow maid-servant in attendance on Sita, and, after undergoing some persecution at the hands of his reputed father, was recompensed by the promise that he and his descendants should be palanquin-bearers, and in that capacity should be trusted to carry females of the highest classes. From Orissa comes the still more grotesque tale how once upon a time, the gods being assembled in council, a goddess suddenly gave birth to three sons, and feeling embarrassed by the situation, hid the first under a heap of tamarind (*tentul*) pods, the second in a iron pan, and the third under a hermit's staff (*danda*). From these vicissitudes of their infancy the children got the names of Tentuliā Bāgdi, Lohār Mānjhi, and Dandachhattra Mānjhi. It will, of course, be understood that these traditions are quoted here, not for any light that they may throw upon the origin of the Bāgdis, but as contributions to the modern science of folklore. Apart from any value they may possess as illustrations of the working of the myth-making faculty among primitive folk, I may point out that all of them must have grown up after the Bāgdis had ceased to be a compact tribe. Such traditions could only have been invented by people who had already in some measure conformed to Hinduism and felt the want of a mythical pedigree of the orthodox type. The last in particular furnishes an excellent example of a myth devised for the purpose of giving a respectable explanation of the totemistic name Tentuliā. A parallel case will be found among the Kumhārs of Orissa.

**Traditions of origin.**

In the district of Bankura, where the original structure of the caste seems to have been singularly well preserved, we find the Bāgdis divided into the following sub-castes: (1) Tentuliā, bearing the titles Bāgh, Sāntrā, Rāi, Khān, Puilā; (2) Kasāikuliā, with the titles Mānjhi, Masālchi, Palankhāi, Pherkā; (3) Duliā, with the titles Sardār and Dhārā; (4) Ujhā, or Ojhā; (5) Māchhuā, Mechhuā, or Mecho; (6) Gulimānjhi; (7) Dandamānjhi; (8) Kusmetiā, Kusmātiā, or Kusputra; (9) Mallametiā, Mātiā, or Mātiāl. Within these again are a number of exogamous sections, among which may be mentioned *Kāsbak*, the heron; *Ponkrishi*, the jungle cock; *Sālrishi* or *Sālmāch* the sāl fish; *Pātrishi*, the bean; and *Kachchhap*, the tortoise. The totem is taboo to the members of the section; that is to say, a Kāsbak Bāgdi may not kill or eat a heron; a Pātrishi, like the Pythagoreans according to Lucian, may not touch a bean.

**Internal structure.**

A Bāgdi cannot marry outside the sub-caste, nor inside the section to which he belongs. Thus a Tentuliā must marry a Tentuliā, but a man of the Sālrishi section to whatever sub-caste he may belong, cannot marry a woman of that section. The section names go by the male side, and the rule prohibiting marriage within the section requires therefore to be helped out by a separate set of rules, which to some extent overlap the rule of exogamy. Marriage with any person descended in a direct line from the same parents is forbidden as long as any relationship can be traced. To simplify the calculation of collateral relationship, the formula "Paternal uncle, maternal uncle, paternal aunt, maternal aunt,—these four relationships are to be avoided in marriage," is in use. Ordinarily the prohibition extends only to three generations in the descending line; but if *bhaiyādi*, or mutual recognition of relationship is kept up, intermarriage is barred for five or, as some say, seven generations. In counting generations the person under consideration is included.

In the more eastern districts the organization of the caste seems to be less elaborate, and has clearly been affected by closer contact with Hinduism inducing the adoption of Brāhmanical customs. In the 24-Parganās only five sub-castes are found—Tentuliā, Kusmetiā, Tiayodās, Mānjhi, Noda; while the sections are reduced to three—Kāsyapa, Rāncho, and Dāsya—the members of which profess to be descended from Vedic Rishis, and have abandoned the totemistic observances which are common further west. Traces of totemism, however, still servive in the names of sub-castes. Tentuliās admit that they are called after the tamarind tree, and Kusmetiās that they take their name from the *kusā* grass

(*Eragrotis cynosuroides*), but neither show any reverence for the plants in question. The system of exogamy has also been developed in the direction of closer conformity with the usages of the higher castes. The mother's section is excluded in addition to the father's, and marriage with *Sapindas* is prohibited.

**Marriage.** In Bankura, Manbhum, and the north of Orissa, where the example of the aboriginal races is prominent, Bāgdis practise both infant and adult marriage indifferently. In the case of girls who are not married in infancy, sexual license before marriage is virtually tolerated, it being understood that if a girl becomes pregnant she will find some one to marry her. Further east, infant-marriage is the rule and adult the exception, while the Bāgdis of the 24-Parganās, Jessore, and Nadiya pretend entire ignorance of the custom of adult-marriage. Polygamy is permitted. In theory, a man may marry as many wives as he can afford to maintain: practically, however, the standard of living of the caste limits him to two. He may also marry two sisters at the same time.

**Marriage ceremony.** Among a mass of ritual borrowed from the Brāhmanical system, the marriage ceremony (*bibāha* or *byāh* as opposed to *sanga*) of the Bāgdis of Western Bengal has preserved some interesting usages, which appear to belong to a different and perhaps more primitive order of symbolism. Early on the wedding morning, before the bridegroom starts in procession for the bride's house, he goes through a mock marriage to a *mahuā* tree (*Bassia latifolia*). He embraces the tree and bedaubs it with vermilion; his right wrist is bound to it with thread, and after he is released from the tree this same thread is used to attach a bunch of *mahuā* leaves to his wrist. The *barāt* or procession of the bridegroom's party is usually timed so as to reach the bride's house about sunset. On arrival, the inner courtyard of the house is defended by the bride's friends, and a mimic conflict takes place which ends in the victory of the *barāt*. Symbolic capture having been thus effected, the bridegroom himself is seated with his face to the east on a wooden stool (*pirā*) placed under a bower of *sāl* leaves, having pots of oil, grain, and turmeric at the four corners, and a small pool of water in the centre. When the bride enters, she marches seven times round the bower, keeping it always on her right hand, and seats herself opposite to the bridegroom, the pool of water being between the pair. The right hands of the bride, the bridegroom, and the bride's eldest relatives are tied together with thread by the officiating Brāhman, who at the same time recites sacred texts (*mantras*), the purport of which is that the bride has been given by her people to the bridegroom and has been accepted by him. The priest then claims his fee, and, after receiving it, unties the thread and knots together the scarves worn by the married couple. This part of the ceremony is called *gotrāntar*, 'the change of *gotra*,' and is supposed to transfer the bride from her own section or exogamous group into that of her husband. It is followed by *sindurdān*, when the bridegroom takes a small cup of vermilion in his left hand and with his right hand smears the colour on the parting of the bride's hair. By the Bāgdis, as by most of the aboriginal tribes of Western Bengal, *sindurdān* is deemed to be the essential and binding portion of the marriage ceremony, and they know nothing of the "seven steps" of the Brāhmanical rite. Garlands of flowers are then exchanged by the parties, and the rest of the night is spent in feasting, the married couple leaving for the bridegroom's house early next morning. The knotted scarves are not untied until the fourth day after the wedding.

**Widows.** All sub-castes, except the Tentuliā Bāgdis, allow widows to marry again by the ceremony known as *Sanga*, a maimed rite, at which (except in the Orissa hills) no Brāhman officiates, no *mantras* or Vedic texts are recited, and the sacred fire, which from the days of the Rig-Veda has formed the distinguishing feature of the marriage ritual, is not kindled. In the *Sanga* ceremony as practised by the Bāgdis of Central Bengal, the bride and bridegroom sit face to face on a mat, and each daubs the other's forehead with a paste of powdered turmeric and water. A sheet (*chādar*) is then thrown over the heads of the pair, so as to cover them entirely, and under this the bridegroom puts an iron bracelet (*lohār khāru*) on the left wrist of the bride. The proceedings are finished by a feast to the caste brethren of the village. If the newly-married couple are too poor to afford a feast, they pay a fee of Re. 1-4. A widow may marry her late husband's younger brother, but she is not compelled to do so.

**Divorce.** In the matter of divorce, the practice of the caste seems to vary in different parts of Bengal. Hinduised Bāgdis follow the example of the higher castes in denying that such a thing is possible. The general opinion, however, seems to be that a wife may be divorced for barrenness, unchastity, or disobedience, duly proved to the satisfaction of a council of elders of the caste. When the council have given their assent, the husband closes the proceedings by the symbolical act of breaking a straw in two, or by taking away the iron bracelet which every married woman wears on her left wrist. A divorced wife is entitled to claim maintenance from her late husband for a period of six months after the divorce. She may marry again by the *Sanga* form, and in some districts such marriages are exceedingly common. Cases, indeed, have come to my notice in which a wife has taken steps to get a divorce with the avowed object of marrying another man. As a rule, however, the initiative is supposed to be taken by the husband.

**Admission of outsiders.** Like the Bāuris, all sub-castes of Bāgdis, except the Tentuliā, admit into their circle members of any caste higher than themselves in social standing. No regular ceremony is appointed for such occasions: the new member merely pays to the caste *panchāyat* a sum of money, varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15, to be spent on a feast, in which for the first time he openly eats with his adopted caste brethren. When admitted into the Dulia sub-caste, he is made to take the palanquin on his shoulder to signify his acceptance of the characteristic occupation of the body to which he has joined himself. The origin of the custom of admitting outsiders, which is entirely out of accord with the spirit of the caste system at the present day, is apparently to be

sought in the lax views of the Bāgdis and Bāuris on the subject of sexual morality. In every other caste a woman who has an intrigue with an outsider is punished by expulsion from the caste; but Bāgdis and Bāuris not only allow their women to live openly with men of other castes, but receive those men into their own community when, as frequently happens, they are outcasted by their own people for eating rice cooked by their mistresses.

**Religion.** The religion of the Bāgdis is compounded of elements borrowed from orthodox Hinduism and survivals from the mingled Animism and Nature-worship which prevails among the aborigines of Western Bengal. Siva, Vishnu, Dharmarāj (Yama), Durgā, the Saktis, and the myriad names of the modern Hindu Pantheon, are worshipped in a more or less intelligent fashion under the guidance of the degraded (*patit*) Brāhmans who look after the spiritual welfare of the lower castes. Alongside of these greater gods we find the Santāli goddess Gosāin, Erā and Barpahār, the "great mountain" god (Marang Buru) of the same tribe. According to the Bāgdis themselves, their favourite and characteristic deity is Manasā, the sister of the Snake-king Vāsuki, the wife of Jaratkāru and mother of Astikā, whose intervention saved the snake race from destruction by Janmejaya.

Manasā is worshipped by the caste with great pomp and circumstance. On the 5th and 20th of the four rainy months—Āsār, Srāban, Bhādra, and Āswin (middle of June to middle of October)—rams and he-goats are sacrificed, rice, sweetmeats, fruit, and flowers are offered; and on the Nāgpanchami (5th of the light half of Srāban—end of August) a four-armed effigy of the goddess, crowned by a tiara of snakes, grasping a cobra in each hand, and with her feet resting on a goose, is carried round the village with much discordant music, and finally thrown into a tank. The cult of Manasā is of course by no means confined to the Bāgdis. In Eastern Bengal all castes, from the Brāhman to the Chandāl, adore her, and no class is more strict in attending to the details of her worship than the Kulin Brāhmans of Bikrampur in Dacca. Bāgdis, however, regard her with peculiar respect, and say that they alone among her votaries make images in her honour. Some add that the *puja* has the effect of securing the worshippers from snake-bite, which is naturally more frequent during the rains; and this notion finds a curious echo in the promise given by Vāsuki to Astikā in the Mahābhārata, that those who call upon his name, be they Brāhmans or common folk, shall be safe from the attacks of the snake race.

On the last day of Bhadra (middle of September) the Bāgdis of the Manbhum and Bankura carry in procession the effigy of a female saint named Bhādu, who is said to have been the favourite daughter of a former Rājā of Pachete, and to have died a virgin for the good of the people. The worship consists of songs and wild dances, in which men, women, and children take part. The story of its origin may well have some foundation in fact, it being notorious that the Rājās of Pachete, like most of the pseudo-Rājput families of Chota-Nagpur, find great difficulty in arranging suitable alliances for their daughters, and often have to keep them at home unmarried until they have long passed the age of puberty. Regarded from the point of view, the legend adds one more to the numerous instances which may be cited in support of the theory propounded by Sir Alfred Lyall in his essay on the origin of Divine Myths in India.

**Disposal of the dead.** Bāgdis burn their dead and throw the ashes into a stream or tank. The bodies of persons who die of small-pox or cholera are either buried or exposed. Infants under three years are buried. In parts of Orissa the universal practice is to bury the dead on the left side with the head towards the north. The *srāddh* ceremony is performed a month after death under the supervision of a Brāhman and in general conformity with the standard Hindu ritual.

**Inheritance.** Bāgdis profess to follow the Hindu law of inheritance, but their legal business, as with most of the lower castes, is of a very simple character, and is generally disposed of by their own caste councils (*panchāyats*) without the intervention of the Courts. In making a division of property the eldest son gets an extra share (*jeth-angs*) which seems to be intended to enable him to support the female members of the family, who remain under his care. A similar provision was recognised by early Hindu law, but it has since become obsolete, and entire equality of division is now the rule among all the higher castes, unless perhaps where some special family custom can be proved.

**Occupation.** Opinions differ regarding the original occupation of the caste. Some say fishing, others personal service, but the question clearly is not one on which we can hope to arrive at any definite conclusion. At the present day the Tentuliā and Kasāikuliā Bāgdis work as masons, and also prepare the lime which is mixed with betel and areca nut. Duliā Bāgdis carry palanquins or *dulis*, and, in common with the other sub-castes, earn their livelihood by fishing, making gunny-bags, weaving cotton, and preparing the red powder used in the Holi festival. The Bāgdi fisherman uses the ordinary circular cast-net described in the article on Mālo, but swings the net round his head before casting it—a practice which is supposed by the regular fishing castes of Bengal—Tiyar, Mālo, and Kaibartta—to be peculiarly dishonourable. Most of the Bāgdis are also to some extent engaged in agriculture, usually as *kurfa* or under-raiyats, and comparatively few have attained the more respectable position of occupancy tenants. In Western Bengal we find large numbers of them working as landless day-labourers, paid in cash or kind, or as nomadic cultivators, tilling other men's lands on the *bhāg-jot* system, under which they are remunerated by a definite share of the produce—sometimes one-half, sometimes less, as may be arranged with their immediate landlord. I can recall no instance of a Bāgdi holding a *zemindāri*, or even a superior tenure, such as *patni* or *mukarari*, of any importance; but some of the Manbhum *zemindārs*, who now claim to be Rājputs, are said by Colonel Dalton to be really Bāgdis, and the conjecture is likely enough to be true. In the neighbouring district of Bankura, Bāgdis must have been

among the earliest settlers, if not the actual aborigines, of that part of the country; for at the present time there are 14 Bāgdis holding the tenure of *sardār ghatwāl*, 6 are *sadiāls*, 2 are village *sardārs*, 178 *tābidārs*, and 117 *chākrān chaukidārs*. In Manbhum one Bāgdi holds a village *sardār's* tenure, and four are employed as *tābidārs*. In Central Bengal, Bāgdis are frequently met with as *chaukidārs*.

**Social status.**

Their social rank is very low. They are usually classed with Bāuris and Bhuiyās as dwellers on the outskirts of Hinduism. Some Bāgdis eat beef and pork, and all indulge freely in the flesh of other kind, and are greatly addicted to drink. Tentuliā Bāgdis, however, will not eat beef, and many members of this sub-caste have become Vaisnavas and abstain from all sorts of flesh. By abstaining from beef they consider themselves to be raised above the Bāuri Muchi, and Oraon, and the beef-eating membess of their own caste.

Duliā Bāgdis eat tortoises. In Western Bengal the Bāgdis eat and drink with the Māl; in Orissa they eat rice with the Lohār Mānjhi and sweetmeats with the Bhuiyās.

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## INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE BĀGDIS.

*Bāgdi, Bāgtit.*

Titles:—**Bāgh, Dhārā, Khān, Mānjhi, Masālchi, Mudi, Palankhāi, Parāmanik, Pherkā Puilā, Rāi, Sāntrā, Sardār.**

Sub-Castes.

1. **Bājāndāriā**, found in Jessore.
2. **Dandamānjhi.**
3. **Darātiā**, found in Nuddea.
4. **Duliā**, a palanquin-bearing sub-caste.
5. **Gulimānjhi.**
6. **Kasāi kuliā**, said to live along the banks of Kasāi river in Manbhum and Midnapur.
7. **Kusmetia, Kusmātiā**, or **Kusputra**, said to be named after the *Kusā* grass (*Eragrotis cynosuroides*), and apparently totemistic.
8. **Let**, found in Murshedabad.
9. **Māchhuā, Mechhuā** or **Mecho**, a fishing sub-caste.
10. **Malla metiā, Mātiā**, or **Mātiāl**, fishermen and earth-workers.
11. **Nodā**, found in the 24-Parganās, said to have come from Bankura.
12. **Tentuliā**, named after the tamarind tree, and apparently totemistic.
13. **Trayodās**, found in the 24-Parganās, said to have come from Bankura.
14. **Ujha** or **Ojha**, probably descended from the priests of the tribal gods, who would naturally tend to form themselves into a sub-caste. For a parallel case, see Mallik.

SECTIONS.

(*a*) Totemistic—
- **Ardi**, fish.
- **Bāghrishi**, the tiger.
- **Kachchāp**, the tortoise.
- **Kāsbak**, heron.
- **Pākbasanta**, bird.
- **Pātrishi**, the bean.
- **Ponkrishi**, jungle cock.
- **Sālrishi** or **Sālmachh**, the *sāl* fish.

(*b*) Eponymous—
- **Alamyān.**
- **Kāsyapa.**

(*c*) Uncertain—
- **Bāgri.**
- **Dāsya.**
- **Gadibhārat.**
- **Kāl.**
- **Rāncho.**

# 6. Of the Mongolo-Dravidian Tract.

## BAIDYA.

[*H. H. Risley, C.I.E.*]

**Traditions of origin.**

Baidya, *Vaidya* (from Sanskrit *vid*, to know) *Ambastha, Bhisak, Chikitsak*, a well-known and highly respected caste, found only in Bengal Proper, whose features and complexion seem to warrant their claim to tolerably pure Aryan descent. There has been much controversy regarding their origin. The name Vaidya does not occur in Manu, but the Ambasthas are there said to be the offspring of a Brāhman father and a Vaisya mother, and their profession to be the practice of medicine. According to this account the Baidyas are *anuloma* (born *with* the hair or grain, *i.e.*, in due order), the father being of higher caste than the mother. Another tradition describes them as begotten on a Brāhman woman by one of the Aswini Kumāras, the light-bringing and healing twin-horsemen of Vedic mythology; and then, oddly enough, goes on to say that they were reckoned as Sudras because their mother was of superior rank to their father, and their generation was consequently *pratiloma*, "against the hair," or in the inverse order according to the succession of the castes. It would appear from this that the Aswini Kumāras were classed as Kshatriyas, and that, according to Brāhmanical ideas, even the gods were not equal mates for a Brāhman maiden.

An expanded version of the pedigree given by Manu is found in the Skanda Purāna. This legend tells how Gālava Muni, a pupil or son of Vishwāmitra, being greatly distressed by thirst while on a pilgrimage, was given a draught of water by a Vaisya girl named Birbhadrā. The grateful sage blessed the maiden that she should soon have a son. Birbhadrā demurred to this boon, on the ground that she was unmarried; but the rash oath, so characteristic of Indian mythology, could not be recalled, nor could Gālava himself put matters straight by marrying the virgin whose kindness had involved her in so strange a difficulty. For, so it is explained, she had saved his life by the draught of water, and therefore he looked upon her in the light of a mother. A miracle was clearly in request. By the word of power of a Vedic *mantra* a wisp of kusa grass (*Poa Cynosuroides*) was transformed into a male child, variously known as Dhanvantari, Amrita Āchārya, and Ambastha. He was the first of the Vaidyas, because to a Vedic (*Vaidik*) text he owed his birth. He was also Ambastha because he had no father, and therefore belonged to the family of his mother (*Ambā*). A number of analogous myths have been collected by Bachofen in his two letters on "Pueri juncini," and his method of interpretation, if applied to the present case, would lead to the conclusion that the tradition given in the Skanda Purāna records an instance of female kinship.

**Internal Structure.**

The Baidyas are now divided into the following four sub-castes :— (1) Rārhi, (2) Banga, (3) Bārendra, (4) Panchakoti, according to the parts of Bengal in which their ancestors resided. All of these are endogamous. A fifth endogamous group, which, however, bears no distinctive name, comprises those Baidya families of the districts of Sylhet, Chittagong, and Tipperah who intermarry with Kāyasths and Sunris, the children in each case following the caste of the father. This practice appears to be the only modern instance of intermarriage between members of different castes. It is said to have arisen from the reluctance of the Baidyas farther west to give their daughters to men who had settled in the country east of the Brahmaputra. Failing women of their own caste, the latter were compelled not only to marry the daughters of Kāyasths, but to give their own daughters in return. This interchange of women is said to extend even to the comparatively degraded caste of Sunri, and it may be for this reason that the Chittagong, Tipperah, and Sylhet Baidyas are cut off from community of food with the other subcastes. The sections or exogamous groups in use among the Baidyas will be found below. All of them appear to be eponymous, the eponyms being Vedic Rishis or Saints. The restrictions on intermarriage are the same as among Brāhmans.

**Legend of Ballāl Sen.**

The evidence of inscriptions shows that a dynasty of Baidya kings ruled over at least a portion of Bengal from 1010 to 1200 A.D. To the most famous of these, Ballāl Sen, is ascribed the separation of the Baidyas into two divisions, one of which wore the sacred thread and observed fifteen days as the prescribed period of mourning, while with the other investiture with the thread was optional and mourning lasted for a month. Before his time, it is said all Baidyas formed a single group, the members of which intermarried with one another, as all were equal in rank. All wore the thread and observed the term of mourning characteristic of the Vaisyas. Ballāl Sen, however, insisted on marrying a ferryman's daughter, named Padmāvati, of the Patni or Dom-Patni caste. His son, Lakshan Sen, followed by a majority of the caste, protested against the legality of the marriage, and, finding their remonstrances unheeded, tore off the sacred cord which all Baidyas then wore, and retired into a distant part of the country. These were the ancestors of the Banga and Bārendra sub-castes of the present day, while the Rārhi Baidyas represent the remnant who condoned Ballāl Sen's offence. It is difficult to reconcile this legend with the accepted tradition that in the course of his social reforms Ballāl Sen separated the Baidyas into three classes—Rārhi, Bārendra, and Banga—according to the place of their abode, and introduced the hypergamous divisions of Kulin, Bangsaj, and Maulik. A Kulin must marry his daughter to a Kulin, but he himself may marry either a Kulin or a Bangsaj woman. If he marries a Maulik woman, his family

**Hypergamous groups.**

is to a certain extent dishonoured, but the stain may be wiped out by marrying his sister or daughter to a Kulin. Hence the saying "Rising and falling is the Baidya's lot, provided the original stock remains sound." Ballāl Sen is said to have distributed the Baidyas of his time into twenty-seven *sthāns* or communes, beyond which no one could reside without losing caste. The principal settlements were at Senhati, Chandam Mahāl, Daspārā, Puigrām, Karoria, Shendiā, Itna, and Bhattapratāp in Jessore; Poragāchha in Bikrāmpur; and Dāsora and Chānd-prātāp in Dacca. To him also is attributed the institution of the three classes —*Siddha*, *Sādhya*, and *Kashta*, which, like the Kulinistic groups, have reference to social esteem or purity of lineage. They differ from the latter in being more rigid. Thus, a Siddha Baidya who takes a wife from the Sādhya or Kashta class sinks at once to their level, and his descendants cannot recover their status by marrying into a higher class.

The Samāj-pati, or presidency of the Banga Baidyas, has for several generations been vested in the family of Rājā Rāj Ballabh of Rājnagar, who reside on the south bank of the Padma river, and though now poor and dependent, the members are still consulted on matters affecting the caste. In the middle of last century the influence of the family was still stronger, and a Rājā of that time induced many of the Banga and Bārendra Baidyas to resume the sacred thread which their ancestors had discarded. With reference to this tradition, Ward writes as if the entire caste had then for the first time obtained the right to wear thread by means of Rāj Ballabh's influence. He says:— "Rāj Ballabh, a person of this (Baidya) class, steward to the Nawāb of Murshedābād, about a hundred years ago first procured for Baidyas the honour of wearing the *paitā*: he invited the Brāhmans to a feast, and persuaded them to invest his son; from which time many Baidyas wear this badge of distinction."

**Marriage.** Infant-marriage is the rule of the caste, rare exceptions being met with in highly-educated families, which have come under the influence of European ideas. Polygamy is permitted, but is not practised on a large scale. Divorce is unknown: a woman taken in adultery is simply turned adrift, and ceases to be a member of respectable Hindu society. Widows are not allowed to marry again, and the practice of *sati* was formerly very common. On this point Ward, writing in 1811, says:— "Many Baidya widows ascend the funeral pile. At Sonakhali, in Jessore, which contains many families of this order, almost all the widows are regularly burnt alive with the corpses of their husbands."

The Baidya marriage ceremony does not differ materially from that in vogue among Brāhmans, except that sometimes the *Kusundikā* ceremony is performed on the marriage night. When equals marry a curious custom is observed. A bond is executed certifying that the bridegroom has received twelve rupees; should a second son marry, he executes a bond for twenty-four; and in the case of a third son the acknowledgment is for thirty-six. Beyond this it never goes, however many brothers the bridegroom may have older than himself.

**Religion.** The religion of the Baidyas is that of the orthodox high caste Hindu. All old Baidya families are Sakti worshippers, but among the poorer classes Vaishnavas are occasionally found. Of late years many of the caste have joined the Brāhma Samāj. Brāhmans are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes; but it is doubtful whether these are of the highest rank, as they also officiate for the Nava-sākha. They have also *ghataks* of their own, who were formerly Brāhmans, but for many years past members of their own caste have discharged this important social function. The innovation is ascribed to one Viswarath of Jessore, who is said to have been the first regular Baidya *ghatak*.

**Occupation.** The practice of medicine, according to the traditional Hindu method, was no doubt the original profession of the Baidya caste. From the time of the Sen kings, however, the tendency has been towards the adoption of other pursuits, and at the present day hardly one-third of the caste are believed to be engaged in their traditional avocation. These latter are still in pretty general request. Certain passages of the Shāstras regard the taking of medicine from a Baidya as a sort of sacramental act, and forbid resort to any one not of that caste, so that some orthodox Hindus when at the point of death call in a Baidya to prescribe for them in the belief that by swallowing the drugs he orders for them they obtain absolution for their sins. Many Baidyas have distinguished themselves at the Bar, and as agents, managers, and school-masters, whilst others have taken to the study of English medicine and have entered Government service or engaged in private practice as medical men. Many again are found among the higher grades of land-holders, as *zemindārs*, tenure-holders, and a few are occupancy *raiyats*. They will on no account hold the plough, or engage in any form of manual labour, and thus necessarily carry on their cultivation by means of hired servants paid in cash or by a share of the crop.

**Social status.** In point of social standing, Baidyas rank next to Brāhmans and above Kāyastha. Strictly speaking they are inferior to Rājputs, but this point cannot be insisted on in practice, as there are comparatively few Rājputs in the area inhabited by Baidyas, and those are mostly immigrants from Upper India, who belong to a different social system from Bengalis. There has been some controversy between Baidyas and Kāyasths regarding their relative rank. Putting aside the manifest futility of the discussion, we may fairly sum it up by saying that in point of general culture there is probably little to choose between the two castes, and that the Baidyas have distinctly the best of the technical claim to precedence. On the other hand, it would, I think, strike most observers that the Kāyasths are the more pliant and adaptive of the two, and have thereby drawn to themselves a larger share of official preferment than the more conservative Baidyas.

Baidyas eat boiled rice and food coming under that category only with members of their own caste. They will drink and smoke with the Naya Sākha and with castes ranking higher

than that group, but will not use the same drinking vessel or the same *huka*. Brāhmans will eat sweetmeats in a Baidya's house, and will drink and smoke in their company, subject to the restriction noticed in last sentence as to not using the same vessel or pipe.

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## INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE BAIDYAS.

**Baidya**, *Vaidya, Ambastha, Bhisak, Chikitsak.*

Sub-castes (Endogamous).

**Rārhi.**
**Banga**, *Bangaja.*
**Barendra**, *Varendra.*
**Panchakoti.**

*Hypergamous groups.*

**Kulin.**
**Bangsaja.**
**Maulik.**

*Family titles (padabis).*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Dās** | **Siddha.** | **Chandra** |
| **Gupta** | | **Kundu** |
| **Sen** | | **Nāg** |
| **Datta** | **Sādhya.** | **Nandi** |
| **Deb** | | **Raja** |
| **Dhar** | | **Rakshit** |
| **Kar** | | **Soma** |

**Kastha.**

Sections (Exogamous).

**Ādya.**
**Alamalaka.**
**Angira.**
**Atreya.**
**Baisvānara.**
**Basishtha.**
**Bātsya.**
**Bhāradwāja.**
**Dhanvantari.**
**Dhruba.**
**Gautama.**
**Ghritakausika.**
**Hingu.**
**Kāsyapa.**
**Kausika.**
**Krishnātreya.**
**Madhukuliya.**
**Mārkandeya.**
**Maudgalya.**
**Sābarna.**
**Saktri.**
**Salankayana.**
**Sāndilya.**
**Vishnu.**

*Titles or popular designations of Baidyas practising medicine.*

*Used by themselves.*

**Baidya-nidhi**
**Kabi-ballabh.**
**Kabi-bhushan.**
**Kabi-indra.**
**Kabirāj.**
**Kabiranjan.**
**Kabi-ratna.**

*Used by outsiders.*

**Atai Baidya**, doctor who defrauds the ignorant.
**Chāsā Baidya**, plough doctor.
**Dehāti Baidya**, village doctor.
**Haturiā Baidya**, a doctor who attends market, or, according to Wise, a quack, a meddlesome fellow.
**Nāṛi-tepā**, pulse feeler.

# 6. Of the Mongolo-Dravidian Tract.

## BENGAL BRĀHMAN.

[*H. H. Risley, C.I.E.*]

**Constitution.**

The Bengal Brāhmans are divided into five main sub-castes—Rārhi, Barendra, Vaidik, Saptasati, and Madhyasreni.

**Rārhi.**

The Rārhi Brāhmans derive their name from the *Rārh*, or the high-lying alluvial tract on the west bank of the river Bhāgirathi. Their claim to be of comparatively pure Indo-Āryan descent is to some extent borne out by anthropometric enquiries. The current tradition is that early in the eleventh century A.D., Adisura or Adisvara, King of Bengal, finding the Brāhmans then settled in Bengal too ignorant to perform for him certain Vedic ceremonies, applied to the Rājā of Kanauj for priests thoroughly conversant with the sacred ritual of the Aryans. In answer to this request five Brāhmans of Kanauj were sent to him—Bhatta Nārāyana of the Sāndilya section of *gotra*; Daksha of the Kāsyapa *gotra*; Vedagarva or Vidagarbha of the Vatsa *gotra*, or, as other accounts say, from the family of Bhrigu; Chandra or Chhāndara of the Sāvarna *gotra*; and Sriharsa of the Bhāradwāja *gotra*. They brought with them their wives, their sacred fire, and their sacrificial implements. It is said that Adisura was at first disposed to treat them with scanty respect, but he was soon compelled to acknowledge his mistake and to beg the Brāhmans to forgive him. He then made over to them five populous villages, where they lived for a year. Meanwhile the king was so impressed with the superhuman virtue of Bhatta Nārāyana, who was a son of Kshitisa, King of Kanauj, that he offered him several more villages. The Brāhman, however, declined to take these as a gift, but bought them, as the story goes, at a low price. They were annexed to the village already in Bhatta Nārāyana's possession, and the whole area was relieved from payment of revenue for twenty-four years. Thus tradition chronicles an early *Brahmottar* grant, the first it may be of the long series of similar transactions which have played so important a part in the history of land tenures, in the development of castes, and in promoting the spread of orthodox Hinduism throughout Bengal. Adisura did what the Rājas of outlying tracts of country have constantly done since and are doing still. A local chief, far removed from the great centres of Brāhmanical lore, somehow becomes aware of his ceremonial shortcomings. Probably, as is narrated of Adisura himself, a wandering Brāhman brings home to him that his local ritual is not up to the orthodox standard. He sends for Brāhmans, gives them grants of land near his own residence, and proceeds with their assistance to reform his ways on the model of the devout kings whom Brāhmanical literature holds up as the ideal for a Rājā to follow after. The Brāhmans find for him a pedigree of respectable antiquity or provide him with a family legend, and in course of time he succeeds in getting himself recognised as a member of some branch of the great Rājput community.

**Immigrant Brāhmans.**

Although the immigrant Brāhmans brought their wives with them, tradition says that they contracted second marriages with the women of Bengal, and that their children by the latter were the ancestors of the Barendra Brāhmans. The Barendra, on the other hand, claim to represent the offspring from the original Hindustani wives, and allege that the Rārhi Brāhmans themselves spring from the *mésalliance* contracted in Bengal.

By the middle of the eleventh century, when Ballāl Sen, the second of the Sen kings of Bengal, instituted his famous enquiry into the personal endowments of the Rārhi Brāhmans, their numbers seem to have increased greatly. They are represented as divided into 56 *gāins* or headships of villages, which were reserved for them, and might not be encroached upon by Brāhmans of other orders.

**Ballāl Sen's enquiry.**

It is interesting to trace in Ballāl Sen's enquiry the survival or reassertion of the principle referred to above as recognised in ancient times, that the Brāhmanhood of the Brāhman depends not merely on birth, but also upon personal endowments. It is a question of virtue, not a question of descent. Ballāl Sen, of course, could not go so far as this. The time had long passed when a Kshatriya could transform himself into a Brāhman by penance and self-denial. But the Sen monarch sought to reaffirm the ancient principle, so far as was then possible, by testing the qualifications of each Rārhi family for the priestly office, and classifying them, in the order of their virtue, according to the results of this examination. The following nine qualities were selected to serve as the touchstone of sacerdotal purity:—*Āchār*, ceremonial purity; *vinaya*, discipline; *vidyā*, learning; *pratishtha*, reputation for purity; *tirthadarsana*, zeal in pilgrimage; *nishtha*, piety; *āvritti*, observance of legal marriages; *tapa*, ascetic self-devotion; *dāna*, liberality.

Tradition is silent concerning the precise method in which Ballāl Sen carried out his somewhat inquisitorial measures. It seems, however, to be certain that some kind of enquiry into the nine characteristic Brāhmanical qualities was held under his orders, and that the *kul* or social and ceremonial standing of each family was determined accordingly. Some say that twenty-two *gāins* were raised to the highest distinction. Lakshmana Sen discarded fourteen *gāins* on account of their misconduct, and they became *gauna Kulins*, an order which has now disappeared. Nineteen families belonging to the other eight *gāins* were made *Kulins*. The other families of these eight *gāins* were lost sight of. Thus two classes or grades of sacerdotal virtue were formed:—(1) the *Kulin*, being those who had observed the entire nine counsels of perfection;

(2) the Srotriya, who, though regular students of the Vedas, had lost *avritti* by intermarrying with families of inferior birth. The Srotriya were again sub-divided into *Siddha* or perfect, *Sādhya* or capable of attaining purity, and *Kashta* or difficult. The last-named group was also called *Ari* or enemy, because a Kulin marrying a daughter of that group was disgraced.

**Marriage.**

The relations of these three classes in respect of marriage were regulated by the principle laid down in the Institutes of Manu for members of the three twice-born castes, a principle for which Sir Denzil Ibbetson has adopted the convenient and expressive name of *hypergamy*. The rule was that a man of the *Kulin* class could marry a woman of his own class or of the two higher Srotriya classes; a Siddha Srotriya could marry in his own group or in the Sādhya Srotriya group; while the Sādhya and Kashta Srotriyas might take wives only within the limits of their own classes. Conversely women of the Sādhya Srotriya class could marry in their own class or the two classes above them; the Siddha Srotriya women in their own class or in the Kulin class; while Kulin women at one end of the scale and Kashta women at the other were restricted in their choice of husbands to the Kulin and Kashta groups. Unequal or irregular marriages involved loss of reputation and forfeiture of rank. On the other hand, the marriage of a girl into a good Kulin house conferred a sort of reflected honour on her own family, and in course of time this idea was developed into the doctrine known as *kula-gotra*, whereby the reputation of a family depended upon the character of the marriages made by its female members.

This singular and artificial organization deranged the natural balance of the sexes, and set up a vigorous competition for husbands among the women of the higher groups. The Bansajas are those Kulins who lost their distinction on account of misconduct, *i.e.*, their want of charity, discipline, and due observance of marriage law, three qualities which in later times constituted Kulinism.

The growth of the Bansaja class introduced a further element of complication. In the struggle for husbands, Kulin girls who had no brothers or whose mothers were widows were often given to the sons of Bansaja parents; but families resorting to this device were excluded from the recognised cadre. Thus the brothers of a girl who married beneath her at once became Bansaja, but this degradation did not extend to her uncles. If an original Kulin married a Bansaja maiden, he himself became a *Swakrita Bhanga* or broken Brāhman. His descendants in the second generation were known as *Dwipurusha*, in the third as *Tripurusha*, and in the fourth as *Chaturthapurusha*. After this stage special designations were dropped, and the branch was merged in the Bansaja class. Although in theory these lower branches were completely cut off from the original hierarchy formed by Ballāl Sen, natural instincts could not be wholly eradicated from a number of closely related families, and girls of the Bhanga and Bangsaja groups used to marry their cousins of the elder branch. It might perhaps have been expected that these groups would have been admitted to the same privileges as the Srotriya, but this was not the case.

**History.**

The invasion of Bengal by the Muhammadans in 1203 and the instant collapse of the Hindu kingdom was not without its effect upon the matrimonial organization of the Rārhi Brāhmans. Ballal Sen's reforms had been imposed upon the caste by the order of a Hindu ruler, and their observance depended upon the maintenance of his supervising authority. When this check was removed, the system could no longer hold together, and soon showed signs of breaking up completely. Artificial restrictions had been introduced; the natural balance of the sexes had been disturbed, and a disastrous competition for husbands had set in among the three original groups. New and inferior groups had sprung up, and their natural ambitions still further swelled the demand for Kulin husbands. The pressure of necessity soon showed itself too strong for the rules. Poor Kulins sold their family rank and honour for the bridegroom-price, which had taken the place of the bride-price of earlier times; they added to the number of their wives without regard to the respectability of the families from which they came; and they raised their prices as the supply of suitable husbands diminished and competition ran higher for a Kulin bridegroom.

**Devi Vara's reforms.**

The reforms undertaken in the fourteenth century by Devi Vara, a *ghatak* or genealogist of Jessore, extended only to the Kulins. These were divided into three grades—(i) *Swabhāva* or original Kulins, (ii) *Bhanga*, (iii) *Bansaja*. The *Swabhāva* grade was further sub-divided into 36 *mels* or endogamous groups,* each bearing the name of the original ancestor of the clan or of his village. This restriction of the marriages of Kulins to their own *mel* was the leading feature of Devi Vara's reform. Its principle was adopted and extended, it is believed by the Kulins themselves, in the singular arrangement known as Pālti-Prakriti, or preservation of the type, by which families of equal rank were formed into triple groups as it were, for matrimonial purposes, and bound to observe a sort of reciprocity. Thus Mukhuti families were bound to marry their sons to the daughters of the Chatterji and Banerji families, and *vice versâ*. All kinds of complications are said to have arisen from this understanding. If, for example, the Mukhuti had only one marriageable son and the Chatterji or Banerji ten daughters approaching puberty, the former must marry all ten or all must remain spinsters. Meanwhile the rush of competition for Kulin husbands on the part of Bhanga, Bansaja and Srotriya classes was as strong as before, while the proportionate number of pure Kulins had been reduced by the loss of those who had become Bhangas and Bansajas. In order to dispose of the surplus of

* The names of the *mels* are as follows:—Phuliya, Khardaha, Sarvvanandi, Ballabhi, Surai, Achārya, Sekhari, Pandit, Ratni, Bangala, Gopala, Ghataki, Chāyanarendri, Pramadani, Dasaratha, Ghataki, Subhara-jakhāni, Nariya, Raya, Bhattarāghavi, Dehāti, Chayi, Vijāya Pandit, Chādāi, Madhāi, Bidyādhāri, Pārihal, Sri Rangabhatti, Māladkara Khāni, Kākumvi, Hari Majumdāri, Sri Bandhani, Bhairava Ghataki, Achambita, Dharādhari, Vāle, Rāghava Ghosāli, Sungo Sarvvanandi, Sadananda Khāni, Chandravati.

women in the higher groups polygamy was introduced, and was resorted to on a very large scale. It was popular with the Kulins, because it enabled them to make a handsome income by the accident of their birth; and it was accepted by the parents of the girls concerned as offering the only means of complying with the requirements of the Hindu religion. Tempted by a *pan* or premium, which often reached the sum of two thousand rupees, Swabhāva Kulins made light of their *kul* and its obligations, and married Bansaja girls, whom they left after the ceremony to be taken care of by their parents. Matrimony became a sort of profession, and the honour of marrying a daughter to a Bhanga Kulin is said to have been so highly valued in Eastern Bengal that as soon as a boy was ten years old his friends began to discuss his matrimonial prospects, and before he was twenty he had become the husband of many wives of ages varying from five to fifty.

With the spread of education among the upper classes of Bengal an advance in social morality has been made and the grosser forms of polygamy have fallen into disrepute. But the artificial organization of the caste still presses hard on a Kulin father who is unlucky enough to have a large family of daughters. These must be married before they attain puberty, or disgrace will fall on the family, and three generations of ancestors will be dishonoured. But a Kulin bridegroom can only be obtained by paying a heavy premium, many of the *mels* instituted by Dēvi Vara have died out, and in such cases, reciprocal marriage being no longer possible, the son of a family left without a corresponding *mel* must marry the only daughter of a widow; while the daughter of a Kulin widow, for whom no husband of equal birth can be procured, may be married to a Srotriya, and a premium accepted without endangering the family prestige. According to Dr. Wise, a Kulin father in Eastern Bengal could only preserve his *kul* intact in one of three ways:—By giving her to a *Kulin* of equal rank; by making an effigy (*kusa-kanya*) of her with *kusa* (*Eragrotis cynosuroides*) grass and giving it in symbolical marriage to a Kulin; by saying to a Kulin in the presence of *ghatak* witnesses:—"I would give my daughter, if I had one, to you," and putting on his forehead the *tilak* or distinguishing mark which a married woman wears.

**Marriage ceremony.**

The marriage ceremonies of the Bengal Brāhmans comprise five important stages, *viz*:—

I. *Purba-bibāha*, consisting of—(1) The anointment, called *tel halud*. After preliminaries have been settled, and the *patra karan*, or formal intimation of the consent of the parties, or rather of their guardians on both sides, has been drawn up, an auspicious day is fixed for anointing both the bridegroom and the bride with turmeric. The process must be undergone by both on the same day—the bride a little while after the bridegroom, each in their own house. Usually a part of the turmeric prepared for the bridegroom is sent by his guardian for the use of the bride, but if the couple live at a distance, this is not deemed essential. In any case the time at which the ceremony should be performed is fixed by letter. Those who can afford to do so distribute oil and turmeric among their neighbours on this occasion.

(2) The entertainment, *thubarā* or *āyubriddhānna*. From the day of the anointment until the day of the marriage the betrothed couple are daily entertained by their friends and neighbours, a piece of new cloth being presented at the same time. Presents of sweetmeats and cloth are sent to their houses by friends, and well-to-do people with a large circle of acquaintances often prolong the interval between the anointing with turmeric and the wedding from two or three days to a month. The rule is that after the anointing the first entertainment is given by the parents, and after that neither the bride nor the bridegroom should again eat in their own homes until they are married.

(3) The divine invocation or *adhibās*. On the night before the wedding some married ladies, the neighbours and relations of the bride and bridegroom, are entertained with a repast, and given presents of betel leaves and areca nuts. This is supposed to render the occasion auspicious, and to draw down the blessing of the gods through the good-will of the ladies entertained, who are looked upon as a sort of fairy god-mothers.

(4) The propitiation of ancestors, *Nāndimukh* or *briddhi srāddh*, is an ordinary *srāddh* performed at noon on the wedding day in order to procure the blessing of the deceased ancestors on the couple. Four ancestors on the father's and three on the mother's side of both parties are thus invoked: if the father and grandfather of the intended bride or bridegroom be living, then only their two immediate (deceased) predecessors, and if only the father be living, then his three immediate predecessors only. The *srāddh* is performed by the father, or in his absence by the brother, or failing him again by a *gyāti* (agnate) of the bride or the bridegroom as the case may be. If a *gyāti* be not procurable, then the family priest may officiate.

(5) *The bridal procession* (*bar-jātri*). In the evening or, if he lives at a distance, earlier, the bridegroom goes in procession accompanied by a *kolbar*, or best man, who is usually his younger brother, and by a number of his relations, friends and neighbours to the house of the bride, where he is received as in a *darbār*, his approach being welcomed by the cry of *ulu-ulu* from the females of the bride's family. He sits on a *masnad* set apart for him in the centre of the hall, and there, surrounded by those who accompanied him and by the bride's people (*kanyā jātri*), he awaits the moment fixed by the astrologers as auspicious for the performance of the actual ceremony.

(6) *Jāmatā-baran*, or the bridegroom's welcome by the bride's father. When the proper time has come, the bridegroom is taken by the bride's father into the inner apartments of the house, and is made to stand on a piece of board painted with pounded or powdered rice stirred up with water. The bride's father then offers him water for washing his feet (*pādya arghya*) and also *modhuparkya*, a concoction of honey, in a small copper cup. These the bridegroom touches in token of acceptance.

(7) *Stri-āchār*, or woman's usage, commences with the welcome given to the bridegroom by the bride's mother by pouring some curds on his feet. This is followed by—

(*a*) *Satusi* or the seven lights of Hymen. Seven married ladies (including the bride's mother or, if she be a widow, one of the bride's aunts) in their best attire, each with a small torch made of *chita* twig and cotton steeped in oil, go round the bridegroom in procession, led by the bride's mother, who carries on her head a *kulā*, or flat bamboo basket, on which are placed 21 small lights made of *dhaturā* fruits. As they go round, they sprinkle libations of water, one of them blows a shell trumpet, and all vociferate the hymeneal cry of *ulu-ulu*. After going seven times round the bridegroom, the lights are thrown one by one over his head, so that they fall behind him. The *kulā* is then picked up and placed in front of the bridegroom and the bride's mother takes her stand upon it and touches (*baran*) the forehead of the bridegroom with water, paddy and *durba* (*Cynodon dactylon*) grass, betel and areca nut, white mustard seed, curds, white sandal paste, vermilion, a looking-glass, a comb, a bit of clay from the bed of the Ganges, a yak's tail, shells, a cluster of plantains, and certain other odds and ends, while the rest of the women keep up the cry of *ulu-ulu*. The bridegroom's height is measured with a thin thread which the bride's mother eats in a bit of plantain. She then places a weaver's shuttle (*māku*) between his folded hands and ties them together with thread, and calls upon him, now that he has been bound hand and foot, to bleat once like a sheep to signify his humility and subjection. Last of all, she touches his breast with a padlock and turns the key, whereby the door of speech is closed to the passage of hard words against the bride.

(*b*) *Sātpāk*, or the seven rounds of the bride. The bride is now brought out attired in a red silk cloth, and seated on a painted board is carried by two men seven times round the bridegroom, who remains standing and then placed in front of him. As they face each other, a cloth or cover is thrown over them, and their natural shyness being thus for the moment hidden, they are supposed to snatch the *subhadrishti* or auspicious glance, which will secure their mutual happiness during their married life. Then follows—

(*c*) *Mālyadān*, or the exchange of garlands, when the bride and bridegroom give each other garlands of flowers.

II. *Sampradān*, or the gift and acceptance. The bride and bridegroom are next brought to a place set apart in the outer apartment or courtyard of the house, where the bride's party and the bridegroom's party can witness the formal gift of the bride and her formal acceptance by the bridegroom. The bride's father or guardian repeats the *mantras* recited by the family priest, and the bridegroom accepts the gift in these words in Bengali :—"Who gave her? To whom did he give her? Love gave her. To love he gave her. Love is the giver. Love is the taker. Love pervades the ocean. With love I accept her. Love! may this be thine."

At the same time wedding presents (*dān* or *dān sāmagri*) are given to the bridegroom, and after this the father or guardian is required to bear witness to the contract entered into by the bridegroom by accepting the bride, and as a token of his assent to the marriage accepts a present of five *haritaki* myrobolam fruits and a piece of cloth. This present is called the *parihar*.

III. *Bāsara* or the bridal wake. The bridegroom is next conducted along with the bride to a room in the inner apartment of the house, a corner of his *chādar* being tied to a corner of her cloth. The pair are there received by a bevy of young ladies, who make it their business to tease the bridegroom and try to keep him awake for the rest of the night.

IV. *Kusandikā* includes the *saptapadi gaman*, or pacing of the seven steps, which may be deemed the essential and binding portion of the marriage ritual observed by the higher castes. A sacred fire is prepared and worshipped with oblations of *ghi*. On the north side of the fire seven points are marked off, and the bride setting her face westward walks along these points, placing her foot on each in turn. As she walks, her husband follows close behind her, touching her heel with his toe and reciting at each step *mantras* or sacred texts.

*Saptapadi gaman* is followed by *gotra paribartan*, or the changing of the bride's *gotra* for that of the bridegroom, and the *sindur-dān*, or the smearing of vermilion on the bride's forehead and the parting of her hair. The latter ceremony is performed by the husband with his own hand.

Properly speaking, *kusandikā* ought to take place on the day following the marriage, but Tuesdays and Saturdays are considered unlucky days for the ceremony; and if the day after the wedding is Tuesday or Saturday, *kusandikā* is deferred till the day following that. It is usually performed at the house of the bridegroom, but if he lives a long way off, the ceremony is performed at the bride's father's house. The marriage proper ends with *kusandikā*, but certain minor ceremonies follow which may be briefly mentioned here.

V. The concluding ceremonies—

(*a*) *Phul-sajyā*, or the bed of flowers. On the third night after the marriage, the married couple are laid together in a bed decorated with flowers.

(*b*) *Ashta-mangala*. On the eighth day the pair are made to enact with toys and *cowrie* shells a sort of pantomimic drama of their married life, playing the part of a faithful husband and wife, and affecting to bear with resignation the vicissitudes of fortune.

(*c*) *Baubhāt or Pāka-sparsa*. All the *gyātis*, relations and friends of the bridegroom, are entertained at his house. Their acceptance of the invitation is deemed an admission on their part that the marriage has been duly performed, and that the ceremonial purity of the bridegroom has in no wise been affected. In token of their recognition of this fact, they are supposed to eat rice prepared by the bride herself.

After the *Pāka-sparsa* ceremony, the bride is sent back to her father's house until she attains puberty. When this time arrives it is the custom of some families to perform the

ceremony known as *garbhādhān* (purification of the womb) or *punarbibāha*. This rite, to which some Hindu writers have attributed a sort of sacramental character, seems to be closely analogous to the practices observed by a number of savage races on a similar occasion. The idea seems to be, as Mr. J. G. Frazer has pointed out, that dangerous influences emanate from a girl when passing through this physical change, and it is considered necessary to seclude her from the rest of the community, and subject her to a sort of penance which varies greatly in severity. Thus the Macusi tribe of British Guiana hang a girl in this state in a hammock at the top of the hut, and make her fast rigorously so long as the symptoms are at their height. When she gets well the pots and drinking vessels which she has used are broken; and after her first bath she must submit to be beaten by her mother with thin rods without uttering a cry. Another tribe, instead of beating girls who have just recovered from this state, expose them to certain large ants whose bite is very painful. The usage followed by the Rārhi Brāhmans of Bengal is less severe, but of the same general character as the savage observances. Like the Australian blacks and the African Bushmen, they require a girl to live alone, and do not allow her to see the face of any male. During three days she is shut up in a dark room and is made to undergo certain penances. She must lead the life of a Brahmachāri, that is, she must live upon *ātap* rice and *ghi*, fish and flesh being strictly interdicted, and she may not eat any sweetmeats. Where this ceremony is observed, it is held to be a necessary preliminary to the commencement of marital intercourse. By a recent change in the law it has been made criminal to have intercourse with a girl under twelve years of age.

**Barendra Brāhmans.**

It has been mentioned above that the Barendra Brāhmans claim to be descended from the five Kanaujiya Brāhmans imported by Adisura by their original or Hindustani wives. General tradition, however, rejects the latter portion of the claim, and holds that the Barendra are the offspring, not of the original wives, but of Bengali women whom the Kanaujiyas married after their settlement in Bengal. The sub-caste takes its name from the tract of country known as Barendra lying north of the river Padma between the Karatoya and Mahānanda rivers, and corresponding roughly to the districts of Pabna, Rajshahi, and Bogra. Ballāl Sen reorganised the Barendra at the same time as the Rārhi Brāhmans, and divided them into three hypergamous classes: (1) *Kulin*, (2) *Suddha* or pure Srotriya, (3) *Kashta* or bad Srotriya. The first class was sub-divided into eight *gāins* or communes: *Bhadra, Bhādri, Bhima, Lahari, Maitra, Rudra-Vāgisi, Sādhu-Vāgisi*, and *Santāmani* or *Sāndilya*; the second into seven groups of the same kind: *Atharthi, Bhattasali, Champati, Kāmadevta, Karanjan, Nandānavāsi*, and *Navsi*; and the third into eighty-four families, the names of which need not be enumerated here. In addition to the *gāins* we find among the Kulins a further division into eight *pāti* or social grades: *Atub-Kahni, Baini, Bosnak, Janail, Kutb-Kahni, Nirabhil, Panchuria, Rahala*. The object of this grouping is not very clear. Every *gāin* belongs to a *pāti*, but the *pāti* is not always identical with the *gāin*, for members of the same *gāin* sometimes marry into different *pātis*. The *gāins* appear to be in theory endogamous. The system of reciprocal marriage (*pālti-prakriti*) which prevails among Rārhi Brāhmans is unknown in the Barendra group. The rules governing the three main classes permit a Kulin to marry a Suddha-Srotriya girl, and the children of such a marriage rank as Kulins. Should he marry a Kashta-Srotriya, he loses his *kul* and becomes a *Kāp*, an irregular group occupying much the same position as the Bansaja among Rārhi Brāhmans. If a Barendra Kulin marries the daughter of a *Kāp*, he himself is degraded to the group to which his wife belongs, but his children hold somewhat higher rank, and are deemed eligible for marriage to Kulins. No Kulin girl may marry below her own class. If a suitable husband cannot be found, she goes through the form of symbolical marriage to a figure of *kusa* grass, and has red lead smeared upon her forehead to show that she is really a wife. The *gotras* of the Barendra sub-caste are the same as those of the Rārhi, *viz., Bhāradwāja, Kāsyapa, Sāndilya, Savarna*, and *Vatsya*. Their commonest titles are Bhattāchārya, Bhumik, Chakravartti, Chaudhari, Majumdār, Parihal, and Sikhdār.

**Vaidik Brāhmans.**

Concerning the origin of the Vaidik Brāhmans some differences of opinion exist. All agree in honouring them for their adherence to Vedic rites, their zeal for Vedic studies, their social independence, and their rejection of polygamy. From the fact that some of the most important settlements of the sub-caste are found in the outlying districts of Orissa and Sylhet, some authorities have been led to describe them as descendants of the original Brāhmans of Bengal, who refused to accept the reforms of Ballāl Sen, and took refuge in regions beyond his jurisdiction. Genealogists of rival sub-castes maintain that Ballāl Sen excluded them from his scheme on the ground that they did not come up to his standard of purity of descent. Buchanan mentions a tradition lingering among the Vaidik Brāhmans of Dinajpur that they had been introduced into that district by Advaita Subuddhi Nārāyana, Rājā of Sylhet. In Orissa, on the other hand, the representatives of this sub-caste are said to have come direct from Kanauj, and to have made their first settlement in Puri about the twelfth century A. D. This opinion derives support from Mr. Sherring's statement that the Kanaujiya Brāhmans of Benares recognise the Vaidik as a branch of their own tribe who have settled in Bengal.

There are two main divisions of Vaidik Brāhmans—(1) *Pāschātya* or western, claiming to have come from Kanauj, and (2) Dākshināty a or southern, tracing their origin to the original Bengal stock. The Pāschātya had originally eleven *gotras*, divided into two groups, known as the *pancha* and *shash*. The former included Bhāradwāja, Sāndilya, Saunaka Savarna, and Vasistha; the latter, Gautama, Kāsyapa, Krishnātreya, Rathikara, Sunaka, and Vachyara. The Bhāradwāja *gotra*, however, became extinct, its place being taken by the Sunaka *gotra* of the Shash group. In course of time other *gotras*, Ghrita Kausiki, Maitrāyali, Tuthikara, and Upamanya, came to be formed, but the relations of these to the original eleven are not very precisely defined.

Vaidik Brāhmans have no Kulins, and their *ghaṭaks* or genealogists are Brāhmans of other sub-castes. Their titles are the same as those of other Bengal Brāhmans: Bhattāchārya, Chakravartti, and Thākur are common designations among them. The Pāschātya branch is said to have been formerly distributed in fourteen *sthāns* or settlements. Three of these—Dadhichigrām, Marichigrām, and Santāli, have now disappeared, and even their sites are unknown. Of the remaining eleven, Chandradwip, Kotālipāda, Sāmanta Sāra, are in Backergunge; Alambi, Brahma Paraka, Jayāri in Rajshahi; Akharā, Gaurāli, Pani Kantaka in Faridpur; Madhyadesa in Jessore; and Navadvipa in Nuddea. In theory, these settlements seem to have been of the same character as the *mels* created for the Rārhi Brāhmans by Devi Vara. It was intended that all Vaidik Brāhmans should reside in one of these villages, and that marriage should be restricted to the local limits laid down. At the present day, however, many families live elsewhere and intermarry with families similarly situated. They can, however, rejoin the original *Samāj* or association of communes on payment of a heavy fine.

**Saptasati Brāhmans.**

According to popular tradition, the Saptasati Brāhmans are descended from the seven hundred ignorant Brāhmans sent by Adisura to the Court of Kanauj for the purpose of learning their priestly duties. Others trace their origin to certain Brāhmans who were exiled beyond the Brahmaputra river for resisting the innovations of Ballāl Sen. It seems to be certain that they are peculiar to Bengal, and that they cannot claim connexion with any of the ten standard Brahmanical tribes. This view is borne out by the names of their *gotrās*, which differ entirely from the standard Brāhmanical series, and appear to be of a local or territorial rather than of an eponymous type. The Saptasati themselves virtually admit their inferiority to the other orders of Brāhmans. Men of education and respectability are reluctant to admit that they belong to this sub-caste, all distinctive practices are being abandoned, and the entire group seems likely to be absorbed in the Srotriya grade of Rārhi Brāhmans. The Saptasati have no Kulins, nor do they keep *ghaṭaks* for the purpose of maintaining genealogies. Notwithstanding this, they give their daughters in marriage to Kulins of the Rārhi sub-caste, and by paying a heavy dowry, often amounting to as much as one thousand rupees, may even obtain brides from families of the Srotriya class. It is further said that a Rārhi Kulin will eat and drink with the Saptasati, while a Bansaja, though of lower rank than a Kulin, would consider this a degradation. The ordinary title of the Saptasati is Sarmo, not Dev-Sarmmā, as among the ten recognised tribes. Chakravartti, Chaudhuri, Rāi, and Sarkār are also common appellations.

**Madhyasreni Brāhmans.**

The Madhyasreni Brāhmans profess to derive their name from the fact of their original settlements being in the district of Midnapur, lying midway (Madhya-desa) between Bengal and Orissa. They say that their ancestors were Rārhi Brāhmans who settled early in Ballāl Sen's reign in *pargana* Mayna in Midnapur. When Ballāl Sen was engaged in classifying the Brāhmans of the rest of Bengal according to their degree of virtue, he sent a *ghaṭak* or genealogist to the Brāhmans settled in Mayna to include them in the scheme. They declined, however, to have anything to say to the institution of Kulinism, and there are no Kulins among them to this day. For their resistance to his orders, Ballāl Sen ordered them to be cut off from the rest of the caste, and all intercourse between them and the Brāhmans of Bengal Proper was strictly forbidden. The Bārhi Brāhmans of the present day, with whom the Madhyasreni thus claim kinship, are by no means inclined to accept this legend as true. They point out that it is *primâ facie* most unlikely that a colony of Rārhi Brāhmans should have left their original seats for no particular reason, and have settled in an out-of-the-way place like *pargana* Mayna. Again, it is said, if the Madhyasreni were really Rārhi Brāhmans, how is it that they have eight *gotras*, including Parāsara, Gautama, and Ghrita-Kausika, while the true Rārhi have only five? Gautama and Ghrita-Kausika are found among the Brāhmans of Orissa, and Parāsara is said to be characteristic of the Saptasati Brāhmans of Bengal, whose ignorance of correct ritual compelled Adisura to import the ancestors of the Rārhi Brāhmans from Kanauj. On these grounds it is conjectured that the Madhyasreni Brāhmans may be a composite group made up of members of the Rārhi, Utkal, and Saptasati sub-castes, who for some reason broke off from their own classes, settled in an outlying district, and in course of time formed a new sub-caste. Some go so far as to suggest that the original Madhyasreni were expelled from their own sub-castes, and quote a local tradition attaching to them the name *Madyadoshi*, 'guilty of drunkenness,' in support of this view. Although the standard form of Kulinism is not recognised by the Madhyasreni, those families among them who bear the Rārhi Kulin names of Mukharji, Chatterji, Banerji, are specially sought after in marriage, which practically comes to much the same thing. Another curious form of hypergamy is also in force among them. People who live in the four villages (Bhamua in *pargana* Mayna, Gokulnagar in Chetua, and Mahārājpur and Bhogdanda in Kedar) supposed to be the original seats of the caste are held in great honour, and residents of other villages who marry their daughters to them are expected to pay a heavy bridegroom-price.

Most of the Madhyasreni are worshippers of the Saktis, but in the matter of religion and ceremonial observances generally they do not depart materially from the practices of other Brahmans. It should be observed, however, that widows among them are allowed to eat uncooked food on the eleventh day of either fortnight of the moon, while the widows of other Brāhmanical sub-castes are not allowed to touch even water on that day. Some Madhyasrenis again serve the Goālās or Gops as their family priests, and others are said to eat uncooked food at religious ceremonies performed by members of the Kaibartta caste, and to accept gifts from them on those occasions.

## INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE BENGAL BRĀHMANS.

**Utkal Brāhmans.**

Titles (in Bengal) :—Bhattāchārji, Ghatak, Chakrabartti, Bandya, Chatta, Mukhati, Rāi Munshi, Chaudhri, Sarkār, Majumdār, Hāldār, Bidyāratna, Bidyābāgis, Smritiratna

| Sub-castes. *In Bengal.* | Sections or *gotras* common to all Brāhmans. | |
|---|---|---|
| Rārhi. | Abya. | Kanwa or Kānna. |
| Pirāli. | Agastya. | Kāsyapa. |
| Bārendra. | Ālamyān. | Kātyāyan. |
| Uttar Bārendra. | Anābrikāksha. | Kaundilya. |
| Pānchuriā. | Āngirasa. | Kausika. |
| Madhyasreni or Madyadoshi. | Ātreya. | Kaustav. |
| Barna or Patita Brāhman. | Atri. | Krishnātreya. |
| Agradāni. | Baijāhmapadya. | Kusal. |
| Āchārji, Daibajna, Ganaka. | Baiyāghrapadya. | Maudgalya. |
| Bhat or Bhatta. | Basishtha. | Maunas. |
| Maruiporā. | Bāsuki. | Parāsara. |
| Saptasati or Sātsati. | Bātsya. | Paulastya. |
| Vaidik. | Bhāradwāja. | Rikhab. |
| Pāschātya. | Bhārgava. | Rohita. |
| Dākshinātyā. | Bishnu. | Sābarna. |
| | Biswāmitra. | Saktri. |
| | Briddha. | Sāndilya. |
| | Brihaspati. | Sānkriti. |
| | Garga. | Saukālin. |
| | Gautama. | Saupāyan. |
| | Ghritakausika. | Sunaka. |
| | Gotama. | Upamanya. |
| | Jābāli. | Sections of Uttar Bārendras according to "Laghu Bhārat and Samban-dhanirnaya" : Swarna-Kausik, Rajata-Kausik, Ghrita-Kausik, Kaundilya-Kausik, Kausika. |
| | Jaimini. | |
| | Jājnabalkya. | |
| | Jāmadagnya. | |
| | Kalvisha. | |
| | Kānchan. | Kashatrapeta or hybrid *gotras*: Saunaka, Kānwāyan, Rathitara, Agnibesma. |

Gāin or Grāmin (56 or 59) of the Rārhi sub-caste under the five *gotras* :—

*Sāndilya Gotra* (*16*).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bandya. | Ghoshli. | Kadāl. |
| Gargari. | Sejagā. | Kusāri. |
| Kesarkuli. | Māschatak. | Kulisā or Kulkuli. |
| Kusumkali. | Barāl. | Ākās. |
| Pārihāl. | Basuāri. | Dirghāti. |
| Kulabhi. | | |

*Kāsyapa Gotra* (*16*).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Gur. | Palsāi. | Pākrāsi. |
| Ambuli. | Har. | Simlāi. |
| Bhuri. | Porāri. | Pushali, Pushilāl. |
| Talabāti. | Pāladhi. | Bhatta. |
| Pitamundi. | Koāri. | Mul. |
| Chatta. | | |

*Bharadwāja Gotra* (*4*).

| | |
|---|---|
| Mukhaiti. | Sāharik. |
| Dingsāin. | Rāyi. |

*Sābarna Gotra* (*12*).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Gānguli. | Nandi. | Sāteswari. |
| Kundalāl. | Bāin. | Pāriāl. |
| Siddhal. | Siārik. | Ghanteswari. |
| Dāyi. | Pungsika. | Nāyāri. |

*Bātsya Gotra* (*8 or 11*).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mahintā. | Pippalāi. | Kānjiāri. |
| Ghoshāl. | Putitunda. | Chautkhandi. |
| Simlāi. | Purbba. | Dighāl. |
| Bāpuli. | Kānjilāl. | |

The *Gāins* whom Rājā Ballāl Sen made—*Kulin, Gauna Kulin,* and *Srotriya* :—

*Kulin* (*8*).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bandya. | Ghoshāl | Kānjilāl. |
| Chatta. | Putitunda. | Kundalāl. |
| Mukhaiti. | Gānguli. | |

*Gauna Kulin* (*14*).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Rāyi. | Pippalāi. | Pārihāl. |
| Gur. | Gargari. | Har. |
| Mahintā. | Ghanteswari. | Pitamundi. |
| Kulabhi. | Kesarkuni. | Dirghāti. |
| Chautkhandi. | Dingsāi. | |

The remaining 34 or 37 are Srotriyas.

Those *Ghataks* who reckon 56 *Gāins*, include Porāri among Gauna Kulins and exclude Dighal, Chautkhandi, and Purbba. Those who reckon 59, exclude Porāri, Dighāl, and Purbba from Gauna Kulin, and show 34 Srotriyas.

Hypergamous groups *bhāba*, and sub-groups *mel*, of Rārhis formed by the famous social reformer Devibar Ghatak :—

| Groups. | *Mels* or sub-groups, mostly endogamous. | |
|---|---|---|
| Kulin. | Phuliā. | Sribarddhani. |
| Bhanga Kulin. | Khardaha. | Satānandkhāni. |
| Srotriya — Suddha. | Ballabhi. | Chhayi. |
| Srotriya — Sādhya. | Sarbbānandi. | Āchambitā. |
| Srotriya — Kashta. | Panditratni. | Dasarath Ghataki. |
| Bansaja. | Bāngāl. | Subharājkhāni. |
| | Surāi. | Malādharkhāni. |
| | Achārjya-Sekhari. | Rāghab Ghoshāli. |
| | Gopālghataki. | Dehāti. |
| | Chatta Rāghabi. | Nariyā. |
| | Bijyapanditi. | Kākusthi. |
| | Mādhāi. | Dharādhari. |
| | Bidyādhari. | Rāyi. |
| | Pārihāl. | Bhairab Ghataki. |
| | Sriangabhatti. | Parmānanda Misra. |
| | Pramodni. | Sunga Sarbbānandi. |
| | Bāli. | Hari Majumdāri. |
| | Chandrapati. | Chāndāi. |

Gāin or *Grāmin* (100) of the Bārendra sub-caste under the five *gotras* :—

*Kāsyapa gotra* (*18*).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Maitra. | Moāli. | Madhyagrāmi. |
| Bhāduri. | Kiral. | Mathgrāmi. |
| Karanja. | Bijkunja. | Gangāgrāmi. |
| Bālayashthi. | Sargrāmi. | Belgrāmi. |
| Modhāgrāmi. | Sahagrāmi. | Chamagrāmi. |
| Balihāri. | Katigrāmi. | Asrukoti. |

*Sāndilya gotra* (*14*).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Rudrabāgchhi. | Kāmendra. | Subarna. |
| Lāheri. | Sihari. | Totaka. |
| Sādhubāgchhi. | Tāroālā Bisi. | Pushāna. |
| Champati. | Matasyāsi. | Beluri. |
| Nandanābāsi. | Champa. | |

*Bātsya gotra* (*24*).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sānnyāl. | Simli. | Srutabati. |
| Bhimkāli. | Dhosāli. | Akshagrāmi. |
| Bhattasāli. | Tānuri. | Sāhari. |
| Kāmkāli. | Batsagrāmi. | Kāligrāmi. |
| Kurmuri. | Deuli. | Kālihāi. |
| Bhāriāl. | Nidrāli. | Paundrakāli. |
| Laksha. | Kukkuti. | Kālindi. |
| Jāmrukhi. | Borhgrāmi. | Chaturābandi. |

*Bhāradwāja gotra* (*24*).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bhādar. | Bāla. | Kāchhati. |
| Lāruli. | Sākati. | Naudigrāmi. |
| Jhāmāl, Jhampati. | Simbi. | Gogrāmi. |
| Āturthi. | Bahāl. | Nikhati. |
| Rāi. | Sariyāl. | Pippali. |
| Ratnābali. | Kshetragrāmi. | Sringa. |
| Uchchharakhi. | Dadhiyāl. | Khorjār. |
| Gochchhāsi. | Puti. | Goswālambi. |

*Sābarna gotra* (*20*).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Singdiār. | Tātoār. | Khandabati. |
| Pākari. | Setu. | Nikari. |
| Dadhi. | Naigrāmi. | Samudra. |
| Sringi. | Nedhuri. | Ketugrāmi. |
| Medari. | Kapāli. | Jasogrāmi. |
| Undhuri. | Tuttari. | Sitali. |
| Dhundhuri. | Panchabati. | |

*Gāin* of **Uttar-Bārendras** according to "Gaure Brāhman" :—

| *Sāndilya.* | *Kāsyapa.* | *Bātsya.* |
|---|---|---|
| **Champati.** | **Bhāduri.** | |
| **Bāgchhi.** | **Karanjā.** | **Kālāyi.** |
| **Lābar.** | **Simbi.** | **Grihasodhani.** |
| **Nandanābāsi.** | | **Madhugrāmi.** |
| **Sihari.** | | |
| *Bhāradwāja.* | *Sābarna.* | |
| **Rāi.** | **Annāsani.** | |
| **Gopurba.** | | |
| **Sirasinthi.** | | |
| **Jhāmāl.** | | |

*Kulins* made by Ballāl Sen :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Lāheri.** | **Maitra.** | **Kālihāi.** |
| **Bāgchhi.** | **Sannyāl.** | **Bhādar.** |
| **Bhāduri.** | **Misra.** | |

*Srotriyas* divided by Rājā Kansa Nārāyan :—

(*a*) *Siddha Srotriya.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Karanja.** | **Laruli.** | **Āturthi.** |
| **Nandanābāsi.** | **Champati.** | **Kālihāi.** |
| **Bhattasāli.** | **Jhampati.** | |

(*b*) *Sādhya Srotriya.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Uchchharakhi.** | **Sihari.** | **Bisi.** |
| **Jāmrukhi.** | **Rāi.** | **Karjjuri.** |
| **Ratnābali.** | **Goswālambi.** | |

(*c*) The rest are *Kashta Srotriyas.*

Hypergamous groups *bhāba* and sub-groups *pathi* of Bārendras formed by the learned social reformer Udayanāchārya Bhāduri :—

| Groups. | Sub-groups. |
|---|---|
| **Kulin.** | **Jonāli.** |
| **Srotriya** { **Siddha.** | **Nirābil.** |
| **Srotriya** { **Sādhya.** | **Bhushnā.** |
| **Srotriya** { **Kashta.** | **Rohilā.** |
| **Kāpa, Chhaghariā.** | **Kutabkhāni.** |
| | **Āliākhāni.** |
| | **Bhabānipuri** |
| | **Beni.** |

Bārendra titles :—

| | |
|---|---|
| **Bāgh,** tiger. | **Pānjā,** heap of bricks. |
| **Bherā,** sheep. | **Pāthā,** goat. |
| **Dhol,** drum. | **Prachanda,** furious. |
| **Gappi,** tell-tale. | **Talāpātra,** bottom of a pot. |
| **Gonj,** peg. | **Taulo,** earthen pot. |

*Gāin of Saptasatis* :—Ārath, Bāguri. Bālthubi, Bhāgāi, Dhāin, Dhardhar, Hālui, Hāturi, Jabagrāmi, Jagāi, Kālui, Kāndare, Kānthara, Kanyā, Kātādi, Kātāni, Kāturi, Kusalā, Mulukjuri, Nālsi, Nānaksāi, Pātāri, Pharphar, Pithāri, Sāgāin, Sāin, Sugāin, Ujalā Ulluk, etc.

## *Vaidik.*

| Subcastes. | Sections (*gotras.*) | Groups, *samāj.* |
|---|---|---|
| **Pāschātya Vaidik.** { **Jonāri.** **Konāri.** | **Sāndilya** | **Ākharā.** **Madhyabhāg.** **Pānkunda.** |
| | **Basishtha** | **Joāri.** **Gaurāli.** **Alādhi.** **Dadhichi.** |
| | **Sābarna** | **Sāntaru.** **Brahmapur.** **Marichigrām.** |
| | **Bhāradwāja** | **Chandradwip.** **Navadwip.** **Kotālipārā.** |
| | **Saunaka** | **Sāmantasār.** |
| | | Local groups. |
| | | **Purbbasthāli.** **Bishnupur.** **Bhātpārā.** **Purbba Banga.** |

Brāhmans of the following *gotras* came later on (1102 *Sak* or 1180 A. D.) and mixed up with the Pāschātya Vaidiks :—

Krishnātreya, Gautama, Rathitara, Kāsyapa, Bātsya, Sunak: and still later on (1403 *Sak* or 1481 A. D.) came Brāhmans of the Ghrita-Kausika, Kausika, Ātreya, Sankarshan, Parāsara, Agnibesma, Maudgalya, Hārita, and Upamanyu *gotras*.

| | | Hypergamous groups. |
|---|---|---|
| **Dākshinātya Vaidik.** | **Kāsyapa.** | **Kulin.** |
| | **Gautama.** | **Bansaja.** |
| | **Bātsya.** | **Maulik.** |
| | **Kānwāyan.** | |
| | **Kausika.** | |
| | | Local groups or *Samāj*. |
| | **Ghrita-Kausika.** | **Majilpur.** |
| | **Jātukarna.** | **Rājpur.** |
| | **Śābarna.** | |

The Dākshinātya Vaidiks have the following titles :—
**Tripathi, Misra, Pāthak, Chakrabartti.**

# 7. Of the Mongoloid Tract.

## KHĀSI.

*From the Assam Census Report 1891, by E. A. GAIT, I.C.S.*

The *Khāsis* inhabit the western half of the district to which they have given their name. They were entirely independent until 1829, when they were subdued in the hostilities which resulted from the treacherous murder of Lieutenants Bedingfield and Burlton, who were engaged in supervising work on a road, which the Khāsis had agreed should be constructed through their country. The struggle was prolonged by the hillmen, who were much assisted by the mountainous nature of their country, but eventually they yielded to the inevitable and a British officer was placed in general charge of their hills. They were not taxed and were left to manage their own affairs in their own way, and even now the only occasions on which they are interfered with are when there are disputes between persons of different States or on the occurrence of serious crime.

**Physical characteristics.** The country is split up into a large number of small States, each of which is managed by its own head, or Seim, with an essentially republican constitution. The Khāsis have no traditions of an earlier home, nor is anything known regarding the previous occupation or their present habitat by people of a different race. They are closely allied to the Syntengs, Lyngams, Dykos, and Bhois, and have strongly marked Mongolian features,—oblique eyes, a broad bridgeless nose, high cheekbones, and a short head. In stature they are short and stumpy, but extremely well developed, especially about the calves, and even the women are capable of carrying heavy loads which a native of the plains would scarcely be able to lift. They have little or no beard, but the moustache is occasionally fairly abundant. Their disposition, more specially that of the women, is cheerful; they are industrious and by no means deficient in personal courage. They are much addicted to gambling.

**Dress.** The dress of the males consists of a sleeveless shirt, which reaches down to the middle and ends in a fringe reaching some three inches further. The women wear a striped cloth tied round the waist with another as an upper garment knotted over both shoulders. At festivals the women adorn themselves with gold and silver ornaments, and wear handsome dresses of silk. Coral necklaces are also in great request.

**Diet.** They take two meals a day, and indulge in dried fish and all sorts of meat except the flesh of the dog, but, like the other tribes on this frontier, they will not touch milk, which they look on as an excrement. They drink large quantities of liquor (both fermented and distilled), which they prepare from rice and millet, and are also addicted to the use of tobacco and betel-nut, and particularly the latter, which is chewed in large quantities by both sexes. They do not, however, consume opium or *ganja*.

**Proportion of the sexes.** Whatever may have been the proportion of the sexes in the past, recent censuses all show a large excess of females over males. Colonel Bivar was of opinion that the women live longer than the men, and this explanation is, I think, corroborated by the census figures, which show a large excess of women between the ages of 15 and 35, and also of women over 60. The slight deficiency of women between 35 and 60 is thus clearly accounted for by the feminine weakness of trying to appear very young, so long as it is not quite certain that they are very old. The only other explanation of the disproportion of the sexes which I am able to offer is that the men go frequently on trading excursions, etc., to the *terais* at the foot of the hills and die of fevers contracted there, and that large numbers are recruited yearly as transport coolies on frontier expeditions, or to work on roads in remote parts of the country. Casualties amongst these men would tend in some degree to increase the disproportion of the sexes.

**Internal structure.** The Khāsis are sub-divided into an immense number of exogamous clans or septs. The theory is that these clans are composed of persons descended from the same female ancestor, and intermarriage between members of the same clan is strictly forbidden. The meaning of the names used to denote these septs is not always known, but so far as I have been able to get translations, they may be divided into four main classes:

(*a*) *Totemistic*, such as the pumpkin clan, the crab clan, the monkey clan, etc. In these cases it is supposed that the ancestor of the clan came from a pumpkin, crab, or a monkey, and I am informed that the *totem* was formerly taboo to the persons designated by it. Nowadays, however, the old traditions are losing their hold upon the people, and the taboo is no longer strictly enforced.

(*b*) *Names indicative of origin*, such as Khar Shilot ('people of Sylhet'), Khar Akor ('polite Bengali'), etc. In former days before the British occupation, raids were constantly being made on the people of the plains, and their women were carried off as slaves. The offspring of these slave women, who were also looked upon as slaves, were known by the name of their mother, which thus became a new clan name. Clans with names denoting this origin are very common throughout the hills, and this no doubt accounts for the deviations from the general Mongolian type of face which are occasionally to be noticed.

(*c*) *Nicknames applied to the original ancestor*, such as Balit (white), Dukli (selfish), Klim (adultery), Khrawjli (great abomination), etc.

(*d.*) *Occupational*, as, for instance, the blacksmith clan, the Baniā clan, and a few others.

Each clan comprises on an average from 100 to 1,000 members, the larger ones being again divided into sub-clans. I have not been able to make out the utility or object of the latter, as the rule of exogamy is invariably applied to the larger or main clan. I may note, however, that the same tendency of the old exogamous groups, to sub-divide themselves into new ones is noticeable amongst many other tribes, *e. g.*, the Mikirs, Gāros, Lālungs, etc.

**Marriage.** Marriage is a purely civil contract, and is usually arranged by the parents or agents of the parties. As a rule, no price is paid by either bride or birdegroom. There is no religious ceremony; the bridegroom goes to the bride's house escorted by his friends and relations, and next morning leads the bride to his own house, where he gives a feast to her and her relatives. After staying there for a day or two the newly-married couple return to the house of the bride, where they cohabit. Among the poorer classes, the bride remains in her mother's house, and the bridegroom in his, but having free access to the bride whenever he may wish to visit her. When children are born, if the husband is still satisfied with his wife he builds a separate house, to which he takes her and lives there with her and the children.

**Restrictions on marriage.** There are very few restrictions on marriage. A man may not marry a woman of his own clan, nor may he marry his father's mother, sister, or aunt. Though not absolutely forbidden, it is also considered improper for him to marry his father's niece during the lifetime of his father.

**Kinship and inheritance.** A woman is the head of the Khāsi family. So long as a man remains in his mother's house, whether he be married or unmarried, he is earning for his *kur* (*i. e.*, his mother's family), and his property goes on his death to his mother, or, failing her, to his grandmother. Should the latter also be dead, his sisters inherit, and next to them his sister's children. In the absence of any of the above, the following relatives succeed in the order in which they are named, *viz.*, his brothers, aunts, aunt's children, great grandmother, great grandmother's sister or children. The brother's children can never succeed, as they belong to a different clan. When a Khāsi has left his mother's house, and gone to live with his wife, his property descends to her and her children, with the exception of his personal ornaments and clothing which go to his own brothers and sisters. In the case of a female, the rules of inheritance are similar to those governing the descent of the property of a man living with his mother, except that in her case her children have a prior claim to succeed. All relationship is reckoned through the woman. The child takes the clan of the mother, and even the Seim is followed by his mother's or sister's child. His own offspring enter the clan of his wife, inherit her property, and bear her family name.

A man is thus, in practice, more nearly connected with his sister's children than with his own. It seems not unlikely that this is a relic of that promiscuous kind of polyandry which has been styled maternal, in which a woman of one clan might be visited by all or any of the men of another clan, and in which the paternity of children was consequently so uncertain that the only guide to kinship was through the woman. There are, however, no signs of polyandry at the present day, and no traditions of such a practice in the past, unless one may take as such the story that the group of monoliths near Subtynga was erected ages ago to the memory of a woman who had thirty husbands.

**Divorce.** Divorce is a very simple matter, and is effected simply by a public declaration, coupled with the presentation by the man to the woman of five *cowries* or copper coins, which she takes and throws away. Divorce is extremely common, and is resorted to for very trivial grounds, such as petty quarrels or a bad dinner. No stigma attaches to the divorced parties, and both are free to marry again. The marriage tie being so fragile, adultery or illicit intercourse is said to be very uncommon; a man or a woman with a new fancy can easily dissolve any existing ties which may stand in the way of its legal gratification, while the very ease with which this can be done not improbably tends to prevent the growth of those violent passions which often lead to mischief in more civilised communities.

**Polygamy.** The practice of polygamy is usually said to be uncommon, and Colonel Bivar adds that 'it does not exist, in fact.' It is, however, admitted that there is a great demand for husbands, and an educated Khāsi, whom I have consulted, assures me that polygamy is by no means unknown. It was formerly considered meritorious for a Khāsi to beget offspring by different wives, as he thereby increased the number of sacrifices to be offered to the shade of his mother when she died, and this was one of the reasons why so many women were abducted from the plains in days gone by. Nowadays, however, there is no doubt that polygamy is falling into disrepute, and this and the excess of females over males is making it so difficult for parents to procure husbands for their daughters, that respectable families have often to marry their girls to men far inferior to themselves in the social scale.

**Religion.** The religion of the Khāsis is a rude Animism or demon-worship. All cases of sickness or other calamities are attributed to the maligant influence of demons, whom it is necessary to propitiate. The particular evil spirit to be propitiated is ascertained by egg-breaking; the offering which would be acceptable to the spirit is similarly ascertained, and the offering is then made. If the desired result does not ensue, the entrails of a fowl are examined: if healthy, things are allowed to take their course; if not, the whole process described above is repeated. In some parts, the sacrifices are performed by a special class of priest called Lyngdohs, but no one who wishes is disqualified for performing these ceremonies. The Khāsis have some idea of an after life, but are very vague on the subject. Some place their future in the sky, some on the earth, and

others under the earth. They believe in a re-union of husband and wife in the other world, except when this has been rendered impossible by the woman marrying again, a course which she is free to take if she chooses. The Khāsis are very receptive of Christianity, and the efforts of the Welsh Mission amongst them have been highly successful. A few in the neighbourhood of Shella have become Hindus under the proselytising influence of a Khāsi named Konrai, who preached a sort of Vaishnavism. Since his death, which occurred a short time ago, however, a number of his converts have lapsed to their original beliefs. The number of Musalmans amongst the Khāsis is very small, and consists chiefly of men who have taken service with Europeans as water-carriers or table servants, and have been converted by their Musalman fellow-servants. Some few have become converts to Brahmoism under the teaching of a small Brahmo mission which has been established in the hills and is said to be meeting with fair success.

**Birth ceremonies.**

The mother is not, as amongst Hindus, considered to be unclean after the birth of a child. In christening it, the following ceremony is performed: A diviner attends, provided with a gourd full of country spirit, a small quantity of powdered rice and turmeric, a bow and three arrows. Three names are selected by the maternal grand-mother or other relative of the infant, and the diviner then spreads the turmeric on a plantain leaf, on which, after muttering some incantations, he lets fall three drops of country spirit. These drops represent the three names selected and the one which takes longest to fall from the gourd to the plantain leaf, indicates which of the three names should be given to the child. The diviner then shows the bow and arrows to the babe, and exhorts him to become a brave warrior. In the case of a female child, a hatchet and load strap take the place of the bow and arrows, as symbolical of the fact that the woman's duty in life is to work just as that of the man is to fight.

**Disposal of the dead.**

The Khāsi burn their dead. Each clan has its own burning ground, whither the corpse is carried wrapped up in a mat and burned by the maternal relations. Before the ceremony is performed, two arrows are shot, one to the west and another to the east, and a cock is then sacrificed. The arrows are intended to protect the dead on his journey to another world, and the cock to show him his way thither, and to wake him at dawn to pursue his journey. The bones are collected in an earthen pot and are eventually placed in the common sepulchre of the clan, the removal thither being an occasion of much feasting and dancing, which continues often for several days. Large upright stones, groups of which are to be seen all over the Khāsi Hills, are sometimes erected in honour of the dead, the idea being that their spirits will be gratified by these memorials. Similar monoliths are mentioned by Colonel Dalton as being common amongst the Hos, Mundas, and Kirantis, and somewhat similar stones are also erected by the various Nāgā tribes.

# 7. Of the Mongoloid Tract.

## LIMBU.

[*H. H. Risley, C.I.E.*]

Limbu, a large tribe, probably of Mongolian descent, ranking next to the Khambu and above the Yakha among the three upper divisions of the Kirānti group. The precedence given to the Khambus is supposed to be due to their having a larger proportion of Khas and Newār blood, while the Limbus have interbred freely with the Lepchas. The Yakha are a minor tribe, concerning which little is known. Unlike the other two, they have no generally recognized honorific title, though they claim to be addressed as *dewan* and call themselves Yak Thomba or yakherds, with reference to the tradition that this was their characteristic occupation before the tribe crossed the Himalaya into Eastern Nepal. The name Limbu, or Das Limbu, from the ten sub-tribes (really thirteen) into which they are supposed to be divided, is used only by outsiders. Tibetans have no special name for the Limbus; they call all the tribes of the Indian side of the Himalayas by the general name Monpa or dwellers in the ravines. The Lepchas and Bhotias or Tibetans settled in Bhotan, Sikkim, and Nepal speak of the Limbus as Tsong, because the five *thums* or sub-tribes included in the class known as Lhāsa-gotra emigrated to Eastern Nepal from the district of Tsang in Tibet. Lepchas call them Chang, which may be a corruption of Tsong. By other members of the Kirānti group they are addressed by the honorific title of Subah or Suffāh, a chief. **Traditions of origin.**

The Limbus, according to Dr. Campbell, "form a large portion of the inhabitants in the mountainous country lying between the Dud-Kosi and the Kanki rivers in Nepal, and are found in smaller numbers eastwards to the Mechi river, which forms the boundary of Nepāl and Sikkim. In still fewer numbers they exist within the Sikkim territory, as far east as the Tista river, beyond which they rarely settle. In Bhutan they are unknown except as strangers." Hodgson locates them between the Arun Kosi and the Mechi, the Singilela ridge being their boundary on the east. The Limbus themselves claim to have held from time immemorial the Tāmba Khola valley on the upper waters of the Tāmba Kosi river; and the fact that one of their sub-tribes bears the name Tāmbakhola suggests that this valley may have been one of their early settlements. They have also a tradition that five out of their thirteen sub-tribes came from Lhāsa, while five others came from Benares. The former group is called the Lhāsa-gotra, and the latter the Kāsi-gotra; but the term *gotra* has in this case no bearing on marriage. All that can safely be said is that the Limbus are the oldest recorded population of the country between the Tāmra Kosi and the Mechi, and their flat features, slightly oblique eyes, yellow complexion, and beardlessness may perhaps afford grounds for believing them to be the descendants of early Tibetan settlers in Nepal. They appear to have mixed little with the Hindus, but much with the Lepchas, who of late years have migrated in large numbers from Sikkim to the west. Dr. Campbell compares the two tribes in the following words:—"The Limbu is a very little taller in stature than the Lepcha, somewhat less fleshy, and more wiry in the limbs, as fair in complexion, and as completely beardless. He is scarcely ever as ruddy as the Lepchas sometimes are; his eyes are, if anything, smaller, and placed more to the front than the Lepcha's, and his nose, although somewhat smaller, is rather higher in the bridge than that of the Lepcha. He wears his hair long, but does not plait it into a tail; has no fancy for bead necklaces; wears a *kukri* instead of the *bān*, * and wide trousers and a jacket or *chapkan* in preference to the robe and long jacket of Lepchas." **Habitat.**

At the time of the Gurkha conquest of Nepal the country east of the Arun Kosi was held by petty Limbu chiefs on quasi-feudal terms from the Hindu Rājās of Bijapur and Makwānpur, at whose courts representative Limbus discharged the duties of *Chauntra* or prime minister. Taking refuge in the hill forts with which each chiefship was provided, the Limbus offered a gallant resistance to the invading Gurkhas, and the latter underwent many repulses before their supremacy was fully established. Although used to bearing arms, and deeming themselves a military race, they do not rank among the regular fighting tribes of Nepal, and they are not admitted into the Gorkhāli regiments of the Nepalese army. Their principal occupations at the present day are agriculture, grazing, and petty trade. They serve in the Kiranti regiments raised about 30 years ago by Jang Bahādur, and some of them have enlisted in our own Gurkha battalions. Some authorities believe them, with the rest of the Kirānti, to be inferior in soldierly qualities to the Khās, Mangar, and Gurung tribes, from whom our best recruits are drawn, but this opinion seems to be giving way, among the present generation of Gurkha officers, to a more favourable estimate of their military capacity, and their behaviour in the Sikkim campaign of 1888 is understood to have borne out the latter view.

The internal structure of the tribe is extremely complicated, and can best be studied in the classification, where it is shown in a tabular form. The Limbus are divided into thirteen endogamous sub-tribes, each of which is again broken up into a number of exogamous septs. The names of the septs are extremely curious. Two or three at the most are totemistic, a few are local or territorial, and one only is eponymous. By far the greater number of them refer to some **Internal structure.**

* The long, straight knife used by the Lepchas.

personal adventure or peculiarity of the original founder of the sept, and they suggest the existence of a considerable body of rather grotesque folklore. The rule of exogamy goes by the male side, and is supplemented by forbidding intermarriage between persons descended in a direct line from the same parents as long as any relationship can be traced. Intermarriage between cousins is barred for three generations, or, as some say, for seven. In practice, however, while the rule forbidding marriage within the *thar* is most strictly observed, there seems to be much uncertainty about prohibited degrees, and I believe near alliances with the mother's kindred are by no means uncommon. A further complication is introduced by the restrictions on intermarriage arising from *mith* (Limbu *saiba*) friendship or on fictitious brotherhood among most of the hill races. Two men contract friendship by a special ritual at which a Brāhman, or, when the parties are Buddhists, a Lama, officiates, and reads *mantras* or mystic formulæ, while the two friends thrice exchange rupees, handkerchiefs, or scarves, and daub each other between the eyebrows with the paste made of rice and curds which is used in the marriage ceremony. The effect of the union is that the friends are reckoned as brothers, and intermarriage between the two families is prohibited for several (some say eighteen) generations. Any breach of the rule is punished in British territory by exclusion from caste. In Nepal, I am informed, more severe punishments, such as death or slavery, are inflicted.

Members of the Murmi, Lepchā, and Bhotia tribes may be admitted into the Limbu tribe after being approved by the tribal council, called by the Limbus *thum-thum*, and giving a feast to the local community. In some cases the new member is required to file a written statement to the effect that he has entered the tribe and will abide by its rules. Khambus and Yakhas being Kirāntis themselves, may be admitted into the tribe by the simpler and more direct process of adoption. In any case the children of a Limbu man by a Bhotia, Lepcha, Gurung, Sunawar, Mangar, or Murmi woman, or of a Limbu woman by a man of any of these groups, are admitted without question into the Limbu community.

**Religion.** The phlegmatic and utilitarian habit of mind which a German ethnologist has noticed as characteristic of the Mongolian races comes out conspicuously in the nonchalant attitude of the Limbus towards religion. Where their surroundings are Hindu, they describe themselves as Saivas, and profess to worship, though with sparing and infrequent observance, Mahādeva and his consort Gauri, the deities most favoured by the lax Hinduism of Nepal. In a Buddhist neighbourhood the yoke of conformity is still more easy to bear: the Limbu has only to mutter the pious formula, *om mani padme om*, and to pay respect and moderate tribute to the Lamas, in order to be accepted as an average Buddhist. Beneath this veneer of conformity with whatever faith happens to have gained local acceptation, the vague shapes of their original Pantheon have survived in the form of household or forest gods, much in the same way as Dionysus and other of the Greek gods may be traced in the names and attributes of the saints who preside over the vintage, the harvest and rural festivals of various kinds in remote parts of Greece at the present day. Under such disguises, which serve to mask departures from the popular creeds, the Limbus worship a host of spiritual beings whose attributes are ill-defined, and whose very names are not easy to ascertain. Yumā, Kāpobā, and Thebā rank as household gods, and are propitiated once in five years, or whenever disease or loss of property threaten the family, by the slaughter, outside the house, of buffaloes, pigs or fowls. The votaries eat the sacrifice, and thus, as they express it, "dedicate the life-breath to the gods, the flesh to ourselves." No special days are set apart for the ceremony; but it cannot be performed on Sunday, as that day is sacred to Himāriyā. Those who wholly neglect the duty are supposed to suffer in person or property, and the common hill disease of goitre is believed to be one of the special modes by which the gods manifest their displeasure. Temples and idols are alike unknown, nor, so far as I can ascertain, does the imagination of the Limbus trouble itself to clothe its vague spiritual conceptions with any bodily form.

Himāriyā, the god of the forest, is propitiated on Sundays by offerings of sheep, goats, fowls, pigeons, and Indian-corn. A stone under a tree by the roadside is smeared with vermilion and dound with thread, and this place of sacrifice is marked by consecrated rags tied to a bamboo pole.

In addition to these more or less beneficent, or at least neutral, divinities, the Limbus are compassed about by a multitude of nameless evil spirits, "who require peculiar management in warding off their caprices." To appease and propitiate these is the special function of the Bijuās, a class of wandering mendicants peculiar to Sikkim and the eastern parts of Nepal Bijuās are wholly illiterate, and travel about the country muttering prayers and incantations, dancing, singing, prescribing for the sick, and casting out devils. They wear a purple robe and broad-brimmed hat, and are regarded with great awe by the people, into whom they have instilled the convenient belief that their curses and blessings will surely be fulfilled, and that ill-luck will attend anyone who allows a Bijuā to leave his door dissatisfied.

While the Bijuā acts as exorcist and devil-worshipper for all the Himālayan races, the equally illiterate Phedangma is the tribal priest of the Limbus for the higher grades of spirits, and officiates at sacrifices, marriages, and funerals. He is also called in at births to foretell the destiny of the infant, and to invoke the blessings of the gods. The office frequently descends from father to son, but anyone may become a Phedangbo who has a turn for propitiating the gods, and for this reason the occupation shows no signs of hardening into a caste.

**Animism.** It will be apparent from the facts stated above that the leading principle of the Limbu religion is *Animism*, "the belief in the existence of souls or spirits of which only the powerful—those on which man feels himself dependent, and before which he stands in awe—acquire the rank of divine beings and become objects of worship."* Among the Limbus, as among

* Tiele, *Outlines of the History of the Ancient Religions, p. 9.*

the aborigines of Chota Nagpur, who appear to have reached a very similar stage of development, this belief has given birth to a number of primitive miscellaneous divinities whose functions are very vaguely defined, and who do not owe allegiance to any centralised authority. This multiplicity of deities would of itself seem to favour the growth of Shamanism, a phenomenon which Sir John Lubbock regards as a widely distributed phase of thought forming a necessary stage in the progress of religious development. Others have gone so far as to use Shamanism as a sort of general name for all those animistic religions which make prominent use of the agency of the Shaman. Without disputing the convenience, or indeed the necessity, of introducing a class-name of some kind, I would urge that Shamanism is a term singularly ill-suited to serve as the designation of a large group of religions. For in the first place the practice which it denotes is common to religions of all varieties of culture, and is by no means confined to the religions specially called Shamanistic; and secondly, the word, while calling attention to the superficial, fails to connote the essential characteristics of the class of religions in question. It may, indeed, possibly be the case, as has been hinted above, that the complicated departmentalism of certain animistic religions, where the supreme power is cut up into fractions and distributed among an army of gods, ghosts and demons, has led to the development of Shamanism by leaving it uncertain to whom a man should apply for the alleviation of any particular evil. The Shamans, like the touts who hang about our public offices, profess to help people out of this difficulty, and to show them not only to what god their petition should be addressed, but in what form they should be couched, and by what ceremonies introduced. But even on this showing the practice is the consequence, not the cause, of certain primitive ideas; and it is these ideas, not any of their more or less variable consequences, which a definition should aim at expressing. Taken by itself, then, the word Shamanism seems to fall short of completeness as a description of the Limbu religion. For all religions of that type the term animism should be retained as denoting the *entourage* of vague spiritual influences which is of their essence. In dealing with these surroundings different agencies are resorted to: sometimes the fetish predominates; sometimes the medicine man. According as one or the other of these predominates, the particular form of animism may conveniently be styled Fetishistic or Shamanistic. Following this principle, the Limbu religion may be defined as a rather elementary form of Shamanistic animism, in which the Bijuā and Phedangma play the part of Shaman, the former operating on the demons, and the latter having for his department the gods. Finally, we may perhaps hazard the conjecture that the original religion of the Limbus is closely akin to the Pon or ancient religion of Tibet. In both we find the forces of nature and the spirits of departed men exalted into objects of worship. In both systems temples and images are unknown, while propitiatory offerings occupy a prominent place. To complete the parallel, neither recognise a definite priestly order, while both encourage resort to Shamans or medicine men to ward off the malign influences which surround the human race.

**Disposal of the dead.**

Both cremation and burial are in vogue among the Limbus, the latter being the more common, and probably the older, practice. The corpse is placed lying on its back with the head to the east. The grave is lined with stones, and a cairn, consisting of four tiers for a man and three for a woman, erected on the top. The Phedangma attends at the funeral and delivers a brief address to the departed spirit on the general lot of mankind and the doom of birth and death, concluding with the command to go whither his fathers have gone and not to come back to trouble the living with dreams. Neither food nor clothes are placed in the grave, but sometimes a brass plate with a rupee in it is laid under the head of the corpse. For nine days after the funeral the sons of the deceased live on plain rice without any salt; and for a month or two the relatives wear flowers in their hair and avoid merry-makings. The special and characteristic sign of mourning is a piece of white rag tied round the head. There is no periodical ceremony for the propitiation of ancestors.

**Inheritance.**

At a man's death his sons, natural or adopted, divide his property; but an adopted son or a natural son by a wife informally married (*kachchi shādi*) takes only one-half of a legitimate son's share. The division of the property is usually made by the tribal council (*thum-thum*), who set apart an extra share for the eldest son. The youngest son is allowed to choose his share first, and the other shares are then allotted by the *thum-thum*. Failing sons, the sons-in-law actually living in or willing to live in the family homestead are entitled to divide the property. Brothers are the next heirs, and married sisters, if they attend the funeral, usually get a small share in the inheritance, although it is said that they have no positive right to claim this concession. An exception to these rules of devolution occurs in the case of *daijo* or property given to a sister or daughter or acquired from a maternal uncle or father-in-law. This is equally distributed among the sons of the woman to whom or on whose behalf it was given, and in the event of her dying without children it reverts to her own family. This simple customary law is administered by the headmen of the tribe, and hardly any instances are known of Limbus having resorted to our courts for the settlement of disputes regarding property.

**Social Status.**

The Limbus stand wholly outside of the Hindu caste system, and their social position can only be defined with reference to the other Himālayan races. They belong to the upper division of the Kirānti group, which inhabits the middle hills of the Himalayas and rarely descends below an elevation of 2,000 feet. Within this division the Limbus take rank below the Khambu and above the Yākha, but this distinction is probably unknown beyond the limits of the Kirānti group, and in the eyes of society at large the three tribes occupy practically an equal position. They consider themselves, and are regarded by others, as superior to the Danuār, Hayu, and Thāmi, who make up the lower division of the Kirānti. Their relations to the people of Nepal are less easy to define. They are certainly deemed inferior to the Khas, and probably also to the Mangars and Gurungs, both of whom are classed as military tribes. Newars hold a place second

only to the Khas; Gurungs are inferior to the Newars. Mangar and Sunwar have their place next to the Gurungs; Limbus, Khambus, and Yakhas are inferior to the Mangar and Sunwar.

In the matter of food, they have very few prejudices. They eat beef, pork, and the flesh of all clean-feeding animals, and drink wine. In fact, the only restrictions on their diet appear to be those imposed on certain *thars* by the obligation not to eat the totem or beast-eponym of the group. They will eat with all the castes of the hills except the Kami, Dami, Sakri, and Gain.

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## INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE LIMBU.

**Limbu, Das, Limbu, Yakthumba, Tsong, Chang.**

Title:—**Subha or Suffah** (chief).

Sub-tribes (*thum or thum-thum*).

1. **Pānthar**
2. **Chhothar**
3. **Ahtharai**
4. **Yangorup**
5. **Chaibisā**

} Classed as Kāsi-gotra, supposed to have immigrated into Nepal from Benares.

6. **Miākhola** or **Terothar**
7. **Charkhola**
8. **Maikhola**
9. **Phedāb** or **Bhuiphuta**
10. **Tambrkhola**

} Classed as Lhāsa-gotra, supposed to have come from Lhāsa.

**Septs (thar).**

Of the **Pānthar** sub-tribe:

**Angdenba,** lord of the forest.
**Chehmjom,** a native of Chehm.
**Chikchābā.**
**Chobegu.**
**Hangsnemba.**
**Ingmaba,** he who kept fowls.
**Kerungma.**
**Kokenamba,** he who rises with the sun.
**Laoti,** he who was obeyed.
**Luhā.**
**Manglagpa,**[1] the dancer.
**Mephagpa,** the butcher, literally, pig-roaster.
**Phejom,** the *kukri*-bearer, including (*a*) *Nembong,* (*b*) Sardak-peapi.
**Pheodan,** the water-carrier.
**Phyagpa,** the knife-grinder.
**Serma,** rent-collector.
**Songbangphe,** the new settler.
**Thekim,** he who works in wicker, including the following sub-septs:—(*a*) Meongba, (*b*) Thamsong, (*c*) **Chobegu,** (*d*) Petehhimba, (*e*) Angbu, the forest-dweller, (*f*) Yakten, formerly doctors.
**Toktiham.**
**Tumbapo,** the eldest.
**Tumbrok,** born of a step-mother.
**Yangdenba,**[2] he who paid his footing.
**Yangsoba** or **Namlagpa,** the chief of the tribe.

Of the **Chhothar** sub-tribe:

**Bargharri,** the twelve brethren.
**Khema,**[3] a pheasant. Apparently totemistic.
**Khojom,** he who ate his earnings.
**Kurumbhong,**[4] the divider of the village.
**Legma,** the worker in mud.
**Maden,** the son of his mother.
**Sangma,**[5] a buffalo. Apparently totemistic.
**Teling,** the worker in cane.
**Thogleng,** the suicide.
**Tungohong,** the discontented.

Of the **Ahtharai** sub-tribe:

**Angbohang,** king of the fir wood.
**Inglamphe,** the liar.
**Kondongwa,** the vagabond.
**Pomo,** the large family.
**Thenglahbo,** the native of Thenglah.
**Tshendangkya,** he who lives apart.
**Yakshoma,** the guardian of the fort.

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[1] The ancestor of this *thar* was ridden (possessed?) by a god, and danced.
[2] Descended from a Mech who got admission into the Limbu tribe by bribing the heads of the *thum-thum.*
[3] This *thar* will not eat a pheasant or fowl or any bird of that class. The story is that the founder went out to shoot pheasants in a fir copse, but found none, and vowed never to eat a pheasant again.
[4] The founder of this *thar* is said, for reasons not stated, to have divided his village into two parts by drawing a line down the middle.
[5] The buffalo is taboo to this *thar*: the legend is the same as that of the Khema *thar.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Of the **Yangorup** sub-tribe | **Ingyaromba.**<br>**Khebangba,** the native of Khebang.<br>**Khingba,** branch of the same sept may not intermarry.<br>**Lechenche,** the dissolute one.<br>**Lekhogma,** he with swollen testes.<br>**Lingden** } Admitted from the Lepchas.<br>**Loksohm** }<br>**Mahbho,** branch of the same sept may not intermarry.<br>**Mangmu.**<br>**Menyangbo,** the unsuccessful one.<br>**Mongtupo.**<br>**Phawahong,** the name of a village.<br>**Pondha,** the wanderer.<br>**Puktebu.**<br>**Serling,** the thief.<br>**Suwahong,** the mendicant.<br>**Thehbeh.**[1]<br>**Thupuku.**<br>**Tumling.**<br>**Yakpangden,** the dweller on the pass.<br>**Yijām,** the wanderer, or eater.<br>**Yithingu,** the huntsman.<br>**Yongyahang,** the son of a chief.<br>**Yungmā,** the idler. |
| Of the **Chaibisa** sub-tribe | **Lhoringten,**[2] the chief of the Morrung.<br>**Memophagpa.**<br>**Papson,** the adopted one.<br>**Pichagma,**[3] the son of the monkey.<br>**Sonyokpa,** the guardian of the new fort. |
| Of the **Miākhola** or **Terothar** sub-tribe | **Hangam,** the king's officer.<br>**Libang,** the archer.<br>**Nahlibo,**[4] he who chased his wife.<br>**Thoilong,** the ragged one.<br>**Tsonbang,** he who listens and profits. |
| Of the **Charkhola** sub-tribe | **Aktenhang,** name of a domestic demi-god.<br>**Lingdam,** admitted from the Lepchas.<br>**Mahbu,**[5] the physician.<br>**Nembang,** the swollen one.<br>**Photro.**<br>**Thogphelagu,** he who wears the rhododendron flower.<br>**Yongyahung,** the aristocrat. |
| Of the **Phedāb** sub-tribe | **Chikkophung,** he who planted the *brihati.*[6]<br>**Hupachongbang,** he who was blessed and prospered.<br>**Isbo,** name of a village.<br>**Khamapong,** the dweller under the *bar* (*Ficus Indica*) tree.<br>**Lokmahung.**<br>**Lumphongma,** those who shared the land.<br>**Maden.**<br>**Musuhang,** the lowland chief.<br>**Ninglehku,** one who cuts poisonous plants.<br>**Obung-gyakpa,** the dweller above the fountain.<br>**Phehim,** the singer.<br>**Pho-omphu,** the hangman.<br>**Phungthag,** he who stole to order.<br>**Pongyangu,** he who carries his goods on his back.<br>**Senihang,** sons of the snow-chief.<br>**Singogpa.**<br>**Sodemba,** the spy.<br>**Songbangphe,** the dweller in the valley.<br>**So-onkobu,** a resident of So-onku.<br>**Sothung,** name of a village.<br>**Thambden,** the stay-at-home.<br>**Theguba,** the son of the cliff.<br>**Thobukya,** he who has skin disease.<br>**Tumbangphe,**[7] the earth-born or *Bhuiphuta.*<br>**Yurumbang,** they of the central village. |

[1] An eponymous *thar*, named after Thehbeh, son of Srijanga, the powerful chief of the Limbus, since deified, who fought against Prithi Nārāyan, the founder of the present ruling dynasty of Nepal.
[2] This *thar* was formerly under the Morrung Rājs.
[3] This *thar* is said to have formerly worshipped the monkey.
[4] The story is that the wife of the founder of the *thar* ran away from him, but he caught her and brought her back, and afterwards had a large family by her.
[5] Literally a shaker; one who being ridden by ghosts or devils shakes himself free: hence a physician.
[6] A thorny plant with a bitter berry used for medical purposes.
[7] This *thar* claims to be *terræ filii*, and point out a huge rock which covers the spot where their founder sprang from the earth.

Of the **Tambṛkhola** sub-tribe . . .

- **Legbahang.**
- **Lingkhim.**
- **On-chhombo,** the horse-seller.
- **Phenduā,**[1] the hammerer of iron.
- **Sahmbahang.**
- **Ssahoden,** born in famine time.
- **Thup-yumah,** name of a place.

Septs.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Anglāh.** | **Nagen.** |
| **Anlābāng.** | **Nermāh.** |
| **Baidohang.** | **Nogo.** |
| **Bākhim.** | **Pālu.** |
| **Chempajong.** | **Pārkhari.** |
| **Chungbāng.** | **Patālang.** |
| **Hemphā.** | **Pekhā.** |
| **Hukpāh.** | **Petungbah.** |
| **Ichommah.** | **Phalechhuah.** |
| **Ikteh.** | **Pheyak.** |
| **Ilāmhāng.** | **Ponthāk.** |
| **Imsong.** | **Samwah.** |
| **Ithinku.** | **Sāngbah.** |
| **Kāmbāhāng.** | **Sanjokmah.** |
| **Kāmbāng.** | **Sātling.** |
| **Kephuk.** | **Seduah.** |
| **Khāmthāk.** | **Sekwahdeng.** |
| **Khobaipong.** | **Sene.** |
| **Khuadang.** | **Singjangkuk.** |
| **Kunbāhong.** | **Singjuk.** |
| **Laktomāhāng.** | **Sukhong.** |
| **Lingdenbeh.** | **Sukwabah.** |
| **Linglāmphen.** | **Taijaung.** |
| **Lugumah.** | **Tilding.** |
| **Mangoyak.** | **Tongbāngboha.** |
| **Mangyong.** | **Tumkohong.** |
| **Muromah.** | **Yongyah.** |

[1] This *thar* was formerly the blacksmiths of the tribe.

# 7. Of the Mongoloid Tract.

## ANGĀMIS.

*From the Assam Census Report 1891, by E. A. GAIT, I.C.S.*

The **Angāmis** are the largest of the Nāgā tribes of which I have any knowledge. The portion of the tribe censused occupies 56 villages, with a population of 26,880. In addition to these, there are 14 villages, with a population of some 5,000, lying outside the district boundary in the piece of country bounded on the west by the Brahmaputra-Irawaddy watershed range, on the north by the Thezir river, on the east by the Tizu river, and on the south by the Lanier. The censused portion of the tribe in 1891 occupied the country drained by the Zullu, Sijju, and Zubza rivers, which all have their origin in the Japvo or Burrail range of hills. This range forms the boundary of the **Angāmi**, country towards the south. **Angāmis.**

The name **Angāmi**, by which this tribe is known to us, is a corruption of Gnamei, the name by which the tribe is known to the Manipuris, through whom we first came into contact with them (the Angāmis). The name by which they call themselves is Tengima, while they are known to the surrounding tribes of Kezhāmās, Semās, and Lhotās as Tsoghāmi, Tsungumi, and *Tsangho*.

The **Angāmis** assert that their people originally came from the south, *i.e.*, the direction of Manipur. They first occupied the spurs just under Japvo, and thence spread north-west and north-east. Their accounts of their origin are extremely vague and untrustworthy, as is to be expected in the case of a people who have no written language. **Origin.**

The **Angāmi** tribe is divided into three main divisions,—the *Chakroma*, who live in a few small villages in the western portion of the country; the *Tengima* proper, occupying the central portion, and the *Chakrima* or Eastern **Angāmis**, who occupy the country south and east of Kohima on both sides of the watershed range. The *Chakroma*, who represent but a very small percentage of the whole tribe, are practically identical with the Tengima in appearance and language. Between the Tengima and Chakroma, however, especially that portion of the tribe which inhabits the villages on the right bank of the Sijju river, there are very marked differences, both in dialect and general appearance. The differences in dress, cut of hair, etc., between these two divisions of the tribe are in fact greater than those that exist between tribes that are really different, such as the Lhotās and Āos, and it is only by an examination of the language spoken by Tengima and Ckakroma that we find that they really belong to the same tribe. **Tribal divisions.**

The **Angāmis** are distinguished from the other tribes within the district by their method of cultivaton. While all the other tribes, including the western or *Chakroma* portion of the **Angāmi** tribe, raise their rice crops by *jhuming*, the **Angāmis** raise their rice crop on irrigated terraces. These terraces are excavated with great labour and skill from the hill sides, and are watered by means of channels carried along the contour of the hills for long distances and at excessively easy gradients. **Cultivation.**

The questions of whence the **Angāmis** first got the idea of their terraced cultivation, and why they adopted a system which at the outset must have entailed an immense amount of labour, have often been asked: I think the answer must be that this system of cultivation gradually spread northwards from Manipur until it reached the **Angāmis**, who adopted it for the following reasons:

(1) A desire for a better kind of food than job's-tears and *konidhān*, the only *jhum* crops which can be successfully grown at high elevations, and which, from the analogy of the Mazung tribe, whose villages are situated at elevations equal to or higher than the older **Angāmi** villages, may safely be assumed to have been in days gone by the **Angāmis**' staple food.

(2) The impossibility of raising a sufficient crop of this better kind of food, *i.e.*, rice, except by a system like that of irrigated terraces, which their neighbours to the south were already practising, and which allows the same land to be used year after year without the necessity which occurs in the case of *jhum* cultivation of throwing up the land after two years' cultivation and allowing it to lie fallow for eight or ten years.

(3) A good water supply, which rendered the system of irrigated cultivation possible.

The **Angāmis** live in, for the most part, large villages, reaching in the case of Kohima to over 800 houses. These villages are, as a rule, strongly situated on the tops of hills. The houses in a village are all built close together without much attempt at arrangement, and the whole is surrounded by an almost impenetrable fence of some thorny shrub and huge stinging nettles. The approaches to the village are by narrow sunken paths, the entrance to the actual site being guarded by a strong wooden door now-a-days rarely or never shut. **Tribal customs.**

A village is, however, far from being a united community, as might have been expected. The unit of Nāgā society is not the village, but the '*khel*,' called by the **Angāmis** themselves '*tepfu*' or '*tino*'. Many of these exist in each village. In Kohima there are seven such sub-divisions. The members of each '*khel*' or '*tino*' are supposed to be descended from a common ancestor, whose name the *khel* bears. These *khels* are exogamous sub-divisions. Between the *khels* in the same village great rivalry exists, which in old days used to lead to blood feuds and frequent fighting, indeed, the inter-*khel* feuds were and are far more bitter than inter-village feuds. Inter-village feuds are now practically extinct, but inter-*khel* feuds are still kept alive

and result not infrequently at the great drinking festivals in riots and free fights, in which lives are occasionally lost. I know of no **Angāmi** village of any size which is not divided against itself by the bitter feuds which exist between its component parts. The following extract from a report by Mr. Carnegy, then Political Officer in the Nāgā Hills, dated the 12th September 1876, will show the utter want of combination which exists in an ordinary **Angāmi** village. He writes:

"In the middle of July a party of 40 men of Mozema went over to Kohima, and were admitted by one of the *khels* friendly to them, living next to the Puchatsuma quarter, into which they passed and killed all they could find, *viz.*, one man, five women, and twenty young children. *The people of the other khels made no effort to interfere, but stood looking on* * * * * * . One of the on-lookers told me that he never saw such fine sport (*i.e.*, the killing of the children), for it was just like killing fowls."

Such scenes as these are of course things of the past, but the spirit which rendered them possible still exists, and renders all real combination amongst even one tribe impossible. I have dwelt on this point at some length, as the fact of the non-existence of any possibility for united action by even one village, let alone a whole tribe, does not seem to be very widely known.

The following is a list of some of the exogamous sub-divisions existing amongst the **Angāmis.**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Dakkotsuma.** | **Puchātsuma.** | **Chaletsuma.** | **Chatsuma.** |
| **Chitonoma.** | **Kototsuma.** | **Levisonoma.** | **Meyasatsuma.** |
| **Kotsuma.** | **GuezonotsumE.** | **Nisonoma.** | **Tekrenoma.** |
| **Puphetsuma.** | **Vihutsuma.** | **Dzinionoma.** | **Kwoma.** |
| **Toloma.** | **Phetsuma.** | **Viama.** | **Kamima.** |
| **Tseāma.** | **Kipfoma.** | **Dzirama.** | **Meralitsuma.** |
| **Mekroma.** | **Pavoma.** | **Tenginuma.** | **Kizhazuma.** |
| **Rotsoma.** | **Kezanuma.** | **Cherāma.** | **Tama.** |
| **Sema.** | **Hepfoma.** | | |

This list could be added to without any trouble, but it seems useless to go on adding to a list of names, which are, except to a Nāgā, absolutely meaningless.

**Marriage customs.**

As stated above, the *khels* amongst **Angāmis** are exogamous sub-divisions. A man is therefore obliged to look for his wife amongst the women of a *khel* different from his own. Marriages are, therefore, usually not love matches, at least as far as the girl is concerned. The following sketch gives the procedure followed in the village of Khonoma by a young man who is anxious to marry. Having selected the girl he would like to marry, he informs his father. The father then sends a friend to the girl's house to interview her parents, with a view to ascertain whether they will allow the match or not. If a favourable reply is received from the girl's parents, the father of the young man will on an auspicious day (inauspicious days are days on which there has been a death in the village, or during which there has occurred an eclipse of the sun or moon or an earthquake) at sunrise ascertain, by strangling a fowl and watching which way in dying it crosses its legs, whether the intended marriage is likely to be a prosperous one or not. Should the omens be unfavourable, the arrangements for the marriage are at once broken off, but should the omens be favourable, the go-between will again be sent to inform the parents of the girl of the fact. The girl's opinion is then asked, and should she, within the next three days, dream no dream unfavourable to the idea of the intended marriage, formal consent is given by her parents. A day for the wedding is then fixed. On that day the father of the bridegroom sends some pigs, usually two or three (the number varies according to the wealth of the parties), a few *seers* of salt, and some liquor to the house of the bride's parents. These pigs are then killed, and a feast given to the *khel* men and friends of the bride, who also take away small portions of meat wrapped in plantain leaves. The same night at about 9 or 10 P.M. the bride goes to the house of the bridegroom's parents, carrying a small *lao* of liquor and a little cooked meat in a basket. She is accompanied by two men and two women carrying four *laos* of liquor, 100 or more pieces of cooked meat, and 10 or 12 pieces of uncooked meat, by a small boy carrying a cup of liquor, and by some 40 or 50 members of her own *khel*. On arrival at the house the bridegroom is summoned, and he and the bride, first the man and then the woman, eat some of the meat and drink some of the liquor brought by the bride. The bridegroom then returns to his '*deka chang*,' and the companions of the bride, after receiving a few fowls as presents, return to their homes, only two women and one man remaining to sleep with the bride at the house of the bridegroom's father, receiving in the morning a present of one fowl each.

On the second day the bride and bridegroom again eat together, the bridegroom returning at night to his '*deka chang*,' and the bride remaining in his father's house. On the morning of the third day the young couple go together to the bridegroom's cultivation, the girl carrying a '*lao*' of liquor, some food, and a hoe. The man carries only his spear. Arrived at his cultivation, first the man and after him the woman take the hoe and do a little hoeing. A little rice and liquor is then placed on the ground as an offering to the deity. The couple then eat and drink together. They then return home, the man cutting on the way home a few sticks of firewood, which are brought home by the woman. On her return the woman goes to her father's house, and brings thence to her husband's house a few *laos* of liquor and some cooked meat. A feast is then given to the neighbours and children. That night the young couple kill a fowl in order to see whether their marriage will turn out well or the reverse. They then wait for another seven or eight days. At the expiration of this period the high priest of the *khel* is called in. He sacrifices a chicken, and the ceremony of marriage is complete. Until the completion of the ceremony the bride and bridegroom do not sleep together, but after the completion of the ceremony cohabitation is allowed.

The **Angāmis** do not practise polygamy. Children take the caste of the father, *i. e.*, belong to his *khel*. This is the rule in all Nāgā tribes.

Divorces are frequent amongst the **Angāmis**, and occur for various reasons, such as infidelity on the part of the woman, incompatibility of temper, and failure on the part of the woman to bear children. **Divorce.**

If a woman is divorced for infidelity, all her clothes, beads, etc., are taken by her husband, and her family are fined the amount of the expenses incurred by the husband's family for the marriage. Should, however, a wife be divorced for any reason but some fault of her own, she receives one-third of all the grain that there is in the house at the time. Should a woman leave her husband for no fault on his part, but merely because she finds she does not like him, she then has to repay to him the expenses incurred for the marriage.

Divorced women, women who have left their husbands for any reason, and widows who have no children, etc., go to reside again in their fathers' houses, and can remarry at pleasure. Widows with children are not supposed to remarry, having to devote themselves to the bringing up of their children.

During a man's life time his sons, as they marry, receive their share of his landed property. Should, however, a man die, leaving several unmarried sons, these will all receive equal shares. As the sons marry, they leave the paternal mansion, and build houses of their own. The youngest son, therefore, in practice nearly always inherits his father's house. Daughters receive no share in their father's property except amongst certain of the Eastern **Angāmi** villages. Should a man die, leaving no male heirs, his property is, as a rule, divided amongst his nearest male relations. If he has daughters, these daughters would ordinarily be entitled to receive no portion of his property. A man can, however, by word of mouth, bequeath to his daughter or daughters such portion of his property as he may consider fit. **Rules of inheritance.**

In the case of a married woman, possessed of property in land in her own right, dying without children, her property would, if not sold to meet her funeral expenses, revert to her nearest male relations.

As soon as a man dies, his body is washed by his son, if he has one. In the case of a woman, this duty is performed by her daughter. The body is then covered over with a white cloth, and a basket containing *dhān, konidhān*, job's-tears, yams, Indian corn, and garlic is placed by the side of the body. Preparations are then at once made for the funeral feast and for the funeral, which always takes place the evening after a man's death. The funeral feast is proportionate to the wealth of the deceased. One cow is about the least that can be sacrificed, and it not infrequently happens that a man's whole property goes in furnishing forth his funeral feast. **Funeral ceremonies.**

The cows for the feast, having been procured, are killed in the early morning by an old man of deceased's *khel*. The livers, heads, and certain portions of the meat having been set apart, the rest is distributed amongst the family members, relations, and friends of deceased, portions being often sent to intimate friends residing in other villages.

The ceremony of the distribution of meat being over, the funeral obsequies are proceeded with. The coffin, a rough wooden box without a lid, having been got ready, the deceased's father-in-law, if he have one, or, if not, some friend from another *khel*, enters the house in which the body is lying, and standing on the left hand side of the body, places a plain spear down on the right hand side of the body. In the case of a woman, a black cloth takes the place of the spear. Having done this, he cuts off a small lock of the dead man's hair. The coffin is then brought into the house, and a wisp of thatching-grass is burnt inside it. This done, the body is placed in the coffin, at its right hand being placed a *dao*, two spears, and a split stick with bamboo ribbon for kindling fire after the *Nāgā* fashion. The coffin is then brought out for burial in the grave, which is usually dug close to deceased's house. I append a description of an **Angāmi** burial taken from an old diary of Mr. McCabe's:

"The grave was about 6 feet deep, close to deceased's house. The body was wrapped in new cloths, and was encased in a regular coffin without the lid. Before the coffin was lowered into the grave, the male friends of the deceased, each with a shield and a couple of spears, danced about, howling at the top of their voices and tears streaming from their eyes. The women were not to be outdone in shrieking, and rushed about with arms outstretched, slapping the ground with their cloths. As the coffin was lowered, the women ran forward and tried to hold it back, and as it finally disappeared, a most doleful shriek was raised and the corpse was thus addressed:

"Do not be afraid; do not mourn. You have only followed your parents' custom. Although you have died, let us remain happy. Although God has not been kind to you, and you have died, fear not."

"Inside the coffin, and at the right hand of the deceased, two spears and a *dao* were placed. Large flat stones were then used to form the lid of the coffin, and the crevices were carefully filled up with rubble. At this stage of the proceedings, the friends of the deceased suddenly stopped sobbing, dried their eyes, and marched off in a most businesslike manner. A civilised Nāgā, who had been as demonstrative with his umbrella as his warrior friends had been with their spears, solemnly closed it and retired. A large basketful of *dhān konidhān, dhāll*, and job's-tears was now thrown into the grave, and over this the earth was rapidly filled in."

Subsequent to the funeral the following ceremonial is observed:

On the day after the funeral the friends and relations of the deceased, together with one man of another *khel*, go to deceased's house, and there eat the meat of the heads of the cows and the other reserved portions except the livers. The skulls are then taken to the grave, and

fixed up over it, together with a shield, spear, and ornaments, such as cane-leggings, etc., worn by deceased during his life-time.

In the case of a woman, her basket, weaving sticks, etc., are placed over the grave. Food is then again partaken of at deceased's house, and the members of another *khel* who are present proceed to cook the livers of the cows set apart for this purpose. When cooked, a piece of liver with salt and chillies is given to each member of deceased's family, who, in perfect silence, throw each his piece out of the house to a distance of eight or nine paces. This ceremony being completed, all those present return to their homes.

On the second day after the funeral, seventeen portions of cooked rice, with a little salt, are tied up in plantain leaves. These are buried outside the house on the fourth day. On the fifth day from the funeral, deceased's wooden platter and drinking-cup are hung up by a string inside the house. At the expiration of thirty days, this string is undone and thrown away. The platter and cup are given to one of deceased's intimate friends. About the fortieth day deceased's family sacrifice a cock, the flesh being eaten equally by all. The ceremonies connected with the funeral are then complete.

Very young children are usually buried inside the house. The bodies of women dying in childbirth are taken out through the back of the house, and buried without any ceremony whatever.

**Religion.** The **Angāmis** have practically no religion. They recognise a supreme creator called **Terhopfo** or **Keponopfo.** They also believe in the existence of evil spirits which reside in rocks, trees, and pools of water. These are usually propitiated in cases of illness by offerings of fowls, pigs, or cattle. Customs similar to these are common to the whole of the Nāgā and Kuki tribes within this district. Of a future state after death, their ideas are extremely vague. They certainly believe that the soul does not die with the body, but what becomes of it they cannot say, resembling in this respect more civilised nations.

**Village festivals.** The chief **Angāmi** village festivals are those called Terhengi and Sekrengi.

The Terhengi is celebrated within a short time of the completion of the harvest, and is in fact the 'Harvest Home' festival. As the Terhengi marks the end of the year's work for the **Angāmi**, so the Sekrengi marks its commencement, being held shortly before the new year's work in the fields is begun. Both festivals last for ten days, and both are occasions for the unlimited consumption of *zu* (rice beer), pork, and beef.

During the Terhengi are given most of those big feeds which wealthy Nāgās give, in the not vain hope of handing down their names to future generations. Such feasts, at which a man's guests are numbered often by hundreds, cost not infrequently in kind and money as much as ₹700 or ₹800. The slaughter of ten head of cattle and 20 or 30 pigs is no unusual thing. So much meat, of course, entails the use of enormous quantities of rice, both for food and liquor, and it is at the ceremony of pounding this rice, which takes place a few days before the feast begins, and at which the whole of the adult males of the host's *khel* assist, that the **Angāmi** warrior is seen to the best advantage. On such occasions he, to use a slang phrase, 'puts 'em all on,' and a crowd of fine athletic young savages, well adorned with *toucan* feather head dresses, bear-skin fringes, collars (*tatche*) made of locks of human hair surmounted by a fringe of goat's hair dyed blood red, new bright red and yellow cane leggings and armlets, and a few other small ornaments dear to the savage heart, is no mean sight. To commemorate these feasts, huge stones are dragged, often for long distances, on rough wooden sledges, and are erected by the side of the road near the village. The giver of the feast also becomes entitled to put up over his house the huge wooden horns (*hikhya*), which are such a conspicuous feature in most **Angāmi** villages.

At the Sekrengi festival dogs are killed and eaten in large numbers. I have often enquired the reason for this, but have never been able to get a satisfactory answer. Besides these two main festivals many other minor ones are celebrated during the year, the chief of which is that held just before the new paddy harvest begins.

# 7. Of the Mongoloid Tract.

## ĀOS.

[*From the Assam Census Report, 1891, by E. A. GAIT, I.C.S.*]

The **Āos** occupy the country which is drained by the Jhanzi, the Desoi, and by the streams which flow into the Dikhu on its left bank. The only **Āo** village on the right bank of the Dikhu is Longsa. The **Āos** profess to have had their origin from a stone, which is situated between Longsa and the Sangtam village of Luban. From this place they gradually migrated across the Dikhu, and occupied the country in which they now dwell. They are divided into two tribes, Chungli or Zungi and Mongsen, speaking dialects which are so dissimilar as to be practically different languages. These two tribes, though they in many instances live side by side in the same villages, have each preserved their own dialect. Āo. Origin and habitat.

The **Āos** occupy, excluding Longsa, 46 villages. Of these, 21 are Chungli entirely, 19 are Mongsen entirely, while six are mixed villages, inhabited both by Chungli and Mongsen. Roughly speaking, the **Āo** country is composed of three parallel ridges, called Lampungkung, Changkikung, and Japukung respectively. The Chungli tribe inhabits all the villages on the Lampungkung (the range immediately overlooking the Dikhu), with the exception of the villages of Mokokehang and Nunkam, which are partially Mongsen. The valley of the Melak or Jhanzi, *i.e.*, the valley enclosed between the Lampungkung and Changkikung, contains the mixed villages, while on the Changkikung and Japukung the villages are, with the exception of Deka Haimong, Molungting, and Assiringia (a non-**Āo** village), entirely Mongsen.

Assiringia, called by the **Āos** Mirinokpo, is a village which really belongs to the 'naked' tribe of Nāgās. The inhabitants came many years ago from the village of Wankhong or Orangkang, a village belonging to that tribe, and situated a day's march east of the Dikhu from Susu village. Now a days in all but language the Assiringia people have become **Āos**. The problem is, how did they get on to their present site, which is on the range immediately over the plains, through the intervening **Āo** villages? Where they are at present, they are at least three days' journey from the nearest villages of the tribe to which they really belong.

The following description is taken from Colonel Woodthorpe's Report of the survey operations in the Nāgā Hills, 1874-1875: Description of an Āo village.

"The villages, which are usually large, as a rule, occupy the most commanding points along the ridges, and the approaches to them are exceedingly pretty. Broad roads, bordered with grass and low shrubs, lead up, through avenues of fine trees, to the main entrance, which is generally very strongly guarded by two or three panjied ditches, running right across the ridge and stockaded on the inner bank. The stockades are strongly built of a double line of posts, supporting a wall of interlaced bamboo, and are capable of offering a good resistance. The outermost ditch is generally about 200 or 300 yards, or even more, away from the village, the second being situated between it and the one enclosing the village. The gate through the stockades of this last ditch into the village is cut out of one huge block, and is frequently four or five feet broad and about six feet high. A large gable roof is constructed over it, giving it a great resemblance to our old lych-gates at home. Look outs are built commanding the entrance, and in some cases little huts are constructed in large trees outside the most advanced stockades on the main roads, communications being preserved with the interior by means of long ladders and causeways. Passing through the gate into the village, we find ourselves before the '*morang*' or bachelor's house, a large and most peculiar-looking building, appearing to be all roof, which springs from a small back gabled wall about five feet high and six or seven feet broad. The ridge rises rapidly from this to the front till it attains a height from the ground of 25 feet or 30 feet, the eaves resting on the ground on either side. The front is closed with a semi-circular wall of thatch, a small door about four feet high giving admittance to the building, which, as this is generally the only opening, is necessarily somewhat dark. As the eye gets accustomed to the gloom, we find that the house is divided into two parts by a low wall formed of a log of wood, over which a thick bamboo mat is stretched. The half of the house has a matted floor, and is provided with a hearth and planked sleeping places round it, and here the young men sleep, but the other half is unfloored. We also make out that the principal uprights are carved with large figures of men, elephants, tigers, lizards, etc., roughly painted with the three colours common to the Nāgā and Gāro tribes, *i.e.*, black, white, and reddish brown. Arranged round the walls are the skulls of men and animals and skilful imitations of them made by cutting and painting old gourds; these imitations are often so well done that at a little distance they pass for real skulls. The ridge of the *morang* projects a few feet in front, and is ornamented with small straw figures of men and tufts of straw placed at regular intervals. Outside each *morang* is a large platform of logs of wood, on which the young men and their friends sit and smoke throughout the day, and hard by is an open shed, in which stands the big drum, formed of a huge trunk hollowed out and elaborately carved (generally to resemble a buffalo's head) and painted in front after the manner of the figure head of a ship and furnished with a straight tail at the other end. The drum is raised from the ground, and rests upon logs of wood. It is sounded by letting a

heavy piece of wood (hinged on to one side of the roof) fall on it, and by beating it with double-headed clubs."

The ordinary houses in the village are large and clean. They are built in regular streets, and are divided into three rooms, the outer room being on the ground, and the two inner rooms being raised off the ground. At the back of the house there is a bamboo platform, and in front an open verandah. The ridge projects a few feet in front, and in villages built on a narrow piece of ground these ridges often overlap, rendering the village street quite dark.

**Personal appearance of the Āos.**

The men amongst the **Āos**, both Chungli and Mongsen, are somewhat darker in complexion and inferior in physique to the **Angāmis**. They wear a loin-cloth and small apron. The pattern of this last varies from village to village. All wear a cotton cloth thrown lightly round the shoulders, the commonest colours being dark blue or dirty white. Thin brass tubes about four inches long, to the ends of which are attached thin chains, each chain ending in a small bell, are the commonest ear ornaments among the men. Tufts of cotton are occasionally worn in the ears. One or two strings of long white beads are usually worn round the neck. The arms of the men are spear, shield and *dao*, the last being carried on the back in a small wooden sheath, which is bound round the waist by a cotton rope. The men in the villages at the northern extremity of the tribe generally wear small helmets made of plaited cane ornamented with boars' tusks. A collar of wild boars' tusks round the neck and cowrie cuffs round the wrists are worn by all men who have taken a head. Now a days men who have not taken a head have begun to wear these distinctive marks.

The men of the tribe are not tattooed, and there is in outward appearance no difference between Chungli and Mongsen.

The women, who are comparatively superior in physique to the men, are, after the **Angāmis**, the best looking in the hills. They are tattooed on the face, neck, breasts, arms, and legs. The marks on the face are slight, and are confined to four vertical lines on the chin. These are the same both for Chungli and Mongsen. The other tattoo marks, however, are different for either tribe, the difference in pattern on the arms and calves of the leg being very noticeable. Both tribes tie their hair in the same manner, but the Mongsen women use a white cotton rope for that purpose, while the Chungli women use ropes of plaited black hair. The clothes of both are similar. They consist of a dark blue petticoat, sometimes ornamented with red stripes, reaching from waist to knee, and a dark blue or dirty white cloth thrown loosely round the shoulders. Their ornaments are numerous strings of cheap red cornelian beads worn round the neck. In the upper part of the ear they wear large brass rings about four inches in diameter. These are made of three twists of thick brass wire, and after being passed through the ear are supported by a string going over the top and round the back of the head. The lobe of the ear supports large crystal ear ornaments.

Men, women, and children all smoke short bamboo or iron pipes; they are seldom seen without these. Old women often wear gaiters made of white or dark blue cloth.

**Cultivation.**

This tribe cultivates by the *jhum* system. Land is kept under cultivation for two years, and then allowed to lie fallow for ten years or so. The reason for abandoning land after the second year is said to be partly due to the impoverishment of the soil, and partly to the rank growth of weeds, the roots of which are never eradicated from the soil, and which after the second year come up in such numbers that it is found quite impossible to keep them down.

**Tribal constitution.**

Each village amongst the **Āos** is a small republic, and each man is as good as his neighbour, indeed, it would be hard to find anywhere else more thoroughly democratic communities. Headmen (*tātār*) do exist, but their authority is very small.

**Village customs.**

As above stated (description of an **Āo** village), sleeping houses for bachelors are provided. These, however, are seldom used except by small boys, it being an almost universal custom for the young men each to sleep with the girl of his choice. The unmarried girls sleep by twos and threes in houses otherwise empty, or else tenanted by one old woman. Here they are visited nightly by their lovers. The resultant immorality is not so great as might be expected, for the following reasons: (1) the numbers of men and women are, as a rule, pretty equally balanced, and (2) girls of known extremely immoral habits find it, I am told, difficult to get husbands.

**Village festivals.**

The chief festivals of the year are the two that occur in August before the commencement of the harvest, and the one that occurs at its close; all of them are occasions for the consumption of much pork and rice-beer. The harvest home festival is usually the time chosen for killing *mithān* by the rich men of the village. A *mithān* feast involves, as do similar feasts among the **Angāmis**, an expenditure in cash and kind of not less than ₹500.

Mithān at these festivals are, or rather were,—the custom is being gradually suppressed,—killed in an extremely cruel manner, being literally hacked to bits with *daos*, the animal finally dying from loss of blood.

The second festival in August is, however, the most interesting. At its celebration two customs are practised, which are not, as far as I am aware, practised by any other tribe in this district. The first of these is the custom during the three days the festival lasts of having 'tugs-of-war' between the young men and unmarried girls of each *khel*. The ropes used are thick jungle creepers of great length. The object of the girls is to pull the rope right outside the boundaries of the *khel*. This they are seldom allowed to do, the young men generally pouncing down on the rope and dragging it back before it has been taken clean out of their ground. After dark the ropes are dropped, and the second portion of the *tamāsha* begins. The girls form into circles, holding hands, each *khel* on its own ground. They then begin a monotonous chant, at the same time circling slowly round and round. This dancing and singing go on for hours, its monotony being only interrupted by what may be called raids by the young men from a different *khel*. These come round with lighted torches, and having picked out the girls

they consider most pleasing proceed to carry them off by force. Such seizures, however, lead to nothing worse than drinking, the girls so carried off being obliged by custom to stand the young men free drinks.

**Slavery.** This custom was universal throughout the Ao tribe. Since our occupation of the country, every effort has been made to suppress the custom, and the selling and buying of slaves is now, I fancy, very uncommon. Slaves were and are, I believe, on the whole, very well treated, being considered almost as members of the family. Cases of harsh treatment, of course, must have occurred occasionally, but these must now be very rare, and the slaves who have remained with their owners know very well that, if ill treated, all they have to do is to run away. In old days slaves, unless they could get down to the plains, could not run away, it being etiquette for them to be caught and returned by the inhabitants of any village in which they took refuge.

Troublesome slaves were usually sold to people living across the Dikhu, amongst whom the custom of human sacrifices is not, I believe, entirely unknown. Amongst the Aos, before our occupation of the country, slaves were not infrequently paid by one village to another village with which they happened to be on bad terms, to make up a quarrel, and as a sort of set off against any heads taken by them. Slaves paid in this way were invariably slaughtered by the village which received them, as an offering to the spirits of the men on their side who had been killed.

Female slaves were not allowed to marry or have children. If they became pregnant, their children were killed immediately after birth, or else abortion was procured. Female slaves are not tattooed.

**Religion.** Like other Nāgā tribes, the Aos have an intense belief in the powers of certain evil spirits which reside usually in rocks, pools of water, and streams. Two of the most well-known stones in which reside '*Deos*' are the Lungpalung, close to Lungpa village, and the Changchanglung, between the villages of Dibua and Woromong. Sacrifices are regularly offered to these stones by the villages near them. In cases of sickness pigs and fowls are sacrificed in large numbers, in order to appease the particular spirit to whose malign influence the sickness is supposed to be due. Poor men often run deeply into debt in obtaining the pig, etc., necessary for these offerings, which are consumed of course by their friends.

**Marriage customs.** When a man has fixed on the girl he wants to marry, he sends a friend or some near relation to the father of the girl to ascertain if her people are willing to give her. If his proposal is accepted, he will, if he be of the Chungli tribe, send a small present to the father of his future bride, and after this is done he is at liberty to take the girl as soon as he has got a house ready to receive her. No further ceremony appears to be gone through. On the day on which a girl goes to her husband's house, a pig or so may be killed at her father's house and the meat distributed to friends and relations.

The Mongsen custom is more elaborate. A man's proposals having been favourably received a period of thirty days is allowed to expire. At the end of this period the engaged couple go on a trading expedition for twenty days. Should the results of this trading expedition be good, *i.e.*, should a fair profit have been made, it is considered a good omen, and the arrangements for the marriage are proceeded with. Should, however, the results of the trading expedition be unfavourable, the marriage is at once broken off. About three months after the return from the trading expedition, as soon as the house is ready for her reception, the girl goes to her husband's house, being escorted thither by all her relations and friends. A feast is given on that day, both at her house and at the house of her husband's people. For the first six nights after a woman has gone to her husband's house, six men and six women sleep in the house with the newly-married couple, the men, including the bridegroom, sleeping separate from the women, with whom sleeps the bride.

The Aos do not practise polygamy, and, as with the Angāmis, but a nominal price is paid for a wife.

**Internal structure.** The tribe is divided into exogamous sub-divisions. These, as far as I have been able to ascertain, are five for the Mongsen tribe, *i.e.*, Mongsentsung, Yemchen, Uchi, Chār and Ai, and three for the Chungli tribe, *i.e.*, Pungen, Uonkam, and Mungatungamen. The names of these exogamous sub-divisions vary from village to village. Of course a member of any sub-division of the Mongsen tribe can marry a member of any subdivision of the Chungli tribe.

**Widows.** Widows are allowed to remarry at a decent interval after the death of a husband. A year is the least interval that is supposed to elapse before a woman is allowed to take a new husband. If this rule is broken a fine is imposed. The rule with regard to widowers is the same as that for widows. A woman who has been divorced for infidelity is not allowed to remarry without paying a considerable fine to her former husband.

Children follow the clan of the father in all cases.

**Funeral customs.** The Aos do not bury their dead. As soon as a man dies, preparations are made for his funeral. The coffin, a structure of bamboo and thatch, shaped somewhat like a house, and just large enough to admit the body, having been made, the body is placed in it, and then put up to be smoked in the outer compartment of the house. This smoking, which is done in a very perfunctory manner, lasts for from ten days to two months. When it is over, the coffin, over which is laid one of the dead man's cloths, is taken out and placed on a bamboo platform in the village cemetery. The cemeteries invariably occupy one side of the main road leading to the village gate, and often render the approaches to the village extremely unpleasant to one's nose. On the māchan, along with the coffin, are hung a man's eating-plate and drinking-cup, while in front in a row are ranged the heads he has taken and close to these his shield and spear are placed. Bodies are not always smoked. If this custom is not observed, the body in its coffin is taken out and placed in the village cemetery as soon after death as possible.

# 7. Of the Mongoloid Tract.

## WA.

[*From the Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan State, by* SIR J. GEORGE SCOTT, *K.C.I.E., M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.*]

These people, in one dialect at any rate, call themselves **Wa, Wu** or **Vü**. In most places, however, they use, or accept, the name **Wa**. The Burmese call them *Lawa*; so do the Lao of the Siamese Shan States. The Chinese appear to have the general name Hkawa for them, but the immediate neighbourhood of the clans, according to Mr. Warry, they discriminate. The name Hkawa is there reserved for what the Shāns call the Wa Hai, the wild savage **Wa**; that of Yet Hka-la (or wild Hkā-lăs) is applied to those who are very objectionable, but do not resent all intercourse; while those who appear at markets partially, sometimes even decently, clad are called Chia Hkā-lā, or domesticated Hkā-lās. This is not very scientific, but it indicates a disconcerting division which is everywhere met, but nowhere run to ground. This is the distinction between **Wa** and La. The Shans are convinced of its existence, but direct enquiry brings out nothing more divergent than that the La are Buddhists, or at any rate are more civilised and are willing to and do live among other races, while the **Wa** do not leave their homes, are mere spirit-worshippers, and have all the objectionable qualities which tradition assigns to the race. The **Wa** Pwi, who are the wildest of the race yet seen, also recognise the name La, but the tradesmen they designate by the name La, such as the inhabitants of Kang Hsö and Sonmu, disown the title and claim to be **Wa**. The inhabitants of Ken Pwi and Ken Fan and a few other villages in Kokang, it is true accept the name La, but they apparently do so because they are too isolated to oppose the volume of public opinion, and moreover they appear to be half-breeds like the Danus and Kadus and Dānaws and Yaws who vex the enquirer's spirit. It would almost appear therefore as if La were a euphemism, or a diplomatic expression, the sort of language necessary in dangerous company all the world over. But on the Mekhong slope of the Salween-Mekhong watershed near the **Wa** country there is a tribe which calls itself Hka-la [the La being pronounced very short like La (t) with the *t* unsounded]. Their language to the ear is precisely like **Wa**; their appearance, villages, and habits are practically the same, but they themselves strenuously deny any connection. Too little is known of them to be dogmatic, but the opinion may be hazarded that they are quite mistaken as to their ancestry and that they are really **Wa**; it is also possible that their shamefacedness is responsible for the use of the term La for such of the race as are not brazen in their savagery. The **Wa** of the Pet Ken call themselves Krak or K-l-rak, which seems to be the same, but is locally said to be nothing of the kind.

Captain H. R. Davies found that "the inhabitants of a very civilized village near Meng Meng (a Chinese-Shān State), far away from the head-hunters, were described as **Wa**." The people of this village called themselves Parow (k) and said they called the wild **Wa** Rave (t). It is unfortunate that these names do not seem to be known at **Wa** head quarters, as, until more is known, the wilder **Wa** country must be considered. It is well known that *l* and *r* are easily interchanged and Rā-ve (*t*) might well be La-ve (La) Vü. Moreover, the name Parow-k would seem to be a link with Palaung. Thus we would have La-vü, La-wa, split up into La and Wa, and Parow (*k*) Palaung.

**Language.** As far as language is concerned, it would seem that the **Wa** are of the same race as the Palaungs (Rumai or Tāsoru) and Hka Muks and therefore, if we are to accept Professor Forchhammer's idea, the same stock as the Cambodians, Annamese, and Talaings or Mons. Such a connection is rather startling and suggests the dictum that speech is meant to deceive. Linguistic evidence cannot be entirely trusted, but when it is backed up by physical appearance and habits and customs it is incontrovertible. The comparison of vocabularies no less than race types seems to show that Forchhammer was wrong and that there is no relationship between the Mon and the Palaung and therefore none with the **Wa**.

The fact that the Lawa and the Wā are the same and that they are of the same race as the Rumai or Palaungs and the Riang tribes seems to be conclusively proved by comparative vocabularies, and there the matter might rest for the present if it were not that **Wa** traditions in the **Wa** country represent that country as having been always peopled by its present inhabitants. The **Wa** or Lawa of Kengtung on the other hand say, and are said by their neighbours, to have been the aborigines of all that country and of the territory down to Chiengmai. McLeod, writing in 1837, says (Parliamentary papers): "Zimme and all the country in this direction formerly belonged to the Lawas, who are now but few in this district; some are found in about six villages to the northward, besides those near Muang Niong; the rest have fled to the mountains round Kengtung, which country, however, is said also formerly to have belonged to them." The Wild **Wa** know nothing of this and the history of Mang Lon (*q.v.*) makes no allusion to such dominion. It will therefore be most satisfactory to discuss the titular "**Wa** country" first.

These self-styled **Wa** live in an extremely compact block of territory on our north-eastern frontier, extending for about one hundred miles along the Salween and for perhaps half that distance inland to the watershed between that river and the Mekhong. Within this area, which is roughly bisected by the ninety-ninth parallel of east longitude and lies between and

on either side of the twenty-second and twenty-third parallels of latitude, there are few people who are not **Wa**. Their boundaries may be roughly said to be the Salween on the west, the ridge over the Namting valley on the north, the hills east of the Nam Hka on the eastern and southern sides, while the country ends in a point formed by the junction of the Nam Hka with the Salween. Beyond this few **Wa** are found, though they occur as far east as the Mekhong, but only in isolated villages, and it is only on the fringes of this block that other races, chiefly Shans and La'hu, venture to settle.

Of more extended possessions the main body of the **Wā** have no recollection. They claim to have inhabited the country where they now are since the beginning of time. One account of their origin (from a huge gourd) is given under the head of Mang Lön, but this is much disfigured by additions obviously taken from Shan and Buddhist history. Another gives the reason for the head cutting, but it is no doubt toned down from the true head-hunter's version.

**Totemistic origin.**

All the Indo-Chinese races have a predilection for totemistic birth stories. Some claim to be sprung from eggs, some from dogs, some from reptiles. The **Wa** claim tadpoles for their rude forefathers. The primæval **Wa** were called Ya Htawm and Ya Htai. As tadpoles they spent their first years in Nawng Hkeo, a mysterious lake on the top of a hill range, seven thousand feet high, in the centre of the head cutting country. When they turned into frogs they lived on a hill called Nam Tão and, progressing in the scale of life, they became ogres and established themselves in a cave, Pakkate, about thirty miles south of the mountain lake on the slope over the Nam Hka. From this cave they made sallies in all directions in search of food, and at first were content with deer, wild pig, goats, and cattle. As long as this was their only diet, they had no young. But all Hpi Hpai in the end come to eat human beings. It is their most distinguished characteristic, after the fact of their having red eyes and casting no shadow. One day Ya Htawm and Ya Htai went exceptionally far afield and came to a country inhabited by men. They caught one and ate him and carried off his skull to the Pakkate cave. After this they had many young ogrelets, all of whom, however, appeared in human form. The parents therefore placed the human skull on a post and worshipped it. There were nine sons, who established themselves in the nine **Wa** glens, mostly in the west, and they bred and mustered rapidly. The ten daughters settled on the fells and were even more prolific. Their descendants are the most thorough in head-hunting and the skulls are always men's. The language the new race spoke was at first that of the frog, a sort of *Brekkekkekkexkoax*, but this was elaborated in time into modern **Wa**.

**Human skulls necessary.**

Ya Htawm and Ya Htai enjoined on their children the necessity of always having a human skull in their settlements. Without this they could not have any peace, plenty, prosperity, comfort, or enjoyment, and this injunction has always been piously obeyed. When the venerable ogres felt death coming they summoned all their progeny together and gave an account of their origin and said that they, Ya Htawm and Ya Htai, were to be worshipped as the father and mother spirits. Other spirits there were, but they were bad and malevolent. Ya Htawm and Ya Htai alone were genial and benignant and the most seemly offering to them was a snow-white grinning skull. The ordinary sacrifices on special occasions, however, were to be buffaloes, bullocks, pig, and fowls, with plentiful libations of rice-spirit. The special occasions were marriage, the commencement of a war, death, and the putting up of a human skull. In addition to these meat offerings a human skull was always desirable under exceptional circumstances, or for special objects. Thus when a new village was founded, a skull was an imperative necessity. If there were a drought, which threatened a failure of the crops, no means would be so successful in bringing rain as the dedication of a skull. If disease swept away many victims a skull alone would stay the pestilence. But the good parental ogres expressly said that it was not necessary that the villagers should slay a man in order to get his head. They might get the skull by purchase or barter.

**Not cannibals.**

Thus the intermediate **Wa** account for their lack of enterprise. Until a British party visited the wild **Wa** country in 1893 it was firmly believed that the **Wa** were cannibals. The story is as old as the time of Vasco Da Gama, for there seems no reason to doubt that "the Gueos" of Camöens' *Lusiadas*, Cant. X, cxxxvi, are the present-day **Wa**. The passage is thus, none too musically, rendered in Bowring's Saim, Volume II, page I.

> "O'er these vast regions see a varied throng
> Of thousand unknown nations crowd the coast;
> The Laos both in lands and numbers strong,
> Åvas and Burmahs in their mountains lost,
> And savage Gueos, scarcely seen among
> The deep recesses, where the barbarous host
> On human flesh with brutal hunger feed,
> And with hot iron stamp their own-rude deed!"

Vasco da Gama's first voyage, of which the Lusiad tells, began in 1497.

It is, however, certain that the **Wa** are not cannibals, at least not habitual cannibals. The assertion is, however, so universally made by all their neighbours—Chinese, Burmese, Shans, Lem, and La'Hu—and is so firmly believed, that it seems probable that on special occasions, possibly at the annual harvest feast, human flesh may be eaten as a religious function, a sort of pious remembrance of the diet which made the **Wa** first ancestors fecund and produced the race. The **Wa** themselves, however, even the **Wa** Lon, who are the most thorough-paced supporters of rules and regulations, deny it, not indeed with scorn, or horror, or indignation, or any well-regulated sentiment, but with a placid, well-fed chuckle as who should say: Why should we eat men's flesh, when the regular posting up of men's heads will ensure us plenty of dogs, plenty of maize and buckwheat, and plenty of spirits? Certainly headless corpses are left lying about the roads as if they were of no value to any body.

We are therefore forced to abandon belief in the attractively graphic story of the good wife putting "the kettle on the fire" when the men of the village go out head-hunting. The Shans still firmly believe that the **Wa** eat their parents. When they become old and feeble, so it is said, the children tenderly and lovingly help them to climb into the branches of a tree. Then they shake the boughs until the old people fall down. "The fruit is ripe: let us eat it" they say, and proceed to do so." This prepossessing old story seems to be true only of the Battak of Sumatra, who find no grave so suitable and honourable for the authors of their being as their own insides, though it is told also of the northernmost Kachins.

**Head-hunting.**

But as to the head-hunting there is no manner of doubt. It is true that the **Wa** are not mere collectors. They do not accumulate heads as one collects stamps, or botanical specimens, or match box labels from the pure pleasure of possession and an eclectic gratification in differences of size, shape, or in the perfect condition of the teeth, and the well marked definition of the sutures. No individual **Wa** has a private collection, nor does it appear that success in the accumulation of heads ensures the favours of the fair. They do not mount their heads, fresh lopped off, on posts as the people of the Mambwe country, south of Lake Tanganyika, do, in the belief that such exhibits are pleasing and impressive; nor do they regard them as tokens of individual prowess as the Dyaks do, or as the American Indians used to glory in the scalps they carried about them. The **Wa** regards his skulls as a protection against the spirits of evil, much the same as holy water, or the sign of the cross, or like texts at a meeting house, or Bibles on the dressing table at a temperance hotel, or hallelujahs at a Salvation Army service. Without a skull his crops would fail; without a skull his kine might die; without a skull the father and mother spirits would be shamed and might be enraged; if there were no protecting skull the other spirits, who are all malignant, might gain entrance and kill the inhabitants, or drink all the liquor.

**Habitations.**

The **Wa** country is a series of mountain ranges, running north and south and shelving rapidly down to narrow valleys from two to five thousand feet deep. The villages are all on the slopes, some in a hollow just sheltered by the crest of the ridge, some lower down where a spur offers a little flat ground. The industrious cultivation of years has cleared away the jungle, which is so universal elsewhere in the Shan hills, and the villages stand out conspicuously as yellowish brown blotches on the hill sides. A Shan village is always embowered in bamboos and fruit of flowering trees; Kachin villages straggle about among the peaks with primæval forest all round; Akha, Kwi, and La'hu hide away their settlements in gullies, or secluded hollows; but a **Wa** village is visible for miles, the houses all within one enclosure and the gray of the thatched roofs hardly distinguishable from the litter of cattle and pigs which covers inches deep all the ground within the fence and makes it as conspicuous as a chalk mark on a billiard cloth. But outside every village, at any rate in the Wild **Wa** country, there is a grove of trees, usually stretching along the ridge, or a convenient *col*. It is usually fairly broad and is made up of huge trees, with heavy undergrowth, strips of the forest which, years and years ago, covered the whole country. From a distance it looks like an avenue, sometimes little over one hundred yards long, sometimes stretching for long distances from village to village. This is the avenue of skulls. It is not necessarily, and as often as not is not, the usual mode of approach to the village. Occasionally, however, the skulls actually line the main road and are practically out in the open. This appears to be the case rather with the more recently established villages, and the avenue, sombre with the shade of high over-arching trees and dense undergrowth, is certainly the more usual.

Here there is a row of stout posts, about three and-a-half to four and-a-half feet high and five or six feet apart. In each of these, a little below the top, is cut a triangular hole with a ledge on which the skull is placed. Sometimes the niche is on the side facing the path, so that the whole skull is in full view of the passer-by; sometimes it is inserted from behind and grins at him through a slit. As a rule the posts are perfectly plain with nothing but the bark stripped off, but here and there they are fashioned into slabs with rude carving, or primitive designs in red and black paint, by way of adornment, but this seems to be the case on the outer fringe rather than in the heart of the downright business-doing head-hunter's country. The posts stand on one side of the road only, not on both sides, and there appears to be no rule as to the direction, either of the grove or of the line of skulls, north or south, east or west. Most villages count their heads by tens or twenties, but some of them run to hundreds, especially when the grove lies between several villages, who combine or perhaps run their collections into one another. The largest known avenue is that between Sung Ramang and Hsan Htung. Here there must be a couple of hundred or more skulls. There is no assertion, however, that this is really the largest.

The skulls are in all stages of preservation, some of them glistening white and perfect in every detail, some discoloured with the green mould of one or more rains, some patched over with lichens, or shaggy with moss, some falling to pieces, the teeth gone, the jaws crumbling away, the sutures yawning wide; sometimes the skull has vanished with age and the post even is mouldering to decay.

No doubt a wild **Wa** never misses a chance of taking a head, when an opportunity presents itself. The skulls are looked upon as a safeguard against and a propitiation of the evil spirits. The ghost of the dead man hangs about his skull and resents the approach of other spirits, not from any good will for the villages, for all spirits are mischievous and truculent, but because he resents trespassing on his coverts. For this reason the skulls of strangers are always the most valuable, for the ghost does not know his way about the country and cannot possibly wander away from his earthly remains. He also all the more resents the intrusion of vagrant ghosts on his policies. They cramp his movements and a

ghost wants plenty of elbow room. An unprotected stranger is therefore pretty sure to lose his head, if he wanders among the wild Wa, no matter what the time of the year may be. The more eminent he is the better, for the Wa are quite of the opinion of the tribes farther to the north, that an eminent man will make a puissant, brabbling ghost, who will dominate the country side, and secure his owners sleep of nights.

But though heads are thus taken in an eclectic, dilettante way whenever chance offers, there is a proper authorized season for the accumulation of them. Legitimate head-cutting opens in March and lasts through April. The old skulls will ensure peace for the village, but at least one new one is wanted, if there is not to be risk of failure of the crops, the opium, the maize, and the rice. In these months journeying is exciting in the hills. A Wa must go out with the same reflection as a self-respecting dog, who never takes a stroll without the conviction that he is more likely than not to have a fight before he comes home again. Nevertheless there are rules of the game; lines of conduct to be observed, which assume the dignity of customary law. Naturally the Wa never take the heads of their fellow-villagers. The elements of political economy forbid that. It would be a very urgent necessity, a raging pestilence, a phenomenal drought, or a murrain among their cattle which would justify the immolation of a man from an adjoining village. To behead a man from a community even on the same range of hills is looked upon as unneighbourly and slothful. The enterprise should be carried out on the next range, east or west, at any rate at a distance, the farther the more satisfactory from the point of view of results—agricultural results. When the head is secured the party returns immediately travelling night and day without halt. It is not necessary to have more than one head, but naturally the more heads there are, the less danger there is of agricultural depression. They may therefore take several heads at their first stoop and, if they meet with a favourable opportunity on the way home, a party of misguided pedlars unable to defend themselves, or a foot-sore, or fever-stricken straggler from a Chinese caravan, they promptly end his wanderings.

The hunting-party is never large, usually about a dozen. Villages are therefore never attacked. That would be too much like slaughter, or civil war, which is not at all what is intended. The act is simply one of religious observance, or the carrying on of a historical tradition. It does not appear that the neighbours of the victims harbour any particular animosity against the successful sportsmen. No doubt they go questing the following year by preference in that direction, but they apparently never think of exacting immediate vengeance. Further, the Wa never seem to make raids beyond the limits of their own country, or at any rate of country which they have not regarded as their own in the past, or consider as likely to become theirs at some future time. There is no case on record of a Wa raid across the Salween, into Shan territory, to collect heads, nor have they ever invaded the Chinese Shan State on the North. The Shans of Mong Lem to the south-east do indeed complain that certain roads, which, they say, are in their State, are very unsafe when the Wa hill fields are being got ready for planting, but it is only the roads that are unsafe. Shan villages are so open that disappointed hunters might very well creep in at night to get the heads which they have failed to secure in the open country, but it does not appear that this has ever been done. It is probably this discrimination on the part of the head-hunters which, as much as anything else, has restrained the neighbouring people from combining to put an end to the Wild Wa, or at any rate to their accumulation of skulls.

The head-hunting party usually goes out quietly enough. There has probably been some consulting of sacrificial bones, or some scrutiny of the direction in which feather-light plant down floats, but there is no blessing of the questing party or any demonstration on the part of those who stay behind. Not even the women and children go to see them beyond the village gate. It is as much a matter of course every year as the sowing of the fields.

Sometimes they are out for a long time, for naturally every one, whether stranger or native of the country, is very much on the alert during the head-cutting season. Occasionally two search parties come across one another. There is as much feinting and dodging and beguiling then as between two wrestlers trying for the grip. The Hsan Htung head-hunters actually did thus waylay a party from Yawng Maw, north of the Nawng Hkeo lake in 1893, and took three heads from the party of ten. This was legitimate sport, for the Yawng Maw men were in the Hsan Htung limits and presumably after Hsan Htung heads. Ordinarily, however, Wa heads are not taken. The vulture does not prey on the kite. It is said that the bodies are never mutilated, but on the occasion referred to one corpse had hands and feet cut off. The Hsan Htung men were too drunk and excited to be favourable subjects for cross-examination, but it was said that the wretched man was a noted thief and that his hands and feet came off before his head as a warning to ill-regulated characters.

**Tariff for heads.**

There is a tariff for heads. The skulls of the unwarlike Lem come lowest. They can sometimes be had for two rupees. La'hu heads can be had for about three times as much, for the La'hu are stalwart men of their hands and use poisoned arrows in their cross-bows. Other Shans than the Lem are more rarely found, for they usually go, if they go at all, in large parties. Burmese heads have not been available for nearly a generation and Chinamen's heads run to about 50 rupees, for they are dangerous game. European heads have not come on the market. There are no quotations. Wa skulls, probably from motives of delicacy, are not apprised. They probably fetch the average price, about ten rupees, according to the successful nature of the season and the number of semi-civilized Wa villages who are buying.

When the head, or heads, are brought home, there is great rejoicing. The big wooden gong is fanatically beaten. All the bamboos of rice-spirit in the village are tapped, the women and children dance and sing and the men become most furiously drunk. The head is not put up as it is. It requires preparation, for it is only the cleaned skull that is mounted outside the village.

At one end of the village, usually the upper end, for all the villages are built on a slope, stands the spirit house, a small shed, fenced round with stakes and roughly thatched over. In the centre of this stands the village drum, a huge log of wood with a narrow slit along three-quarters of the length of it, through which the interior has been laboriously hollowed out. These drums are sometimes ten or twelve feet long and three or three and-a-half feet thick. They are beaten with wooden mallets and give out deep vibrating notes which travel very long distances. This gong is sounded at all crises and moments of importance to the village, but chiefly when heads are brought home, or when sacrifices are being made, or when a village council is to be held. Outside this spirit-house the sacrifices to the spirits are made, the buffaloes, pigs, dogs, fowls, are killed and their blood smeared on the post, and rafters, and thatching, and their bones hang in clusters round the eaves.

Here the head is taken. It is wrapped up in thatch, or grass, or plantain leaves and slung in a rattan or bamboo basket and is then hung up in a dark corner to ripen and bleach against the time when it is to be mounted in the avenue. This is the commonest practice, but some villages seem to prefer to hoist the head, slung in its rattan cage, on the top of a tall bamboo fixed in the centre of the village. This seems to savour of ostentation. Others hang the heads in aged, heavy foliaged trees, just within the village fence, but the spirit-house seems to be the more regular place. Wherever the skull is seasoned it remains until it is cleaned of all flesh sinews and blanched to the proper colour. Then it is mounted in the avenue. What the ceremonial then is does not very clearly appear. None but a Wa has ever seen it. There seems, however, to be much slaughtering of buffaloes, pigs, and fowls, much chanting of spells by the village wise men, but above all much drinking of spirits by everybody. This last item no doubt accounts for the meagreness of the information on the subject. Apparently, however, the elders of the village carry out the skull with glad song and uplifting of voices, accompanied by every one who is in a condition to walk, and some traditional invocation or doxology is intoned before the skull is inducted in its niche. Those who are sober for this function, do not long remain so. The service throughout seems to be corybantic rather than devotional.

It is noticeable that no offerings are made in the avenue of skulls. The skulls are offering, altar, and basilikon in themselves. The sacrifices are all made at the spirit-house in the village and the bones, skins, horns, hoofs, feathers are deposited there or in individual houses, not in the calvary.

**Village.** A Wa village is a very formidable place, except for civilized weapons of offence. Against all the arms which any of their neighbours possess it is impregnable, and it could not be carried by direct attack except by a very determined enemy, prepared to suffer very considerable loss. All the villages are perched high up on the slope of their hills, usually on a knoll or spine-like spur, or in a narrow ravine near the crest of the bridge. Thus all of them are commanded by some neighbouring height, which could, however, only be used by a force provided with arms of precision.

Round each village is carried an earthen rampart, six to eight feet high and as many thick, and this is overgrown with a dense covering of shrubs, thin bushes, and cactuses so as to be quite impenetrable. Outside this, at a varying distance from the wall, is dug a deep ditch or fosse, which would effectually stop a rush, though it is seldom so broad that an active man could not jump it. The depth, however, is usually very formidable, and anyone falling in, could hardly fail to break a limb, even if his neck escaped. This chasm is very carefully concealed and must be a very effectual safeguard against night attacks.

The only entrance to the village is through a long tunnel. There is sometimes only one, though usually there are two at opposite sides of the village. It is built in the shape of a casemate or a sunk road, most often of posts and slabs of wood at the sides and on the top, but not uncommonly of earth overgrown with shrubs, specially chosen for the purpose, whose branches intertwine and weave themselves into one another so as to form a densely reticulated roof. This tunnelled way is not much higher than a Wa, that is to say, a few inches over five feet and not quite so much wide, so that two persons cannot pass freely in it, and it winds slightly so that nothing can be fired up it; moreover the path is frequently studded with pegs in a sort of dice arrangement, apparently to prevent a rush. None of them are less than thirty yards long and some are as much as one hundred paces. The inner end is closed by a door formed of one, or sometimes two, heavy slabs of wood, fastened by a thick wooden bolt. A Wa village is therefore by no means easy to enter without the approval or permission of its inhabitants, and as some of them lie right across the main tracks in the country, travelling is by no means easy and the visitor who feels himself strong enough to protect his head is fain to admit that there are other discouragements nearly as weighty. Consequently there is exceedingly little moving about in the head-hunting country. A few Shans, tolerated as middlemen and resident in the Tame Wa country, and some sturdy Hui Hui, Chinese Mahomedans from the borders of Yünnan, come up yearly with salt and a little rice and perhaps a few cloths and go back again with loads of opium, but everything has to be carried on the backs of men, for no loaded animal can pass through the narrow village adits. There is very little trade naturally under such circumstances and the number of those free of the hills is very limited. Salt, however, must be had, and the opium from the Wa hills turns over a heavy profit in China and the Shan country.

Inside the fence the houses stand about without any semblance of order. The broken character of the ground would prevent this even if the Wa had any desire to lay out streets, which there is nothing to show that they have. The houses stand on piles and the floor is frequently so high that it is possible to stand erect underneath. They are substantially

built of timber and wattled bamboo, much more substantially built than the average Shan house, or indeed the houses of any other hillmen but the Yao-Jen and the Miaotsu, and they are fairly roomy. The walling and floors are of planks or rather slabs of wood chipped flat with *dhas*. Some of these must have taken weeks and even months to prepare; round or oval-shaped doors are often seen in the wild country. In shape the houses are rather more oblong than square, but they have no verandah such as is always found in a Shan house, and the heavy thatch roof comes down on all four sides to about three feet from the ground. No doubt this is a safeguard against hurricanes and wind squalls in the hills, but it very effectually excludes all light. A few houses have a sort of small skylight, little lids in the thatch which can be lifted up, but these serve rather as a means of letting out the smoke from the wood fire than as a convenience for illumination. To enter the house one has to stoop low to get under the eaves and then scramble up a somewhat inadequate bamboo ladder, or a still more inadequate sloping post with notches cut in it to serve for foothold. Chiefs' houses very often have a trough—like a dug-out; inside it is almost impossible to see anything either of the furniture or of the inhabitants. In the centre of the main room is a platform of bamboo covered with earth for the fire-place. There are a few stools, about a hand's breadth high, to sit on, a luxury which the Shan denies himself. He either sits on his heels or lies down. Besides this there is nothing unless it be the house-holder's gun, if he has one, or more probably his sheaf of spears, made of simple lengths of split bamboo, sharpened at both ends and hardened in the fire. In the sleeping rooms, narrow strips, under the slope of the roof, there is nothing but a mat or two and a squalid pillow made of raw cotton, or perhaps of a block of bamboo. Stuck in the thatch of the roof are scores of bones, mostly of chickens, which have been used for spying out the future or ascertaining a lucky day. These are usually so grimed over with smoke that it is almost impossible to distinguish them from the thatch. The elders seem often to keep a presumably specially lucky pair in a sort of phial made of bamboo and sometimes rudely carved.

Each house stands apart on its own plot of uneven ground and is usually enclosed within a slight fence. Inside this is the record of the number of buffaloes the owner has sacrificed to the spirits. For each beast he puts up a forked stick, in shape like the letter Y, exactly like an overgrown catapult. These are planted in rows and stand ordinarily from seven to ten feet high, though some are smaller. Some houses have rows of these which represent whole herds of buffaloes. No one is so poor but that he has three or four of them. Here and there the more important men of the village have them of huge size, as high as gallows trees and not unlike them in appearance. Sometimes they are painted black and red with rude attempts at ghouls' heads, but ordinarily they are the simple wood, seamed and roughened and split by the rain and scorched and corrugated by the heat of the sun. The heads of the buffaloes with the horns are usually piled up in a heap at one end of the house as a further guarantee of good faith. These forked sticks are called *Erawng Mot Krak* or *Wang Ün Keng*.

Below the house live the pigs and dogs and fowls. These are often allowed 'to fend for themselves, but frequently the pigs have slab houses built for them or live in holes dug for their accommodation in the ground, into or out of which they dive with startling abruptness. Baskets woven of bamboo and filled with straw are hung round the houses for the hens to lay in. The dogs do as they please and live where they like. The **Wa** eats them regularly, but does not appear to fatten them for the table as the Tongkinese do. The **Wa** dog is apparently a distinct species. He does not in the least resemble the Chow dog of Kwang-tung, nor the black stock of Tongking, and appears to be in fact simply a dwarf species of the common pariah dog of India, yellow, or light-brown, short-haired, about the size of black and tan, but not so long in the leg and with a head not so foxy as that of the pariah. Dogs are not offered as sacrifices; they simply supply the **Wa** table.

The house of the *Ramang* or *Kraw* or headman of the village is distinguished by the prolongation of the rafters of the gable end of the house into a fork, or species of St. Andrew's Cross. This is sometimes gaily painted or even rudely carved in fantastic fashion, but **Wa** art is not conspicuous, or rather is thoroughly inconspicuous. Except that it is usually, but not necessarily, larger than its neighbours, the headman's house does not differ in any respect. Naturally, however, he has a very large forest of forked sticks indicating the sacrifice of buffaloes. Nevertheless he has not by any means necessarily the largest collection in the village. In the debatable country the big village wooden drum is always at his house.

**Drinking.**

The **Wa** are very heavy drinkers and always have a large supply of rice-spirit. But this appears never to be stored actually in the owner's house. It is characteristic of the hill tribes to believe in the general honesty of mankind. Most of them are not civilized enough to be thieves. The Akha habitually store their paddy, the whole produce of their rice-fields and the main staple of their food for the year, in granaries by the side of public roads and often a mile or more away from their villages. They have no means of fastening the doors of these flimsy sheds better than a bit of twisted rattan, so that any one can go in, and the paddy is piled loose in large split bamboo bins. The reason they give is that the rice so stored is less exposed to destruction by fire. That any one should think of carrying it off never appears to occur to them. The **Wa** are not quite so confiding, so perhaps they think that the temptation of liquor is greater. But though they do not keep their liquor cellar outside the limits of the village, they never appear to have it in the immediate neighbourhood of their dwelling houses. Round the skirts of the village and usually at the upper end, just inside the earthen circumvallation, each householder builds himself a small hut, about the size of an average hen-house. This stands on piles and is reached by a ladder, and so much confidence is shown that even this

ladder does not appear to be removed, even at night. Here the **Wa** liquor is stowed in long bamboo stoups of considerable girth, piled up on the rafters, or on cross-beams put up for the purpose. These bamboos contain twice as much as the largest Rehoboam and there are few houses that have not their dozens of them. The **Wa** has no fancy to run short in his liquor supply.

The rice they grow is used entirely for making liquor. They eat none of it, and indeed frequently have to buy more rice so that they may not run out of drink. The spirit is very strong and by no means pleasant in flavour, apart altogether from the fact that it is usually flavoured with stramonium, a little of which is always grown for the purpose. Besides the rice-spirit, they also make a beverage out of fermented maize and are particularly fond of eating the barm from which the liquor has been strained off.

**Water supply.** Water is always very scarce in **Wa** villages. Like many of the hill tribes, they believe that the neighbourhood of water produces fever. Accordingly the village is never built on, or even near, a stream. What water is wanted the women go and fetch in bamboos slung on the back. But occasionally when the water is very distant they build bamboo aqueducts and bring it into the village from considerable distances. Bamboos are split in halves to serve as runnels and these are propped up on wooden struts. The bamboo channels lie loose, overlapping one another at the ends. The advantage of this is that the water can be obtained as long as it is wanted and can be turned off as far from the village as is desirable, by simply lifting off one of the lengths of bamboo. Considerable engineering skill is sometimes shown in winding, or zig zagging this aqueduct about, when the water is brought from some height above the village, so that the supply of water may not come in with too much violence, as it would if the slope were considerable.

**Village constitution.** The **Wa** villages are always of a very remarkable size for mountain settlements, far beyond those of any other hill race in the Shan States. Doubtless this is intended for safety and self-protection. If a village consisted of only a few houses, it might offer irresistible temptation to attack. Moreover, the formidable works necessary for defence could not easily be executed by a smaller number. In the wild **Wa** country therefore there are very few villages with less than one hundred households and many have double or treble this number. If a settlement is very large it usually has a whole section of a hill range to itself, or at any rate one side of the slope for its crops. Frequently, however, three or four villages cluster together, but though they acknowledge a common Chief, each village has its separate headman, its separate fields, distinct from those of its neighbours, and usually on isolated spurs, or on opposite sides of the slope, and they have their separate feasts. On the outer fringe among the Tame **Wa** this is not so, the villages are much smaller, they are united in large numbers under one Chief and they are defended by fences no more formidable than are essential to keep out wild animals, or wandering cattle. In the wild country the two most powerful Chieftains are Sung Ramang and Hō Hka in the south and in the north respectively. They are said to rule over a large number of villages, but the tie seems to be rather that of a federation than of a Government. Haunches of buffalo and pig and bamboos of liquor are sent at feast times, and the quarrel of any one village would be taken up by the whole under the leadership of the Chief, but any closer form of sovereignty does not appear to exist. The **Wa** really form a series of village communities, for the greater part autonomous and independent of one another, but with certain indefinite alliances and agreements for the mutual respect of heads, and possible recognitions of superiority in material strength, with a vague understanding that all shall unite against a common enemy. The Chief of Pakkate, the legendary seat of the race, though possessed of a big village, does not claim, and is not admitted to have any influence beyond his village fields, and is indeed described as a feudatory by the Chief of Ngeklek, who has technically given up head-hunting.

**Character.** The **Wa** are certainly not an enterprising, or an ambitious race. Even the Tame **Wa** Hsap Tai, as the Shans call them, those who border on the Shan States, do not do anything beyond cultivating their fields. They do not trade; they do not keep shops; they have no markets of their own, though they sometimes go to those of their Shan neighbours; they never travel beyond their own limits from motives of curiosity, or any other sentiment; the wild **Wa** do so in order to get heads, but for no other object. Hundreds of them never leave the range on which they were born. They remain there for all their lives, and probably there are many women whose knowledge of the world is limited to at the most a ten-mile radius.

**Agriculture.** They are, however, very good agriculturists. The clearing and cultivation of their steep hill-sides implies a life of toil. No field can be reached without a climb up or down the steep mountain side. The buckwheat, beans, and maize are never certain crops and are all they have to live on beside their dogs and pigs and fowls. The rice they grow to make their liquor is very often planted three thousand feet or more below the village, and it needs constant attention all through its existence. But their chief crop is the poppy. The hill-tops for miles and miles are white with the blossoms in February and March. One can make several days' journey through nothing but opium fields. This is essentially a crop which demands constant attention. The fields have to be carefully cleared and constantly weeded and, when the harvest time comes round, the capsules have to be scored with the three-bladed knife at sunset and the sap collected on leaves at daybreak the next morning. The enormous amount of opium produced shows that the **Wa** are not a lazy people. Indeed they are an exceedingly well-behaved, industrious, and estimable race, were it not for the one foible of cutting strangers' heads off and neglecting ever to wash themselves.

**Appearance.** In appearance they are not altogether attractive. They have short sturdy figures, perhaps a little too broad for perfect proportion, but many of the men are models of athletic build, and the women, like most of the women of the hill tribes, have very substantial charms and

marvellously developed legs. In complexion they are much darker than any of the hill-people of this part of Indo-China, even if allowance be made for dirt, for they never wash. They are considerably darker even than the swarthy Akha, who otherwise are the darkest tribe in the hills. The Akha, however, are a totally distinct race and are remarkable for their size among races who as a rule are short, while the **Wa** are smaller even than the Shans. In features the **Wa** are bullet-headed with square faces and exceedingly heavy jaws. The nose is very broad at the nostrils, but otherwise is much more prominent than that of the Shan, who cannot be said to have a bridge to his nose at all. The eyes are round and well opened and, though the brows are by no means low, they are rounded rather than straight. The Tame **Wa** allow their hair to grow long enough to form a mop of shaggy unkemptness, for they never seem to run even their fingers through it. This gives them a much wilder appearance than the real wild **Wa**, who crop their hair short. Heavy eyebrows do not improve the type of face, but on the whole it is not a degraded type and gives no suggestion of the savagery of the head-hunter.

Their dress is soon described. In the hot weather neither men nor women wear anything at all, or only on ceremonial occasions. At other seasons the men wear a strip of coarse cotton cloth about three fingers broad. This is passed between the legs, tied round the waist, and the ends, which are tasselled, hang down in front. Viewed as an ornament, which seems to be the latter-day ultracivilized object of clothing, it is inconspicuous, or rather conspicuously ineffective. Regarded as a means of protecting or concealing the body, which may be supposed to have been the first duty of garments, it is absolutely inadequate. In the cold weather they throw a coarse home-woven coverlet—their bed in fact—over their shoulders and throw it off when the sun gets well up. **Dress.**

The women would do well perhaps to adhere constantly to their hot weather dress, a few bead necklaces. They do not, however. For the greater part of the year they think it necessary to wear a petticoat, if that can be called a petticoat which begins at the hips and ends considerably above the knees and being fastened by a half hitch in front, and formed of coarse stiff material, is really obtrusive in its failure to effect what is ordinarily considered the main purpose of clothing. The garment is as a matter of fact of the same length as that of the more civilized **Wa** women, but instead of being allowed to fall down to mid-calf as with them, is always worn doubled. Thus as mere drapery it is ungraceful and as a covering for the body it can only be called shameless. But it is the shamelessness of the Garden of Eden. Inside their villages in the warm weather they dispense altogether with this equivocal garment and limit their dress to their ornaments, which consist of silver ear-tubes which are like gigantic carpet-tacks, necklaces of *cowries* or seeds, and fillets of twisted straw or bamboo spathes, which bind up their hair in the case of the married women, while the unmarried girls wear a straw cap which suggests a strawberry pottle more than anything else. In this garb they have no hesitation in confronting a company of strangers, and the modesty of false shame, whichever culture or Philistinism may choose to call it, is certainly not on the side of the women, whether they are fifteen years of age or fifty. The state of dirt of both men and women is absolutely beyond belief and is only limited by the point beyond which extraneous matter refuses to adhere to human flesh.

Polyandry is not known. Polygamy is permissible, but is not much practised; wives are bought for a few buffaloes, if the girl is handsome, or of a good family; or for a dog or fowl or two, if her attractions or her family are not conspicuous. The first child belongs to the parents of the wife, but can be bought by the father and mother if they want it. **General.**

# 7 of the Mongoloid Tract.

## LUSHEIS.

*By Major SHAKESPEAR, C.I.E., D.S.O., Superintendent of the Lushei Hills.*

**Composition of the population.**

The population of the district is, with the exception of a very few immigrants, all of one race. The people, however, recognise a number of divisions and subdivisions. My enquiries have led me to the conclusion that each of these divisions and subdivisions bears the name of some famous man who distinguished himself in former days, and from whom the majority of those bearing the name now are descended (or the whole of a family may have adopted the name of some very distinguished member). Old men tell me that, in their father's time the various clans lived in separate villages ruled over by Chiefs of their own clan. Prominent men in each clan founded families which were called after them, and these families have been further subdivided as in course of time other prominent men have arisen, whose descendants were proud to adopt their names. In each case the connection with the original clan is carefully preserved, thus a man will say that he belongs to the Lian-nghor branch of the Pachuao family of the Lushei clan.

During the last 200 years these clans have been very much broken up, and in some case there is much difficulty in finding out whether a name is that of a clan or only of a family. In some cases the clan had formerly a separate corporate existence, which was broken up so long ago that its few remaining members, living among other clans for so long, have been practically absorbed. This tendency of the clan to disappear has been increased by the extraordinary way in which certain Lushei families have come to the front and have asserted a claim to be Chiefs, and have got this claim recognised, not only by the Lusheis, but by almost all the other clans as well. At the present time nearly every village is ruled by a Chief of one of the five royal Lushei families; it is therefore only natural for members of less distinguished clans to try to get themselves recognised as Lusheis. The amount of variation between the different clans is by no means constant. The Ralte, Paithe, Thado and Lakher are easily distinguishable, and a very brief acquaintance with them would make it apparent that they were not Lusheis; and the same applies to the clans which have been grouped under the names of Hmar and Poi. The remaining clans are so much alike that one might live a long time in the hills without being aware that there were any differences between them. It may be as well here to explain what the people themselves consider the marks of a different clan. The most important is the method of performing the domestic sacrificial ceremonies. This is almost conclusive proof that these clans are really only enlarged families. The other sign of a difference of clan is a difference in dialect; but in many cases the dialect has been lost entirely, while the sacrificial rites have been kept intact. It was manifestly both impossible and unnecessary to classify the population according to all the minor divisions, and therefore I directed that the population should be grouped under the following 15 heads:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lushei, | Ralte, | Paithe, | Pante, | Ngente, |
| Khawlhring, | Kiangte, | Roite, | Renthlei, | Chongthu, |
| Thado, | Lakher, | Darlong, | Poi, | Hmar. |

With the exception of Poi and Hmar, all these are true clan names. Poi is the term used by the Lusheis, and other original inhabitants of the present Lushai Hills district, for all the people living in what we call the Chin Hills, except one or two small communities. Among these Pois or Chins there are a great many clans and families, and I was unable to collect information about them all, nor did my enumerators know enough to enable them to distinguish them, and I therefore decided to adopt the custom of the district and classify all these people as Poi. Regarding them and their customs, I propose to say but little, as they are merely immigrants from the Chin Hills.

Hmar, which means 'north,' is used by the rest of the inhabitants of the district to denote immigrants into the district from the Manipur State. These mostly belong to clans which are very closely allied together, and speak much the same dialect, but I was unable to find a more suitable name under which to group them.

Of the remaining 13 divisions into which I divided the population, all except the Ralte, Paithe and Lakher are becoming more and more alike every year.

**The rise of the Lushei Chiefs.**

Some 200 years ago there lived a man, Thangurra by name, who distinguished himself above his fellows and became a powerful Chief, and to him all the present Chiefs trace their pedigrees. At Thangurra's time there is but little doubt that the hills were dotted over with little hamlets, in which lived people all more or less closely connected. Thangurra's descendants, by their prowess in war and wisdom in governing, gradually established their rule from one end of the hills to the other, and their authority now is undisputed, even by the other clans. The most powerful branch of Thangurra's family is the Sailo, so named from Sailova. In old correspondence, the Sylu tribe is frequently spoken of. By this term was meant the villages of Chiefs of the Sailo family, these villages frequently containing hardly any Sailo except the Chief and his family.

General description of people and their mode of life.

As I have already stated, the people of this district are undoubtedly all of the same race. They are distinctly Mongolian. Though the different clans have various customs, yet even between those that vary most there is a strong resemblance. I propose now to briefly describe the manner of life of the majority of the people, and then to point out in what respects that of different clans varies from it.

General appearance.

The race is distinctly a short one, the men being from 5 feet 2 to 5 feet 6, while the women seldom reach 5 feet 2. Both men and women are stoutly built and have very muscular legs. The men seldom have any hair on their faces, and if a man can grow a moustache he generally pulls out all the hairs, except those growing at the corners of his mouth. The women pierce their ears when young, and insert discs of baked clay, which are continually increased in size till the lobe of the ear is distended, so that a ring 1½ inches in diameter can be inserted. In this hole an ivory ring is worn. On a woman being left a widow, she removes her earrings, and when she definitely gives up all idea of re-marrying she slits the lobe of her ears. The men sometimes wear very small wooden or bone studs in the lobes of their ears.

The hair of both sexes is drawn straight back and tied in a knot behind. In this knot pins of various shapes and materials are worn. Widows wear their hair loose. It is considered unwise for males who have reached the age of puberty to cut their hair, as doing so is sure to bring on ill-health.

All children run about naked for the first two or three years of their lives. The clothing of the men consists of a coat which reaches below the waist, but is only fastened at the throat, and a single cloth, which is worn thus,—one corner is held in the left hand and the cloth is passed over the left shoulder behind the back under the right arm, and the corner thrown over the left shoulder again. When working, or in hot weather, the coat is generally dispensed with, and the cloth simply rolled round the waist with the ends loosely knotted hanging down in front. Men somtimes wear turbans. Both body cloths and turbans are generally white, but dark blue cloths with coloured stripes are worn by the better-off people. There is a particular pattern which only men who have killed two *metna* to feast the village are allowed to wear. The women wear coats and cloths like the men, and in addition a short, dark blue petticoat reaching just to the knee. Both sexes are fond of ornaments. Amber necklaces are very popular, and some of these are valued very highly, being passed down from father to son through several generations. Rough uncut cornelians are also much prized, these are either worn in a necklace or suspended from the lobe of the ear.

Constitution of society.

The people live in villages, each of which is ruled by a Chief, who is entirely independent. Even a young son will not admit his father's right to influence him, after he has once established a separate village. The Chief is supreme in his own village, but the people are very democratic, and have a very simple remedy if a Chief oppresses them, *viz.*, to remove to another village. The Chief settles all disputes in the village, arranges where the *jhums* are to be, and when and where a village is to move. His house is the poorhouse of the village, and all orphans and others who have no means of support are received there, and get food in return for their labour. Formerly, a person who had committed some serious crime could enter the Chief's house and thus escape vengeance. When a child has been brought up in the Chief's house, it is in some respects a slave. Girls are released on marriage, but the Chief receives the marriage price. Boys have to buy their release at the cost of a *metna*. A Chief sometimes buys a wife for a favourite slave, and sets him up in a separate house, and three years after the man will be considered free, but his children are sometimes considered slaves. The Chief's slaves are very well off, they wear the Chief's ornaments and eat the best food to be got, and do no more work than they would have to do if they were not slaves.

The Chief has several advisers, who are called '*upa*.' They have the first choice of *jhum* land, and sometimes the Chief allows them to get a basket of rice from each house. The other village officials are the crier, who goes round the village after dark, shouting out the Chief's orders, the blacksmith, and the Pui-thiam or sorcerer, who performs sacrifices in case of illness. These persons generally receive a donation of rice from each house in return for their services.

The Chief receives from 1 to 5 baskets of rice according to the quality of the *jhum* land assigned to the cultivator; he also receives a hindquarter of every animal killed in the chase, besides some other small dues.

There is a regular code of punishments for different offences, the Chief of course receiving a share of every fine levied.

The only sort of cultivation known is *jhuming*. The chief crop is rice, which ripens in November and December, the other important crop is maize, which is reaped in August. Peas and beans of various kinds, and a certain amount of millet, are also grown. The same piece of land is seldom cultivated two years running, and this, of course, causes all the land within reach of the village to be quickly cleared, and then it becomes necessary for the village to be moved to some other site whence new land can be *jhumed*.

Villages and houses.

Villages are generally built on the top of a ridge or spur, and not on the slope of hill, as is the custom among the Chins. The cause of this, I think, is that the hills are higher in the country inhabited by the Chins, and therefore they can get healthy sites without going to the top of the ridges. In former days, the choice of the village site was much influenced by its defensive capabilities, the migratory habits of the people precluding their constructing the elaborate defensive works found round the Chin villages. When we first occupied the hills, every village was strongly stockaded, two or even three rows of stockades being found in some cases. The gateways were commanded by timber block houses, and at suitable points on the roads block houses were built, which were occupied whenever there was

any fear of attack. The ground round the stockades and block houses was planted with sharpened bamboo spikes, which formed a very serious obstacle to a barefooted foe.

The villages are laid out in streets, all radiating from some central open spot, facing which is the Chief's house, and the *zawlbuk* or guest-house. The houses are built on piles on the natural slope of the hill, and thus the floor of one house is often higher than the roof of the house below it.

The houses are all constructed in the same manner and on the same plan. At the end nearest the road is a rough platform of logs, which is the place for cleaning the *dhān* in. On the front wall of the house over this platform are hung the horns of any animals the owner of the house may have killed, and among them are the baskets in which the hens hatch out their broods. The doorway has a very high sill, and the door consists of a sliding panel of bamboo work. The fireplace consists of an earthen hearth, in which three upright stones are inserted to hold the cooking pot, above this are two bamboo shelves on which articles which require drying are kept. On each side of the fireplace are bamboo sleeping platforms, that furthest from the door being for the father and mother, the other for the daughters. Beyond the family sleeping platform is a partition, the space between which and the end wall of the house is used as a lumber room and closet, from this a back door opens out on to a small platform. The Chief's house only differs in size, generally having two rooms, the one nearest the entrance being for the use of the slaves. Windows in the sides of the house are considered unlucky, unless the right to make one has been purchased by killing two *metna* and feasting the village. The houses are built of timber uprights, but the walls, floor and roof frame are made of bamboo; the thatching material used is generally cane leaves, but occasionally grass is used. Over the cane leaves broad bands of split bamboo are tied down from eave to eave, giving the roof a rounded appearance from the outside. A long coop under the eaves is the sleeping place of the fowls, who gain access to it by a ladder made of a knotched stick.

The Zawlbuk is a large hall, with a huge hearth in the centre and a sleeping platform at the far end. The front wall stops about three feet short of the ground, and to enter the building you have to stoop under this, and then climb over a barrier of equal height placed a few feet further in. This building is the sleeping place of the young men of the village, and of any strangers who stop there the night. It is also a sort of general meeting house. The boys of the village have to keep up a sufficient supply of firewood for the Zawlbuk fire.

In the centre of one of the streets will generally be found the blacksmith's forge, a small house, built on the ground level, but with a platform in front on which passers-by can sit, and lighten the labours of the smith by their conversation. The bellows consist of two hollow logs in which pistons are worked up and down, from the lower extremity of each log a tube runs to a hole in a stone placed immediately behind the stone on which the charcoal fire rests. A very moderate movement of the pistons gives an excellent draught. The blacksmith repairs all the tools of the village, but some of them are capable of good deal more than this.

**Marriage.** Each clan has a regular fixed price for its girls, and any one wishing to marry a girl must pay this price sooner or later. The price varies from three *metna* to ten according to the clan. The price is always stated in *metna*, but the actual articles given or the amount paid in cash is subject to arrangement. The father or the nearest male relative on his side receives this price, but the bridegroom has also to pay many other persons. The girl's aunt will get a sum varying from Rs. 40 to Rs. 5, the elder sister gets a small sum for having carried the bride about when she was young. The bride appoints a male and female friend or protector, and each has to be paid a small amount by the bridegroom. The bride takes with her certain cloths and ornaments, but these remain the property of the girl's male relatives unless she has a child to inherit them, in which case an extra payment, varying according to the quality of the dowry, has to be paid. The nearest male relative on the bride's mother's side has also to be paid a sum varying from Rs. 40 to Rs. 4.* These sums are never paid at once,—in fact many men never complete paying the price of their wives, and leave the debt to be cleared off by their children.

A young Lushai generally chooses his own wife, and sends a *palai*, or ambassador, to her parents to arrange the details of the price to be paid. These settled, the bride is escorted to her future husband's parent's house, by a party of friends, being pelted with dirt by all the children of the village. The parents of the bridegroom receive the party with brimming cups of rice-beer, and when justice has been done to this, a fowl is produced by the bridegroom and slain by the *sui-thiam*, or sorcerer, who mutters certain charms over it. Directly this is over, the bride and her girl friends retire, while the rest of the party indulge in a great feast, the bridegroom having to provide a fowl for each of those entitled to a share in the price of the bride. The following evening the bridegroom's mother goes and fetches the bride and hands her over to him at his house. The following morning, the bride returns to her parent's house and spends the day there, this she continues to do for some time. The bonds of matrimony are very loose. If a couple do not get on they can separate by mutual consent, or if the husband does not like the woman he can simply send her back to her parents. In both these cases he does not recover any part of the price he may have paid, and the recipient of the price is bound to support the woman till she is married again. If the woman commits adultery, or leaves her husband without his consent, her relatives have to refund whatever they received on her account. A widow is at liberty either to return to her own people, in which case her late husband's relatives take all his property and his children; or she may continue to live in his house in which case she retains his property in trust for his children, but should she indulge in an intrigue she is considered to be an adultress, and her relatives have to pay back her price to her late husband's relations; who take all the property and also the children.

* It is strange that the bride price should be so high amongst the Lushais, as the women of this tribe largely exceed the men in number.—B. C. A.

Until a girl is married, she may indulge in as many intrigues as she likes, but should she become pregnant, her lover must pay a *mstna* to her father; he will, however, be entitled to take the child when it is old enough to leave its mother. In case the child is a girl, the father, of course, gets the marriage price in due course. If a man is willing at once to marry a girl whom he has seduced he is not expected to pay more than the usual marriage price.

All clans intermarry, the children taking the father's clan name. The marriage of first cousins is rare among the common people, chiefly because the parents of the girl prefer taking her price from some one outside their family circle. Among Chiefs, who are anxious to marry their children to the children of other Chiefs, the marriage of first cousins is more common. Except his mother, sisters, daughters and aunts, a man may marry any woman he likes.

**Ceremonies connected with child-birth.**

After the birth of a child, the mother must not go down to the spring nor wash her child in cold water till two fowls have been sacrificed. Seven days after the birth of the child, the household spirit is appeased by the offering of a small chicken and seven packets of rice and vegetables, which are suspended under the eaves. During these seven days, the spirit of the child is supposed to spend some of its time perched like a bird on the clothes or bodies of the child's parents, who for fear of injuring it have to keep quiet during this period. Should they do any work, and the child get ill, the cure is to make a coil of a certain creeper, and at night, after the fire has been put out, to dip the child three times inside the coil. The parents give two feasts in honour of the birth of a child, the first two days and the second nine days after its birth. At one or the other of these feasts the nearest male relative on the mother's side gives the child its name. There are many other sacrifices connected with children and they differ considerably in different clans.

**Funerals.**

All the tribes in the hills bury their dead eventually, though some of them take some time over it. After death the corpse is dressed up in the best clothes available and fastened to a bamboo-frame in a sitting position. If the deceased is a man, his gun, *dāo* and spear will be placed beside him. A pig, goat and dog are then killed and their flesh cooked, and then all the friends and neighbours are asked to a great feast. Meat and drink are offered to the corpse also. The spirits of the animals slain are supposed to accompany the deceased to 'Mi-thi-khua,' the dead men's village. Without this sacrifice the deceased's spirit cannot find rest. The dead are buried just outside the house in which they lived. The grave consists of a shaft about 4 or 5 feet deep, from which a tunnel is excavated long enough to receive the corpse. On the evening following the death, the corpse is placed in this grave, the nearest male relative making a short farewell speech and asking the spirit of the dead to prepare things for those who will shortly follow. Drinking is kept up throughout the funeral ceremonies. The bodies of members of the Chief's family and of well-to-do persons of the more esteemed Lushei families are not buried so speedily. Instead of being placed in the grave, they are placed in the log of a tree which has been specially hollowed out, a lid is fitted on and the junction of the lid and the tree trunk is well plastered with mud. This coffin is placed on the floor of the house and an earthen hearth is made alongside, on which a fire is kept burning day and night. A bamboo is passed through the bottom of the coffin and the floor into the ground; this conveys away all the liquid matter. The corpse is kept in this coffin for about three months, and all this time the nearest relatives sit beside it and feed the fire and drink rice-beer. At the end of this time little but the bones is left. Some of these are buried, but the skull and certain of the larger bones are kept in a basket which occupies a shelf opposite the fireplace in the house of the nearest relative, whence they are taken and dressed up at the feast of the dead. Should the first-born die within a year of its birth, it will be buried without any ceremony under the house, subsequent children, however early they may die, will, however, be honoured with a regular funeral. On a death, the maternal uncle of the deceased is entitled to a sum varying from 2 to 20 rupees from the heir.

**Religion**

The Lushais and all other tribes in the hills believe in a supreme being who made the world: he is known as Pathian, but is not thought to take much interest in the doings of people. Far more important to the average man are the numerous *ram-huai*, or demons who are supposed to inhabit every hill and stream, and Khuavang, a spirit sometimes spoken of as the same as Pathian, but generally considered as less powerful, but more concerned with mankind. Every illness, every failure of crops, is put down either to the influence of some demon or of Khuavang, and the whole of a hillman's existence is spent in propitiating these spirits. The *pui-thiam*, or sorcerer, is supposed to know what particular spirit is the cause of the trouble, and what particular sacrifice will appease him. The number of these sacrifices and the different ways in which they have to be performed, would fill a thick book. In all of them the flesh of the animal killed is eaten by the sorcerer and his assistants, the least toothsome portions only being left for the demon. Small figures representing human beings and animals are also offered to the demons. Besides these sacrifices, there is a special sacrifice to the patron spirit of the hearth. This can only be performed by a member of the clan, and the method of performing it varies in every clan.

The most generally accepted theory as to what happens after death, is that the spirits go to 'Mi-thi-khua,' but those men who have slain men or animals in the chase or have feasted the village are able to cross the Pail river to an abode of great comfort, where there is plenty of food and drink to be got without any work. As women cannot go to war nor kill wild animals, and are not allowed to give feasts, they can only reach this happy land if their husbands take them. Existence in 'Mi-thi-khua' is full of trouble and worry. After a certain period in one of these two abodes of departed spirits, the spirit is again born as a hornet and

after a time assumes the form of water, and if in the form of dew it falls on a man, it is re-born in his child.

**Feasts, etc.** In connection with the crops there are three feasts, called *chap-char kut, mim kut* and *pawl kut*. The first is the most important, and is thought to ensure a good harvest. It takes place about the time of sowing, and consists chiefly of drinking, the young men and girls dancing slowly round in circles, holding each other's arms, while people inside the circle ply them with rice-beer. The *pawl kut* is held after the rice harvest has been reaped. It seems chiefly a festival for the children, who, dressed in their best, are fed with meat, rice and hard-boiled eggs. A good deal of rough play goes on, the lads trying to force handfulls of food down the lasses' throats. *Mim kut* is held when the maize harvest is reaped, and is of but little importance. *Mi-thi-rop* lam, or dance of the dead, is a feast held in honour of the deceased members of a clan. I think it is only held by true Lushei clans. Besides the usual eating and driking, the special feature is the carrying round of effigies of the forefathers of the various persons giving the feast. In case the feast is given by a Chief, the bones of his ancestors will probably be dressed up. The effigies are all tied on to a square frame-work, and this is carried about and danced up and down amid much shouting. In the centre of the frame is a large effigy, intended to represent the first of the whole race. After this dancing of the effigies has gone on some time, the eldest member of the clan present comes out of his house with a flagon of rice-beer and goes to each effigy in turn and whispers some words and pours a little of the beer into its mouth. He so arranges as to come to his own particular ancestor last, and, after having given the beer, he dashes the flagon on the ground and, bursting into tears, runs into his own house. The effigies, after being danced about a little more, are taken away by respective descendants.

A Chief sometimes has to sacrifice a *metna* for the benefit of the village. After the *puithiam* has muttered the proper charm over the animal and anointed it by blowing some rice-beer from his mouth over it, the Chief stabs it with a spear and then takes refuge in his house. He is not allowed to cross any running water for a month after this sacrifice, and should he do so, dire disasters will certainly follow.

Beside these semi-religious feasts, there are various others which are given by people who wish to be thought well of. These have to be given in a regular order, and when a man has given the whole series he is entitled to wear a cloth of a certain pattern and to have a window in the side of his house.

**Superstitions—Witchcraft.** The Lusheis are a very superstitious race. They will not kill certain animals, because it is unlucky, and yet I cannot find any trace of totemism in this superstition. The belief in witchcraft is universal, and people suspected of practising the black art were formerly killed, and portions of their livers given to their victims, with a view to effecting a cure. Wizards are said to make clay images of their victims, and to stick spikes into them to cause sickness to those whom the figures represent. To take up the impression of a person's foot in the mud and put it to dry over the fire is a sure way to cause sickness.

Besides the regular wizards, there are a number of people whose spirits are supposed to have the habit of leaving their bodies and entering into the bodies of others and causing them much trouble. It may here be noted that the common belief is that each person has three spirits. One of these is called *khawhrin*, and this is the one that sometimes wanders, the other two are spoken of as *thlarao*, and one is supposed to be wise and one foolish, and the constant struggle between these two causes men's actions to be so unreliable.

**Weapons and warfare.** Men of 60 and 70 years of age can remember the time when guns were hardly known, and fighting was carried on with spears and bows and arrows; but now-a-days the weapons of the people are flint-lock muskets, spears and *dāos*, the last being evidently imitated from the Burmese *dāh*, and called *kawlnam*, which means Burmese knife. The spears are very inferior weapons, about 4 feet 6 inches long, with iron blades, and iron spikes at the other end of the shaft to allow of the weapons being stuck in the ground. The blades are attached to the shafts in a very inefficient manner. The essence of warfare is surprise. The greatest triumph that could be achieved was to surprise a village at daybreak, and dash in before the fighting men had time to make any resistance, then capture as many women and children as possible, load them up with their own property and get away before their relatives could organize a rescue party. The practice of waylaying people cultivating was considered unfair, and the Pois, by steadily practising it, drove the other clans out of any part of the country they coveted. Ambushing armed parties was regularly practised, but our experience has been that the ambusher was always so anxious to get off with a whole skin, that his fire was very apt to be ineffective. A raiding party, even after a march of several days, would retire without firing a shot if the enemy were found on the alert.

**Hunting and snaring.** All the hillmen are very fond of fresh meat, and are clever at trapping game. Long lines of rough fencing are run through the jungle, with small openings at intervals, in which snares are set. Pheasants, jungle-fowl, etc., coming to one of these fences will always run along it till an opening is found, and thus get snared. Porcupines are killed by a bamboo spear fastened to a sapling bent back like a spring and so arranged that it shall be released just as the animal is opposite the spear point. Tigers are caught under a platform of heavy logs, which is supported in an inclined position by a strong cane passed over a crosspiece held up by two uprights. In a hole under this platform is placed a pig in a basket; on the tiger pulling at the basket, the heavy platform falls and squashes him, while the pig, being in a hole, escapes. Deer, wild cats, etc., are caught in snares, a noose being arranged so that on the animals stepping in it a sapling to which the noose is attached, and which is held down in a bent position, is released, thus hoisting the animal up into the air. The method of releasing

the trap or snare is in all cases the same. Two uprights are driven into the ground, and a crossbar securely tied between them near the top. Near one end of a piece of string or rope is attached a piece of wood; one end of this is placed under the crossbar, and the other end is pressed down till it passes between the two uprights, then a loose piece of wood is passed across the upright under it. The other end of the string supports the weight which is to fall on the animal or is tied, to the bent sapling. All the pressure is on the upper crosspiece, which is securely tied; the bait is tied to the lower one, or a piece of string tied to this one is fastened across the path. A very slight pressure will suffice to displace the lower one, and directly that happens, the string is released and the weight falls or the sapling flies up.

**Musical instruments.**

Gongs and drums, the latter the common tom-tom, are the favourite instruments. A reed intrument is made by inserting reeds into a gourd. The reeds have finger holes, by closing and opening of which while blowing into the gourd by another reed a regularly graded scale of notes can be produced.

**Agricultural implements.**

These are very simple and consist of a *dāo*, an axe and a hoe. The *dāo* is a knife with a triangular blade, about 3 inches wide at the end and half an inch at the handle. It is ground with a chisel edge, the broad end being also sharpened. This is used for clearing the jungle, and the broad end is used for grubbing the holes in which the seeds are placed. The axe-heads are only about 1½ inches wide at the edge, and taper almost to a point; the handles are simply pieces of bamboo, the heads being thrust through the tough root portion. The hoes very closely resemble the axes, the heads being a little lighter and broader.

**Arts and trades.**

The women are very clever at weaving, and the cloths they make are strong and last a lifetime. The patterns they work are simple. The cotton used is grown in the *jhums*, and cleaned and spun by the women themselves. The men are expert basket-weavers. There are a very large number of different baskets, each with its proper name and use. Some very good moulding in brass is occasionally come across, and some of the black smiths are very good workmen, being able to make gun-locks.

**Inheritance.**

Among the Chiefs, the custom has been that as soon as a son married he should be given a certain number of houses and started as an independent Chief. His father would also give him some of his possessions, such as guns, necklaces, etc., and send some of his most trusted slaves with him. The youngest son was an exception to this rule; he remained with his father till his death, and thus became his heir. Much the same custom is followed among the common people, each son as he marries setting up house for himself and receiving some of the family possessions, and it has thus become the custom for the youngest to take the father's property. The eldest son, however, sometimes asserts a claim to a share. Custom among the people of these hills is not very stable, and on a man's death practically any relative can take his goods if he will undertake to support the widow and the children, providing that the widow does not elect to continue to live in her husband's house, and that the children are not old enough to support themselves.

**Tattooing.**

The only marks I have noticed are circles, which are said to be records of love affairs.

**Snake worship.**

I have found no special traces of any worship but Rulpi. 'The big snake' figures frequently in the folklore of the people.

**Deaths by violence or wild animals.**

The victims are buried outside the village, but as far as I can gather, no disgrace is attached to such a death. In such cases no death duty can be claimed by the maternal uncle.

**Origin.**

It is nearly universally believed that the ancestors of the present inhabitants came out from a cave in the earth. The position of this cave is variously described. Nearly every clan will tell you that its first villages were on the banks of the Manipur river, but they mean thereby the first communities of which they have any traditions.

**Head-hunting.**

It used to be considered that all inhabitants of these hills were head-hunters; in fact, so great an authority as Colonel Lewin derives the name Lushai from 'Lu,' a head, and 'sha' to cut. This is, of course, a mistake, as the name of the clan is not Lushai, but Lushei, and though 'sha' does mean to cut, it does not mean to cut off, and could not be used of cutting off a man's head; but that such a mistake should have been possible shows how firmly rooted was the belief that head-hunting was one of the peculiarities of the population of these hills. I believe that, as far as the Lusheis and their kindred clans are concerned, head-hunting was not indulged in. By this I mean that parties did not go out simply to get heads. Of course a man who had killed his man was thought more highly of than one who had not, and therefore, when a man did kill a person, he brought the head home to show that he was speaking the truth; but the raids were made not to get heads but for loot and slaves; the killing and taking of heads were merely incidents in the raid, not the cause of it. I think that the Chins or Pois are an exception to this, and, as far as I can gather, the glory of bringing in a head was sufficient to send a young man and his friends off on the raid.

**Clans which differ from the bulk of the population.**

I will now give briefly a few points in which certain clans differ considerably from those to whom the above description generally applies.

*Ralte.*—This clan speaks a dialect which is very different from the Lushei or Dulian language, which may be considered the *lingua franca* of the hills. They keep very much together, and are now collecting in villages under headmen of their own. In almost every custom they differ slightly from their neighbours. They bury their dead outside the village, and the Chiefs bury their dead, not preserving the bones as the Lushei Chiefs do. The Ralte are the most

quarrelsome and talkative clan in the whole hills. Tradition says that when mankind was issuing from the earth the Raltes came out chattering so loudly that the stone was clapped down on them and therefore there are less Raltes than other clans.

In mode of dress, etc., they do not differ from the other clans.

**Ngents.** The following information has been collected by Mr. Drake-Brockman :—

*Child-birth.*—Three months before her confinement a woman prepares rice-beer, which is kept and drunk inside the house after the birth of the child. The third day after the child's birth it is named by its maternal uncle, a red cock being killed, and some of the feathers tied round the child's neck, and also worn by the members of the family. In the autumn of each year, there is a feast which lasts three days in honour of the children born during the year. The first two nights the adult population sits up all night drinking and eating yams. The third day men, dressed as women, and Pois, go from house to house, visiting all who have become mothers during the year, and being treated to drink and given some small present by each, in return for which they dance. Women are delivered at the head of the sleeping *machan* ; the after-birth is placed in a gourd and hung up on the wall at the back of the house.

*Death ceremonies.*—The dead are buried at once, and anywhere relatives choose.

*Pois or Chins.*—There are many minor differences in feasts and customs. Mr. Drake-Brockman has supplied me with a good deal of information, but all the Pois in this district are merely immigrants from the Chin Hills.

*Lakhers.*—These people are also immigrants from the Chin Hills, but they seem different in many respects from the Pois. Mr. Drake-Brockman says that the name by which they call themselves is Tlongsai. The eldest son inherits the bulk of the property. Daughters only get what the brothers give them ; younger brothers get a small share. If there are no sons, the nearest male relative inherits. The details of the price paid for brides differs somewhat from those given above. There are no guest houses. All members of the family sleep in the same house. The Chiefs' bodies are buried five days after death. People killed by animals or by accident, or women who die in child-birth, are buried outside the village, and ceremonies are abbreviated. Such a death is an ill-omen. Seven days after child-birth the mother washes at the spring, and then takes the child to her father's house, and gives some rice and a fowl in honour of the child. No particular sacrifices are connected with child-birth. Among the Lakhers there are no special sorcerers or priests : the head of the household is the priest, and does all necessary sacrifices. Lakher villages, like Chin villages, do not move, and therefore are more permanent. The dress of the people is the same as that of the Haka Chins.

*Paithes.*—When we first occupied these hills, a very large number of this clan were living in different villages of Lushei Chiefs, having been brought there and detained more or less forcibly. These have nearly all left now, and either returned to their own country, the Manipur Hills, or settled in one or two villages under Paithe Chiefs in the extreme north-east corner of the district. The Paithe dialect is quite unintelligible to a Lushei. Their marriage customs are very different. A young Paithe cohabits with his future wife for a period which may extend to three years if no child is born. During this time they sleep together, but otherwise live as if unmarried. If no child is born, or rather if the woman does not become pregnant, the couple separate. If the woman becomes pregnant, the marriage is completed, and the price must be paid, and there can be no separation or divorce, as is so easily arranged among the Lusheis. There is very little intermarriage between the Paithes and the other clans, on account of the objection the Paithe women have to the casual way in which the males of other clans can get rid of their wives. A Paithe Chief's son is supposed to marry his first cousin. After death the corpse is rubbed with some greasy preparation, which preserves and hardens the skin. It is then dressed up in the best cloths obtainable, and a wonderful head-dress made of toucan tail feathers is placed on its head. During the day-time the corpse is kept in the house, but in the evening when the people return from work, it is brought out and placed on the platform outside the house, and rice-beer is poured down its throat, and people sing and dance round it. This disgusting performance is kept up for periods, which vary from a month or two to a year, according to the wealth of the dead person's family. The Paithes have many other peculiar customs, but I have had but little opportunity of studying them. They have no guest houses, the young men sleeping in the front verandahs of the Chief, and some wealthy men on special platforms. For this privilege, they each give a pig or a goat once a year.

Mr. Dundas notes that the women's petticoats overlap in front instead of at the side, that the unmarried girls wear their coats opening down the back, and that they do not wrap a cloth round them as the men do. The hair is dressed as follows : a lock is drawn down over the forehead, and then plaited and drawn back over the centre of the head, and tied into the knot in which the rest of the hair is tied over the nape of the neck. The women wear their hair in three plaits, one hanging over each ear and one down the back. The Paithe seem very closely allied to the Syins of the Northern Chin Hill.

*The Hmar.*—Regarding these people, I have but little information. There are many different clans, who are all known to the Lusheis under this name, and who speak dialects very closely allied and unintelligible to the Lusheis. They formerly had many wars with the Lusheis and lived north of Champhai ; they now mostly live in the Manipur Hills. The women wear their hair in one long plait wrapped round the head, and instead of the blue petticoat worn by all other clans, wear one with a blue stripe between two white ones, which overlap in front, and so, when seen from the front, the petticoat appears white, and hence the whole clan is often spoken of as *fen-ngo*—white petticoats.

*The Thado.*—There is only one village of these people in the district. They were driven out of the hills by the Lusheis. They are said to be descended from the same stock as the

Chongthu. They say their ancestor found his way from some underground cavern. They place their dead in logs as described above, and dry them, but do it in a small house outside the village.

The above gives only a general idea of the customs of the inhabitants of the hills. Every clan has some particular custom of its own, especially as regards sacrifices, which form a very important feature in the people's existence. The customs as to punishments, paying of marriage price, etc., among people living under Lushei Chiefs are practically the result of orders which the most powerful Chiefs have given during their lives, and I find some differences between the customs of the northern and southern chiefs. **Conclusion.**

# APPENDIX V.

## Modern theories of Caste.

## *Mr. Nesfield's theory of the origin and nature of Indian caste.

If it were possible to compress into a single paragraph a theory so complex as that which would explain the origin and nature of Indian caste, I should attempt to sum it up in some such words as the following: A caste is a marriage union, the constituents of which were drawn from various different tribes (or from various other castes similarly formed), in virtue of some industry, craft or function, either secular or religious, which they possessed in common. The internal discipline, by which the conditions of membership in regard to connubial and convivial rights are defined and enforced, has been borrowed from the tribal period which preceded the period of castes by many centuries, and which was brought to a close by the amalgamation of tribes into a nation under a common sceptre. The differentia of *caste* as a marriage union consists in some community of function; while the differentia of *tribe* as a marriage union consisted in a common ancestry, or a common worship, or a common totem, or in fact in any kind of common property except that of a common function. Long before castes were formed on Indian soil, most of the industrial classes, to which they now correspond, had existed for centuries, and as a rule most of the industries which they practised were hereditary on the male side of the parentage. These hereditary classes were and are simply the concrete embodiments of these successive stages of culture which have marked the industrial development of mankind in every part of the world. Everywhere except at least in those countries where he is still a savage), man has advanced from the stage of hunting and fishing to that of nomadism and cattle-grazing, and from nomadism to agriculture proper. Everywhere has the age of metallurgy and of the arts and industries which are coëval with it been preceded by a ruder age, when only those arts were known or practised which sufficed for the hunting, fishing, and nomad states. Everywhere has the class of ritualistic priests and lettered theosophists been preceded by a class of less cultivated worshippers, who paid simple offerings of flesh and wine to the personified powers of the visible universe without the aid of an hereditary professional priesthood. Everywhere has the class of nobles and territorial chieftains been preceded by a humbler class of small peasant proprietors, who placed themselves under their protection and paid tribute or rent in return. Everywhere has this class of nobles and chieftains sought to ally itself with that of the priests or sacerdotal order; and everywhere has the priestly order sought to bring under its control those chiefs and rulers under whose protection it lives. All these classes, then, had been in existence for centuries before any such thing as caste was known on Indian soil; and the only thing that was needed to convert them into castes, such as they now are, was that the Brahman, who possessed the hightest of all functions—the priestly—should set the example. This he did by establishing for the first time the rule that no child, either male or female, could inherit the name and status of Brahman, unless he or she was of Brahman parentage on *both* sides. By the establishment of this rule the principle of marriage unionship was superadded to that of functional unionship; and it was only by the combination of these two principles that a caste in the strict sense of the term could or can be formed. The Brahman therefore, as the Hindu books inform us, was "the first-born of castes." When the example had thus been set by an arrogant and overbearing priesthood, whose pretensions it was impossible to put down, the other hereditary classes followed in regular order downwards, partly in imitation and partly in self-defence. To a nation mesmerised by Brahmans and blinded with superstition and ignorance no other course was open. Immediately behind the Brahman came the Kshatriya, the military chieftain or landlord. He therefore was the "second-born of castes." Then followed the bankers or upper trading classes (the Agarwāl, Khattri, etc.); the scientific musician and singer (Kathak); the writing or literary class (Kāyasth); the bard or genealogist (Bhāt); and the class of inferior nobles (Taga and Bhuinhar), who paid no rent to the landed aristocracy. These, then, were the third-born of castes. In all communities, such classes must stand rather high in the scale of social respectability, since the stages of industry or function which they represent are high in proportion; but in India their rank was more precisely defined than elsewhere by the fact that they made a nearer approach than the castes below them to the Brahmanical ideal of personal dignity and purity. Next in order came those artisan classes, who were coêval with the age and art of metallurgy; the metallurgic classes themselves; the middle trading classes; the middle agricultural classes, who placed themselves under the protection of the Kshatriya and paid him rent in return (Kurmi, Kachhi, Māli, Tāmboli); and the middle serving classes, such as Nāpit and Baidya, who attended to the bodily wants of their equals and superiors. These, then, were the fourth-born of castes; and their rank in the social scale has been determined by the fact that their manners and notions are further removed than those of the preceding castes from the Brahmanical ideal. Next came the inferior artisan classes, those which preceded the age and art of metallurgy (Teli, Kumhār, Kalwār, etc.); the partly nomad and partly agricultural classes (Jat, Gūjar, Ahír, etc.); the inferior serving classes, such as Kahār; and the inferior trading classes, such as Bhunja. These, then, were the fifth-born of castes, and their mode of life is still further removed from the Brahmanical ideal than that of the preceding. The last born, and therefore the lowest, of all the classes are those semi-savage communities, partly tribes and partly castes, whose function consists in hunting or fishing, or in acting as butcher for the general community, or in rearing swine and fowls, or in discharging the meanest domestic services, such as sweeping and washing, or in practising the lowes

* "Brief view of the caste system of the N.-W. P. and Oudh," by John C. Nesfield, M. A., Oxon., pp. 114—116, para .195.

of human arts, such as basket-making, hide-tanning, etc. Thus throughout the whole series of Indian castes a double test of social precedence has been in active force, the Industrial and the Brahmanical; and these two have kept pace together almost as evenly as a pair of horses harnessed to a single carriage. In proportion as the function practised by any given caste stands high or low in the scale of industrial development, in the same proportion does the caste itself, impelled by the general tone of society by which it is surrounded, approximate more nearly or more remotely to the Brahmanical ideal of life. It is these two criteria combined which have determined the relative ranks of the various castes in the Hindu social scale. Outside the caste system altogether stand the few and shattered remains of those aboriginal tribes, out of which the whole series of caste was fashioned by slow degrees, through the example and under the guidance of the Brahmanical priesthood. Had the Brahman never come into existence and had his arrogance proved to be less omnipotent than it did, the various industrial classes would never have become stereotyped into castes, and the nation would then have been spared a degree of social disunion to which no parallel can be found in human history. There seems to be no likelihood of caste being banished from Indian soil until Brahmanism itself—the *fons et origo mali*—has died a natural death by the rise of the scientific spirit, and the fallacy of its pretensions has become an object of general scorn. As soon as the Brahman begins to disappear, the rest will follow.

# Caste in the Punjab.

*From the Census Report of the Punjab, 1881, by* SIR DENZIL IBBETSON, *K.C.S.I.*

**The popular conception of caste.**

An old agnostic is said to have summed up his philosophy in the following words:—"The only thing I know is that I know nothing; and I am not quite sure that I know that." His words express very exactly my own feelings regarding caste in the Punjab. My experience is that it is almost impossible to make any statement whatever regarding any one of the castes we have to deal with, absolutely true as it may be as regards one part of the Province, which shall not presently be contradicted with equal truth as regards the same people in some other district. Yet I shall attempt to set forth briefly what seem to me the fundamental ideas upon which caste is based; and in doing so I shall attempt partly to explain why it is that the institution is so extraordinarily unstable, and its phœnomena so diverse in different localities. What I propound in the following paragraphs is simply my working hypothesis as it at present stands; but I shall not stop to say so as I write, though almost every proposition made must be taken subject to limitations, often sufficiently obvious, and not unfrequently involved in some other proposition made in the very next paragraph. My views are of little weight so long as they are not illustrated and supported by instances drawn from actually existing fact. Such instances I have in great abundance, and they will be found in part in the detailed description of castes which follow this discussion. But I have leisure neither to record all my evidence, nor to marshal what I have recorded; and I give my conception of caste with a crudeness of exposition which lack of time forbids me to modify, not because I think that it is anything even distantly approaching to the whole truth, but because I believe that it is nearer to that truth than is the generally received theory of caste as I understand it.

The popular and currently received theory of caste I take to consist of three main aritcles:—

(1) that caste is an institution of the Hindu religion, and wholly peculiar to that religion alone;

(2) that it consists primarily of a fourfold classification of people in general under the heads of Brāhman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sūdra;

(3) that caste is perpetual and immutable, and has been transmitted from generation to generation throughout the ages of Hindu history and myth without the possibility of change.

Now I should doubtless be exaggerating in the opposite direction, but I think that I should still be far nearer to the truth if, in opposition to the popular conception thus defined, I were to say—

(1) that caste is a social far more than a religious institution; that it has no necessary connection whatever with the Hindu religion, further than that under that religion certain ideas and customs common to all primitive nations have been developed and perpetuated in an unusual degree; and that conversion from Hinduism to Islām has not necessarily the slightest effect upon caste:

(2) that there are Brāhmans who are looked upon as outcasts by those who under the fourfold classification would be classed as Sūdras; that there is no such thing as a Vaisya now existing; that it is very doubtful indeed whether there is such a thing as a Kshatriya, and if there is, no two people are agreed as to where we shall look for him; and that Sūdra has no present significance save as a convenient term of abuse to apply to somebody else whom you consider lower than yourself; while the number of castes which can be classed under any one or under no one of the four heads, according as private opinion may vary, is almost innumerable:

(3) that nothing can be more variable and more difficult to define than caste; and that the fact that a generation is descended from ancestors of any given caste creates a presumption, and nothing more, that that generation also is of the same caste, a presumption liable to be defeated by an infinite variety of circumstances.

**The hereditary nature of occupations.**

Among all primitive peoples we find the race split up into a number of tribal communities held together by the tie of common descent, each tribe being self-contained and self-sufficing, and bound by strict rules of marriage and inheritance, the common object of which is to increase the strength and preserve the unity of the tribe. There is as yet no diversity of occupation. Among more advanced societies, where occupations have become differentiated, the tribes have almost altogether disappeared; and we find in their place corporate communities or guilds held together by the tie of common occupation rather than of common blood, each guild being self-contained and self-governed, and bound by strict rules, the common object of which is to strengthen the guild and to confine to it the secrets of the craft which it practises. Such were the trades-guilds of the middle ages as we first meet with them in European history. But all modern inquiry into their origin and earlier constitution tends to the conclusion—and modern authorities on the development of primitive institutions are rapidly accepting that conclusion—that the guild in its first form was, no less than the tribe, based upon common descent; and that the fundamental idea which lay at the root of the institution in its inception was the hereditary nature of occupation. Now here we have two principles, community of blood and community of occupation. So long as

the hereditary nature of occupation was inviolable, so long as the blacksmith's son must be, and nobody else could be, a blacksmith, the two principles were identical. But the struggle for existence is too severe, the conditions of existence too varied, and the character and capacity of individuals too diverse to permit of this inviolability being long maintained; and in any but the most rudimentary form of society it must, like the socialist's dream of equal division of wealth, cease to exist from the very instant of its birth. And from the moment when the hereditary nature of occupation ceases to be invariable and inviolable, the two principles of community of blood and community of occupation become antagonistic. The antagonism still continues. In every community which the world has ever seen there have been grades of position and distinctions of rank; and in all societies these grades and distinctions are governed by two considerations, descent and calling. As civilisation advances and the ideas of the community expand in more liberal growth, the latter is ever gaining in importance at the expense of the former; the question what a man is, is ever more and more taking precedence of the question what his father was. But in no society that the world has yet seen has either of these two considerations ever wholly ceased to operate; in no community has the son of the coal-heaver been born the equal of the son of the nobleman, or the man who dies a trader been held in the same consideration as he who dies a statesman; while in all the son has begun where the father left off. The communities of India in whose midst the Hindu religion has been developed are no exceptions to this rule; but in their case special circumstances have combined to preserve in greater integrity and to perpetuate under a more advanced state of society than elsewhere the hereditary nature of occupation, and thus in a higher degree than in other modern nations to render identical the two principles of community of blood and community of occupation. And it is this difference, a difference of degree rather than of kind, a survival to a later age of an institution which has died out elsewhere rather than a new growth peculiar to the Hindu nation, which makes us give a new name to the old thing and call caste in India what we call position or rank in England.

**Occupation the primary basis of caste.**

The whole basis of diversity of caste is diversity of occupation. The old division into Brāhman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, Sūdra, and the Mlechchha or outcast who is below the Sūdra, is but a division into the priest, the warrior, the husbandman, the artisan, and the menial; and the more modern development which substituted trader for husbandman as the meaning of Vaisya or "the people" did not alter the nature of the classification. William Priest, John King, Edward Farmer, and James Smith are but the survivals in England of the four *varnas* of Manu. But in India, which was priest-ridden to an extent unknown to the experience of Europe even in the middle ages, the dominance of one special occupation gave abnormal importance to all distinctions of occupation. The Brāhman who could at first claim no separate descent by which he should be singled out from among the Aryan community, sought to exalt his office and to propitiate his political rulers, who were the only rivals he had to fear, by degrading all other occupations and conditions of life. Further, as explained in the sections just referred to, the principle of hereditary occupation was to him as a class one of the most vital importance. As the Brāhmans increased in number, those numbers necessarily exceeded the possible requirements of the laity so far as the mere performance of priestly functions was concerned, while it became impossible for them to keep up as a whole even the semblance of sacred learning. Thus they ceased to be wholly priests and a large proportion of them became mere Levites. The only means of preserving its overwhelming influence to the body at large was to substitute Levitical descent for priestly functions as the basis of that influence, or rather perhaps to check the natural course of social evolution which would have substituted the latter for the former; and this they did by giving the whole sanction of religion to the principle of the hereditary nature of occupation. Hence sprang that tangled web of caste restrictions and distinctions, of ceremonial obligations, and of artificial purity and impurity, which has rendered the separation of occupation from descent so slow and so difficult in Hindu society, and which collectively constitutes what we know as caste. I do not mean that the Brāhmans invented the principle which they thus turned to their own purpose; on the contrary, I have said that it is found in all primitive societies that have outgrown the most rudimentary stage. Nor do I suppose that they deliberately set to work to produce any craftily designed effect upon the growth of social institutions. But circumstances had raised them to a position of extraordinary power; and naturally, and probably almost unconsciously, their teaching took the form which tended most effectually to preserve that power unimpaired.

Indeed in its earlier form, neither caste nor occupation was even supposed in India to be necessarily or invariably hereditary. It is often forgotten that there are two very distinct epochs in the post-Vedic history of the Hindu nations, which made respectively contributions of very different nature to that body of Hindu scriptures which we are too apt to confuse under the generic name of the Shāstras, and which affected in very different manners the form of the Hindu religion. The earlier is the epoch of the Brāhmanas and the Upanishads, while Hinduism was a single and comparatively simple creed, or at most a philosophical abstraction; and the later is the epoch of the Purānas and Tantras, with their crowded Pantheon, their foul imaginings, their degraded idolatry, and their innumerable sects. The former may be said to end with the rise and the latter to begin with the growing degeneracy of Buddhism. In the earlier Hinduism we find that, while caste distinctions were primarily based upon occupation, considerable license in this respect was permitted to the several castes, while the possibility of the individual rising from one caste to another was distinctly recognised. This was the case even as late as the age of Manu, by which time the caste system had assumed great strictness, and the cardinal importance of occupation had become a prominent part of the Brahmanical

teaching, though its hereditary nature had not yet been so emphatically insisted on. It was in the dark ages of Hindu history, about the beginning of an era during which Brahmanism was substituted for Hinduism and the religion became a chaos of impure and degraded doctrine and sectarian teaching, that the theory of the necessarily hereditary nature of occupation seems to have taken its present form. In the earlier epoch the priest was always a Brāhman; in the later the Brāhman was always a priest.

But if occupation was not necessarily transmitted by descent, and if caste varied with change of occupation in the earlier era of Hinduism, it is no less true that this is the case in the present day; though under caste restrictions as they now stand the change, in an upward direction at least, is infinitely slower and more difficult than then, and is painfully effected by the family or tribe in the course of generations instead of by the individual in the course of years. The following pages will contain numerous instances of the truth of this assertion, and the whole body of tribal and caste tradition in the Punjab supports it. I have not always thought it necessary to state their traditions in discussing the various castes; and I have seldom stopped to comment on the facts. But the evidence, imperfect as it is, will be found to possess no inconsiderable weight; while the very fact of the general currency of a set of traditions, groundless as they may be in individual instances, shows that the theory of society upon which they are based is at least not repugnant to the ideas and feelings and even practice of the people who believe them. Indeed, for the purposes of the present enquiry it would almost be allowable to accept traditional origin; for though the tradition may not be true, it might have been, or it would never have arisen. Instances of fall in the social scale are naturally more often met with than instances of rise, for he who has sunk recalls with pride his ancestral origin, while he who has risen hastens to forget it.

**The political and artificial basis of caste.**

But before proceeding to give specific instances of recent change of caste, I must adopt a somewhat extended definition of occupation, and must take a somewhat wider basis than that afforded by mere occupation, even so defined, as the foundation of caste.

In India the occupation of the great mass of what may be called the upper or yeoman classes is the same. Setting aside the priests and traders on the one hand and the artisans and menials on the other, we have left the great body of agriculturists who constitute by far the larger portion of the population. This great body of people subsists by husbandry and cattle-farming, and so far their occupation is one and the same. But they are also the owners and occupiers of the land, the holders of more or less compact tribal territories; they are overlords as well as villains; and hence springs the cardinal distinction between the occupation of ruling and the occupation of being ruled. Where the actual calling of every-day life is the same, social standing, which is all that caste means, depends very largely upon political importance, whether present or belonging to the recent past. There is the widest distinction between the dominant and the subject tribes; and a tribe which has acquired political independence in one part of the country, will there enjoy a position in the ranks of caste which is denied it in tracts where it occupies a subordinate position.

Again, the features of the caste system which are peculiar to Brahmanical Hinduism, and which have already been alluded to, have operated to create a curiously artificial standard of social rank. There are certain rules which must be observed by all at the risk of sinking in the scale. They are, broadly speaking, that widow-marriage shall not be practised, that marriages shall be contracted only with those of equal or nearly equal standing; that certain occupations shall be abstained from which are arbitrarily declared to be impure, such as growing or selling vegetables, handicrafts in general, and especially working or trading in leather and weaving; that impure food shall be avoided; and that no communion shall be held with outcasts, such as scavengers, eaters of carrion or vermin, and the like. There are other and similarly artificial considerations which affect social standing, such as the practice of secluding the women of the family, the custom of giving daughters in marriage only to classes higher than their own, and the like; but these are of less general application than those first mentioned. Many of these restrictions are exceedingly irksome. It is expensive to keep the women secluded, for others have to be paid to do their work; it is still more expensive to apurchase husbands for them from a higher grade of society, and so forth; and so there is constant temptation to disregard these rules, even at the cost of some loss of social position.

Thus we have as the extended basis of caste, first occupation, and within a common occupation political prominence and social standing, the latter being partly regulated by a set of very arbitrary rules which are peculiar to Indian caste, and which are almost the only part of the system which is peculiar to it It is neither tautology nor false logic to say that social standing is dependent upon caste and caste upon social standing, for the two depend each upon the other in different senses. The rise in the social scale which accompanies increased political importance will presently be followed by a rise in caste; while the fall in the grades of caste which a disregard of the arbitrary rules of the institution entails, will surely be accompanied by loss of social standing.

**Instances of the mutability of caste.**

The Brāhmans are generally husbandmen as well as Levites, for their numbers are so great that they are obliged to supplement the income derived from their priestly office. But when a Brāhman drops his sacerdotal character, ceases to receive food or alms as offerings acceptable to the gods, and becomes a cultivator pure and simple, he also ceases to be a Brāhman, and has to employ other Brāhmans as priests. Witness the Taga Brāhmans of the Delhi division, who are Tagas, not Brāhmans, because they have "abandoned" (*tāg dena*) their priestly character. Indeed in the hills the very practice of agriculture as a calling or at least the actual following of the plough is in itself sufficient to deprive a Brāhman of all but the name of his caste; for Mr. Lyall points out that in the following quotation from

Mr. Barnes "ploughing" should be read for "agriculture" or "husbandry" there being very few, even of the highest Brāhman families, who abstain from other sorts of field work.

"It will afford a tolerable idea of the endless ramification of caste to follow out the details of even the Sārsut tribe as established in these hills. The reader acquainted with the country will know that Brāhmans, though classed under a common appellation, are not all equal. There are primarily two great distinctions in every tribe claiming to be of such exalted origin as the Brāhmans,—*viz.*, those who follow and those who abstain from ploughing. This is the great touch-stone of their creed. Those who have never defiled their hands with the plough, but have restricted themselves to the legitimate pursuits of the caste, are held to be pure Brāhmans; while those who have once descended to the occupation of husbandry retain indeed the name, but are no longer acknowledged by their brethren, nor held in the same reverence by the people at large."

So again if a Brāhman takes to handicrafts he is no longer a Brāhman, as in the case of the Thāvis of the hills, some of whom were Brāhmans in the last generation. The Dharukras of Dehli are admittedly Brāhmans who have within the last few generations taken to widow-marriage; and the Chamarwa Sādhs and the whole class of the so-called Brāhmans who minister to the outcast classes, are no longer Brāhmans in any respect beyond the mere retention of the name. The Mahā Brāhman, so impure that in many villages he is not allowed to enter the gates, the Dākaut and Gujrāti, so unfortunate that other Brāhmans will not accept offerings at their hands, are all Brāhmans, but are practically differentiated as distinct castes by their special occupations. Turning to the second of Manu's four great classes, we find the Mahājan a Mahājan in the hills so long as he is a merchant, but a Kāyasth as soon as he becomes a clerk; while the Dasa Banya of the plains who has taken to the practice of widow-marriage is a Banya only by name and occupation, not being admitted to communion or intermarriage by the more orthodox classes who bear the same title. The impossibility of fixing any line between Rājpūts on the one hand, and Jāts, Gūjars, and castes of similar standing on the other, is fully discussed in the subsequent parts of this Chapter, in the paragraphs on the Jāt in general, on the Rājpūts of the Eastern Hills, and on the Thakar and Rāthi. I there point out that the only possible definition of a Rājpūt, in the Punjab at least, is he who, being the descendant of a family that has enjoyed political importance, has preserved his ancestral status by strict observance of the caste rules enumerated above. The extract there quoted from Mr. Lyall's report sums up so admirably the state of caste distinctions in the hills that I make no apology for repeating it. He says:—

"Till lately the limits of caste do not seem to have been so immutably fixed in the hills as in the plains. The "Raja was the fountain of honour, and could do much as he liked. I have heard old men quote instances within their "memory in which a Raja promoted a Girth to be a Rāthi, and a Thākur to be a Rājpūt, for service done or money "given; and at the present day the power of admitting back into caste-fellowship persons put under a ban for some "grave act of defilement is a source of income to the Jagirdar Rajas.

"I believe that Mr. Campbell, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, has asserted that there is no such thing "as a distinct Rājpūt stock; that in former times, before caste distinctions had become crystallized, any tribe or family "whose ancestor or head rose to royal rank became in time Rājpūt.

"This is certainly the conclusion to which many facts point with regard to the Rājpūts of these hills. Two of the "old royal and now essentially Rājpūt families of this district, *viz.*, Kotlehr and Bangahal, are said to be Brāhman by "original stock. Mr. Barnes says that in Kangra the son of a Rājpūt by a low-caste woman takes place as a Rāthi: "in Seoraj and other places in the interior of the hills I have met families calling themselves Rājpūts, and growing into "general acceptance as Rājpūts, in their own country at least, whose only claim to the title was that their father or "grandfather was the offspring of a Kānetni by a foreign Brāhman. On the border line in the Himalayas, between "Tibet and India Proper, any one can observe caste growing before his eyes; the noble is changing into a Rājpūt, the "priest into a Brāhman, the peasant into a Jāt; and so on down to the bottom of the scale. The same process was, I "believe, more or less in force in Kāngra proper down to a period not very remote from to-day."

And Kāngra is of all parts of the Punjab the place in which the proudest and most ancient Rājpūt blood is to be found. As Captain Cunningham says in his *History of the Sikhs*: "It may be assumed as certain that, had the conquering Moghals and Pathāns been without a vivid belief and an organised priesthood, they would have adopted Vedism and become enrolled among the Kshatriya or Rājpūt races." In Sirsa we have instances of clans who were a few generations ago accounted Jāt being now generally classed as Rājpūts, having meanwhile practised greater exclusiveness in matrimonial matters, and having abandoned widow-marriage; while the reverse process is no less common. So the Chauhāns of Delhi are no longer recognised as Rājpūts since they have begun to marry their widows. Finally we have the whole traditions of the Punjab tribes of the Jāt and Gūjar status to the effect that they are descended from Rājpūts who married below them, ceased to seclude their women, or began to practise widow marriage; and the fact that one and the same tribe is often known as Rājpūt where it has, and as Jāt where it has not, risen to political importance.

But it is possible for Rājpūts and Jāts to fall still lower. The Sahnsars of Hushyārpur were admittedly Rājpūts till only a few generations ago, when they took to growing vegetables, and now rank with Arāins. Some of the Tarkhāns, Lohārs, and Nāis of Sirsa are known to have been Jāts or Rājpūts who within quite recent times have taken to the hereditary occupations of these castes; and some of the Chauhāns of Karnāl, whose fathers were born Rājpūts, have taken to weaving and become Shekhs. So too the landowning castes can rise. A branch of the Wattu Rājpūts of the Sutlej, by an affectation of peculiar sanctity, have in the course of a few generations become Bodlas, and now deny their Rājpūt and claim Qureshi origin; and already the claim is commonly admitted. A clan of Ahirs in Rewāri has begun to seclude their women and abandon widow-marriage; they no longer intermarry with the other Ahirs, and will presently be reckoned a separate caste; and there is a Kharral family lately settled in Bahāwalpur who have begun to affect peculiar holiness and to marry only with each other, and their next step will certainly be to claim Arab descent. The process is going on daily around us, and it is certain that what is now taking place is only what has always taken place during the

long ages of Indian history. The ease with which Saiyads are manufactured is proverbial, and some of our highest Rājpūt tribes are beginning in the Salt-range to claim Moghal or Arab origin. On the frontier the dependence upon occupation of what there most nearly corresponds with caste, as distinct from tribe, is notorious. A Māchhi is a Māchhi so long as he catches fish, and a Jāt directly he lays hold of a plough. There are no Rājpūts because there are no Rajas; and those who are notoriously of pure Rājpūt descent are Jāts because they till the land.

Among the artisan and menial tribes the process is still more common, and the chapter on this section of the community abounds with instances. One Chamār takes to weaving instead of leather-working and becomes a Chamār-Julāhā; presently he will be a Julāhā pure and simple: another does the same and becomes a Rangreta or a Bania: a Chūhra refuses to touch night-soil and becomes a Musalli or a Kutāna. Within the castes the same process is observable. The Chāndar Chamār will not eat or marry with the Jatia Chamār because the latter works in the hides of impure animals; one section of the Kumhārs will hold no communion with another because the latter burn sweepings as fuel; a third section has taken to agriculture and looks down upon both. In all these and a thousand similar instances the sections are for all practical purposes distinct castes, though the caste name, being based upon and expressive of the hereditary occupation, is generally retained where the main occupation is not changed. Indeed I have my doubts whether, setting aside the absolutely degrading occupations such as scavengering, the caste does not follow the occupation in the case of even each individual among these artisan and menial castes much more generally than we suppose. We know next to nothing about their organisation, and I do not pretend to make anything more than a suggestion. But it is certain that these lower castes have retained the organisation of the guild in extraordinary completeness long after the organisation of the tribe or caste has almost completely died out among the landowning classes whom they serve. And it may be, especially in towns and cities, that this organisation is meant to protect the craft in the absence of the bond of common descent, and that men belonging by birth to other castes and occupations may on adopting a new occupation be admitted to the fraternity which follows it.

**The nature and evolution of the institution of caste.**

Thus we see that in India, as in all countries, society is arranged in strata which are based upon differences of social or political importance, or of occupation. But here the classification is hereditary rather than individual to the persons included under it and an artificial standard is added which is peculiar to caste and which must be conformed with on pain of loss of position, while the rules which forbid social intercourse between castes of different rank render it infinitely difficult to rise in the scale. So, too, the classification being hereditary, it is next to impossible for the individual himself to rise; it is the tribe or section of the tribe that alone can improve its position, and this it can do only after the lapse of several generations, during which time it must abandon a lower for a higher occupation, conform more strictly with the arbitrary rules, affect social exclusiveness or special sanctity, or separate itself after some similar fashion from the body of the caste to which it belongs. The whole theory of society is that occupation and caste are hereditary; and the presumption that caste passes unchanged to the descendants is exceedingly strong. But the presumption is one which can be defeated, and has already been and is now in process of being defeated in numberless instances. As in all other countries and among all other nations, the graduations of the social scale are fixed; but society is not solid but liquid, and portions of it are continually rising and sinking and changing their position as measured by that scale; and the only real difference between Indian society and that of other countries in this respect is that the liquid is much more viscous, the friction and inertia to be overcome infinitely greater, and the movement therefore far slower and more difficult in the former than in the latter. This friction and inertia are largely due to a set of artificial rules which have been grafted on to the social prejudices common to all communities by the peculiar form which caste has taken in the Brahmanical teachings. But there is every sign that these rules are gradually relaxing. Sikhism did much to weaken them in the centre of the Punjab, while they can now hardly be said to exist on the purely Mahomedan frontier; and I think that we shall see a still more rapid change under the influences which our rule has brought to bear upon the society of the Province. Our disregard for inherited distinctions have already done something, and the introduction of railways much more, to loosen the bonds of caste. It is extraordinary how incessantly, in reporting customs, my correspondents note that the custom or restriction is fast dying out. The liberty enjoyed by the people of the Western Punjab is extending to their neighbours in the east, and especially the old tribal customs are gradually fading away. There cannot be the slightest doubt that in a few generations the materials for a study of caste as an institution will be infinitely less complete than they are even now.

Thus, if my theory be correct, we have the following steps in the process by which caste has been evolved in the Punjab—(1) the tribal divisions common to all primitive societies; (2) the guilds based upon hereditary occupation common to the middle life of all communities; (3) the exaltation of the priestly office to a degree unexampled in other countries; (4) the exaltation of the Levitical blood by a special insistence upon the necessarily hereditary nature of occupation; (5) the preservation and suppport of this principle by the elaboration from the theories of the Hindu creed or cosmogony of a purely artificial set of rules, regulating marriage and intermarriage, declaring certain occupations and foods to be impure and polluting, and prescribing the conditions and degree of social intercourse permitted between the several castes. Add to this the pride of social rank and the pride of blood which are natural to man, and which alone could reconcile a nation to restrictions at once irksome from a domestic, and burdensome from a material point of view; and it is hardly to be wondered at that caste should have assumed the rigidity which distinguishes it in India.

**The tribal type of caste.**

Thus caste in the Punjab is based primarily upon occupation, and given that the occupation is that most respectable of all occupations, the owning and cultivation of land, upon political position. But there are other forms which are assumed by caste, or at least by what most nearly corresponds with it in some parts of the Province, which may in general be referred to two main types. The first type is based upon community of blood; the second is a trades-guild pure and simple. Both are strictly analogous to caste proper; but the existence of both in their present forms appears to be due to the example of those Musalmān nations who have exerted such immense influence in the Punjab, and both differ from caste proper in the absence of those artificial restrictions which are the peculiar product of Brahmanism. The purest types of the ethnic or national caste are the Pathāns and Baloches, both untainted by any admixture of Hindu feeling or custom. Here the fiction which unites the caste, race, nation, or whatever you may choose to call it, is that of common descent from a traditional ancestor. In the main it is something more than a fiction, for if the common ancestor be mythical, as he probably is, there is still a very real bond of common origin, common habitat, common customs and modes of thought, and tribal association continued through several centuries, which holds these peoples together. But even here the stock is not even professedly pure. It will be seen from my description of the two great frontier races whom I have quoted as types, that each of them includes in its tribal organisation affiliated tribes of foreign origin, who sometimes but by no means always preserve the tradition of their separate descent, but are recognised to the full as being, and for all practical purposes actually *are* Baloch or Pathān as truly as are the tribes who have certainly sprung from the parent stock. Still more is this the case with the Moghal, Shekh and Saiyad, who are only strangers in the land. "Last year I was a weaver, this year I am a Shekh; next year if prices rise I shall be a Saiyad." The process of manufacture in these cases is too notorious for it to be necessary for me to insist upon it; and so long as the social position of the new claimant is worthy of the descent he claims, the true Moghals, Shekhs, and Saiyads, after waiting for a generation or so till the absurdity of the story is not too obvious, accept the fiction and admit the brand new brother into their fraternity.

Throughout the Western Plains, and in a somewhat lower degree throughout the cis-Indus Salt-range Tract, where Islām has largely superseded Brahmanisim and where the prohibition against marriage with another caste is almost universally neglected, we find the distribution of the landowning classes based upon tribe rather than upon caste. The necessity for community of present caste as a condition of intermarriage having disappeared, the more comprehensive classification of caste has become a mere tradition of ancestral status, and the immediate question is, not is a man a Rājpūt or a Jāt, but is he a Siāl or a Chhādhar, a Janjūa or a Manhās. The restrictions upon intermarriage are in actual practice almost as strict as ever; but they are based upon present social rank, without reference to the question whether that rank has yet received the impress or sanction of admission into the caste with which it would correspond. In fact the present tendency even in the case of Rājpūts, and still more in that of lower castes of Indian origin, is markedly to reject their original Hindu caste, and to claim connection with the Moghal conquerors of their country or the Arab founders of their faith. Thus we have no broad classification of the people under a few great castes with their internal division into tribes, such as we find in the Hindu portion of the Punjab; or rather this classification is of far less importance, being little more than a memory of origin, or a token of a social rank which is more precisely expressed by the tribal name.

**The effect of occupation upon the tribal form of caste.**

So, too, the lines which separate occupations one from another are relaxed. In the case of the impure occupations which render those who follow them outcasts, this is not indeed the case. The Pathān who should become a scavenger would no longer be recognised as a Pathān, though he might still claim the name; indeed, as already pointed out in the Chapter on Religion, the prejudice is carried into the very mosque, and the outcast who has adopted Islām is not recognised as a Musalmān unless at the same time he abandon his degrading occupation. But the taint is not so markedly hereditary, nor is the prejudice against menial occupations or handicrafts generally so strong. A Pathān who became a weaver would still remain a Pathān, and would not be thought to be polluted; though, as in all countries, he would be held to have fallen in the social scale, and the better class of Pathān would not give him his daughter to wife. In fact the difference between the condition of a Pathān who took to weaving on the frontier and the Rājpūt who took to weaving in the Dehli Territory, would be precisely that between caste in India and social standing in Europe. The degradation would not in the case of the former be ceremonial or religious, nor would it be hereditary, save in the sense that the children would be born in a lower condition of life; but the immediate and individual loss of position would be as real as among the strictest castes of the Hindus. Thus we find on the frontier men of all castes engaging from poverty or other necessity in all occupations, save those of an actually degrading nature. Between these two extremes of the purely Mahomedan customs of the Indus and the purely Hindu customs of the Jamna we meet with a very considerable variety of intermediate conditions. Yet the change is far less gradual than might have been supposed probable, the break from Islām to Brahmanism, from tribal position and freedom of occupation to the more rigid restraints of caste, taking place with some suddenness about the meridian of Lahore, where the great rivers enter the fertile zone and the arid grazing grounds of the West give place to the arable plains of the East. The sub-montane zone retains its social as well as its physical characteristics much further west than do the plains which lie below it, and here the artificial restrictions of caste can hardly be said to cease till the Salt-range is crossed.

Closely allied with these tribal or ethnic communities based upon identity of recent descent, is the association which binds together small colonies of foreign immigrants under names denoting little more than their origin. Such are the Pūrbi, the Kashmiri, the Bangāli. These people have their own distinctions of caste and tribe in the countries whence they came. But isolation from their fellows in a land of strangers binds them together in closer union. The Pūrbi is a Pūrbi to the people of the Punjab, and nothing more; and in many cases this looseness of classification spreads to the people themselves, and they begin to class themselves as Pūrbi and forget their original divisions. Examples may be found even nearer home. The Hindu is a small class on the frontier, and he is generically classed as Kirār, without regard to his caste. The men of the Bāgar are strangers in the Punjab, and they are commonly known as Bāgri irrespective of whether they are Jāts or Rājpūts. Many more instances of similar confusion might be given. Even community of creed, where the numbers concerned are small, constitutes a bond which cannot be distinguished from that of caste. The resident Sikhs on the Peshāwar frontier are a caste for all practical purposes; while the case of the Bishnois of Hariāna who are chiefly recruited from two very different castes is still more striking.

**The trades-guild type of caste.**

The second type which I have included together with castes proper and the western tribes in my caste tables, is almost precisely the trades-guild of Europe in the middle ages. And it again owes its existence very largely to the prevalence of Mahomedan ideas. It is found chiefly in the larger cities, and is almost always known by a Persian or Arabic name. The class of Darzis or tailors is a good example of what I mean. Here the caste organisation, the regulations of the fraternity, and the government by common council, or *panchāyat* are as complete as among the true castes. But there is no longer even the fiction of common origin, and the only bond which unites the members of the guild is that of common occupation—a bond which is severed when the occupation is abandoned and renewed when it is resumed. I have already said that I am not at all sure whether this is not the case with the artisan castes in general in a far greater degree than is commonly supposed. It appears to me that in the case of the menial and artisan classes the real caste is what I have already noticed, and shall presently describe more particularly, under the name of the *section*; and that the caste name is often merely a generic term used to include all who follow the same occupation. If the numerous agricultural tribes of the Indus who are included under the generic term Jāt observed caste distinctions and refused to eat together and intermarry, we should have a state of things corresponding exactly with what we find throughout the Province among the industrial classes, where each so-called caste comprises under a common occupational term a number of sections of different geographical origin and of different habits, who refuse to hold communion with one another, and are for all practical purposes separate castes. But even here the distinction is often based upon minor differences in the occupation or in the mode of following it; and community of origin in the remote past is often, though by no means always, admitted. And even if my suggestion be well-founded there is still this cardinal distinction, that in the case of the caste or section of the caste the basis of the organisation is hereditary, and the stranger is admitted voluntarily and deliberately; whereas in the case of the guild there is no pretence to community of blood, and anybody following the craft is admitted almost as a matter of right. To this class probably belong the Mallāh, the Qassāb, the Sabzifarosh, the Māsqi when not a Jhinwar, the Nūngar, and many of those quasi-castes of whom I have to say that I cannot tell whether the name signifies anything more than the occupation of the people included under it. Somewhat similar to these are the followers of divers occupations which are almost, if not altogether, confined, in the east of the Province at least, to the members of a single caste, of which the chapter on artisan and menial castes furnishes so many examples. The Bharbhūnja is *almost* always I believe a Jhinwar; the Jarrāh is *almost* always a Nāi; but it would not have been safe to class them as Jhinwar and Nāi respectively, and so I have shown them separately in my tables. Yet another form of quasi-caste is afforded by the religious and ascetic orders of *faqīrs* which, in the absence of all pretence of community of blood and the purely voluntary nature of their association, are somewhat analogous to the trades-guild. These men abandon caste properly so called on entering the order to which they belong; but it would have been absurd to omit them altogether or to show them under "Miscellaneous," and I have therefore ranked them in my tables as castes. Many of them are subject to some form of authority which is exercised by the order in its corporate capacity; but many of them are absolutely free from restrictions of any kind, and the word caste is not really applicable to these classes.

**Different types included in the caste-tables.**

Thus the figures of my tables of tribes and castes include groups formed upon several very distinct types. There is the true caste in the Brahmanical sense of the term, the Brāhman, Rājpūt, Banya and so forth; the tribe or race based upon common blood, such as the Pathān, Baloch, Kāthia; there is the colony of foreigners like the Pūrbi and Kashmiri, or of believers in a strange creed, like the Bishnoi; there is the true occupational caste, such as the Nāi, the Chamār, and the Chūhra; there is the common trades-guild like the Darzi and the Qassāb; there is the occupation pure and simple as the Jarrāh and Gharāmi; there is the ascetic order as the Gosāin and Nirmala; and besides these there are all possible intermediate stages. Moreover the name which is applied to a true caste or race in one part of the Punjab, in another merely signifies an occupation; of which fact Arāin and Baloch are two notable examples, the first meaning nothing more than a market-gardener in the Salt-range Tract, the latter little more than a camelman in the centre of the Province, and each in either case including an indefinite number of castes or tribes with nothing but community of occupation to connect them.

Effect of conversion upon caste.

At the beginning of this chapter I stated, admittedly as an exaggeration of the truth, that caste has little necessary connection with the Hindu religion, and that conversion from Hinduism to Islām has not necessarily the slightest effect upon it. I shall now consider how far that statement has to be modified. I have attempted to show in the preceding paragraphs that pride of blood, especially in the upper, and shame of occupation, especially in the lower classes, are in all societies the principal factors which regulate social rank, and that when Brahmanism developed caste, all that it did was to bind the two together, or at least to prevent the dissolution of the tie which bound them and which would have broken down in the ordinary course of social evolution, and while thus perpetuating the principle of the hereditary nature of occupation and social status, to hedge it round and strengthen it by a network of artificial rules and restrictions which constitute the only characteristic peculiar to the institution of caste. This I take to constitute the only connection between Hinduism and caste; and it is obvious that these restrictions and prejudices once engrafted on the social system, mere change of creed has no necessary effect whatever upon their nature or their operation. As a fact in the east of the Punjab conversion has absolutely *no* effect upon the caste of the convert. The Musalmān, Rājpūt, Gūjar or Jāt is for all social, tribal, political, and administrative purposes exactly as much a Rājpūt, Gūjar or Jāt as his Hindu brother. His social customs are unaltered, his tribal restrictions are unrelaxed, his rules of marriage and inheritance unchanged; and almost the only difference is that he shaves his scalplock and the upper edge of his moustache, repeats the Mahomedan creed in a mosque, and adds the Musalmān to the Hindu wedding ceremony. As I have already shown in the chapter on Religion, he even worships the same idols as before, or has only lately ceased to do so[1].

The fact is that the people are bound by social and tribal custom far more than by any rules of religion. Where the whole tone and feeling of the country-side is Indian, as it is in the Eastern Punjab, the Musalmān is simply the Hindu with a difference. Where that tone and feeling is that of the country beyond the Indus, as it is on the Punjab frontier, the Hindu even is almost as the Musalmān. The difference is national rather than religious. The laxity allowed by Mahomet in the matter of intermarriage has no effect upon the Musalmān Jāt of the Delhi division, for he has already refused to avail himself even of the smaller license allowed by the Hindu priests and scriptures, and bound himself by tribal rules far stricter than those of either religion. But the example of the Pathān and the Baloch has had a very great effect upon the Jāt of the Multān division; and he recognises, not indeed the prohibitions of Mahomet, —or rather not only them, for they represent the irreducible minimum,—but the tribal rules of his frontier neighbours, more strict than those of his religion but less strict than those of his nation. I believe that the laxity of the rules and restrictions imposed by the customs of castes and tribes which is observable in the Western Punjab, and among the Hindus no less than among the Musalmāns, is due far more to the example of the neighbouring frontier tribes than to the mere change of faith. The social and tribal customs of the eastern peasant, whether Hindu or Musalmān, are those of India; while in the west the people, whether Hindu or Musalmān, have adopted in great measure, though by no means altogether, the social and tribal customs of Afghānistān and Baluchistan. In both cases those rules and customs are tribal or national, rather than religious.

At the same time there can be no doubt that both the artificial rules of Hindu caste, and the tribal customs which bind both Hindu and Musalmān, have lately begun to relax, and with far greater rapidity among the Musalmāns than among the Hindus. And this difference is no doubt really due to the difference in religion. There has been within the last thirty years a great Musalmān revival in the Punjab; education has spread, and with it a more accurate knowledge of the rules of the faith; and there is now a tendency which is day by day growing stronger, to substitute the law of Islām for tribal custom in all matters, whether of intermarriage, inheritance, or social intercourse. The movement has as yet materially affected only the higher and more educated classes; but there can be little doubt that it is slowly working down through the lower grades of society. The effect of conversion to Sikhism has already been noticed in the chapter on Religion, as has the effect of change of creed upon the menial classes; and this latter will be dealt with more at length in that part of the present chapter which treats of those castes.

Effect of Islam in strengthening the bonds of caste.

But if the adoption of Islām does not absolve the individual from the obligations common to his tribe or caste, still less does its presence as such tend to weaken those obligations. Indeed it seems to me exceedingly probable that where the Musalmān invasion has not, as in the Western Punjab, been so wholesale or the country of the invaders so near as to change bodily by force of example the whole tribal customs of the inhabitants, the Mahomedan conquest of Northern India has tightened and strengthened rather than relaxed the bonds of caste; and that it has done this by depriving the Hindu population of their natural leaders the Rājpūts, and throwing them wholly into the hands of the Brāhmans. The full discussion of this question would require a far wider knowledge of Indian comparative sociology than I possess. But I will briefly indicate some considerations which appear to me to point to the probable truth of my suggestion. I have said that caste appears to have been far more loose and less binding in its earlier form than as it appeared in the later developments of Brahmanism; and we know that, at least in the earlier and middle stages of Hinduism, the contest between the Brāhman and the Rājpūt for the social leadership

[1] This is much less true of the middle classes of the towns and cities. They have no reason to be particularly proud of their caste; while the superior education and the more varied constitution of the urban population weaken the power of tribal custom. In such cases the convert not unfrequently takes the title of Shekh: though even here a change of caste name on conversion is probably the exception.

of the people was prolonged and severe (see Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I). The Mahomedan invaders found in the Rājpūt Princes political enemies whom it was their business to subdue and to divest of authority; but the power of the Brāhmans threatened no danger to their rule, and that they left unimpaired. The Brahmanic influence was probably never so strong in the Punjab as in many other parts of India; but it is markedly strongest in the Dehli Territory, or in that portion of the Province in which, lying under the very shadow of the Moghal court, Rājpūt power was most impossible. Moreover it is curious that we find the institutions and restrictions of caste as such most lax, and a state of society most nearly approaching that which existed in the earlier epoch of Hinduism, in two very dissimilar parts of the Punjab. One is the Indus frontier, where Mahomedanism reigns supreme; the other is the Kāngra hills, the most exclusively Hindu portion of the Province. On the Indus we have the Saiyad and the Pīr, the class of Ulama or divines who take the place of the Brāhman; the Pathān or Baloch as the case may be, who correspond with the Kshatriya; the so-called Jāt, who is emphatically the "people" or Vaisya in the old sense of the word, and includes all the great mass of husbandmen of whatever caste they may be, Awāns, Jāts, Rājpūts and the like, who cannot pretend to Kshatriya rank; the Kirār or trader of whatever caste, Banya, Khatri, or Arora, corresponding with the later use of Vaisya; the artisan or Sūdra; and the outcast or Mlechchha. The two last classes have no generic names; but the three first correspond almost exactly with the Brāhman, the Kshatriya, and the Vaisya of the middle Hindu scriptures, nor are the boundaries of these divisions more rigorously fixed than we find them in those scriptures. The other portion of the Province in which caste restrictions are most loose and caste divisions most general and indefinite is the Kāngra hills; or precisely the only part of the Punjab into which Mahomedanism has found no entrance, in which Mahomedan ideas have had no influence, in which Hinduism has remained absolutely sheltered from attack from without, and in which the oldest Rājpūt dynasties in India have preserved their supremacy unbroken up to within the last eighty years. On the Indus we appear to have caste as it is under the Mahomedan, on the Jamna as it is under the Brāhman, and in the Himālayas of Kāngra as it is under the Rājpūt. The state of caste relations in the Kāngra hills is fully described under the heads of Jāts in general, Rājpūts of the Eastern Hill, Thākars and Rāthis, Kānets, and Hill Menials. The whole matter is summed up in the quotation from Mr. Lyall. Here the Rājpūt is the fountain of honour, and the very Brāhman is content to accept rank at his hands. Mr. Barnes writes of the Kāngra Brāhmans:—

"The hills, as I have already stated, were the seats of petty independent princes, and in every principality the "Brāhmans are arranged into classes of different degrees of purity. The Raja was always considered the fountain of "all honour, and his classification, made probably at the counsel of his religious advisers, was held binding upon the "brotherhood. In these graduated lists no account was ever taken of the zemindār Brāhmans, as they were contemp- " tuously styled;—they were left to themselves in ignoble obscurity. Thus, in the days of Rāja Dharm Chand, the "two great tribes of Kāngra Brāhmans,—the 'Nagarkotias' (from Nagarkot, the ancient name of Kāngra) and the "'Batehrus,'—were formally sub-divided into clans. Of the Nagarkotias Dharm Chand established thirteen different "families, of which, at the risk of being considered tedious, I subjoin a catalogue."

So we find the Rāja of Kāngra bribed to elevate a caste in the social scale; and the Rāja of Alwar making a new caste of a section of the Mīnas, and prescribing limits to their intermarriage with those who had till then been considered their brothers.

Under Mahomedan rule the Rājpūt disappeared, and for the Hindu population the Brāhman took his place. Hence the wide differences between caste in Kāngra and caste in the Dehli Territory. In the Hills, the very stronghold at once of Rājpūt power and of Hinduism in its most primitive form, we have the Brāhman, but with a wide difference between the Brāhman who prays and the Brāhman who ploughs; we have the Rājpūt, a name strictly confined to the royal families and their immediate connections, and refused to such even of those as soil their hands with the plough; we have the great cultivating class, including the Thākars and Rāthis of acknowledged and immediate Rājpūt descent who furnish wives even to the Rajpūts themselves, and the Rāwats, Kānets, and Ghiraths of somewhat lower status; we have the Kirār or Mahājan, including not only traders, but all the Kāyaths and the clerkly class, and even Brāhmans who take to these pursuits; we have the respectable artisan class, the carpenter, mason and water-carrier; and finally we have the Koli or Dāgi, the outcast or Mlechchha of the hills. And from top to bottom of this social scale, no single definite line can be drawn which shall precisely mark off any one caste or grade from the one below it. Each one takes its wives from and eats with the one immediately below it, and the members of each can, and they occasionally do, rise to the one immediately above it.

**Tribal divisions among the landowning castes.**

Within the caste the first great division of the landowning classes is into tribes; and the tribe appears to me to be far more permanent and indestructible than the caste. I have already shown how in the west of the Punjab the broader distinctions of caste have become little more than a tradition or a convenient symbol for social standing, while the tribal groups are the practical units of which the community is composed. There is, I fancy, little doubt that when a family or section of a caste rises or sinks in the social scale, while it changes the name of its caste, it often retains its tribal designation; indeed it is probable that that designation not unseldom becomes the name of a new caste by which it is to be known in future. Thus the widow-marrying Chauhān Rājpūts of Delhi are now known as Chauhāns, and not as Rājpūts; while their brethren of the next district, Karnāl, who have not infringed the caste rule, are known as Rājpūts, and only secondarily as Chauhān Rājpūts. This theory is in accordance with the tradition by which the constant recurrence of tribal names in different castes is accounted for by the people themselves. The Chauhān Gūjars, for instance, will tell you that their ancestor was a Chauhān Rājpūt who married a Gūjar woman; and that his descendants retained the tribal name, while sinking to the rank of Gūjars owing to his infringement of caste regula-

tions[1]. Indeed this is simply the process which we see in actual operation before our very eyes. As I have already remarked, the same tribe is known as Rājpūt in a tract where it has, and as Jāt in a tract where it has not, risen to political importance; but the tribal name, indicating a far stronger and more enduring bond than that of common caste, still remains to both. Sir Henry Maine has pointed out how two considerations gradually tend to be substituted for or added to the tie of common descent as the basis of tribal unity, common occupation of land, and common subjection to tribal authority. He writes:—

"From the moment when a tribal community settles down finally upon a definite space of land, the land begins to "be the basis of society instead of the kinship. The change is exceedingly gradual, and in some particulars it has not "even now been fully accomplished; but it has been going on through the whole course of history. The constitution of the "family through actual blood-relationship is of course an observable fact; but for all groups of men larger than the family "the land on which they live tends to become the bond of union between them, at the expense of kinship ever more and "more vaguely conceived." And again—"Kinship as the tie binding communities together tends to be regarded as the "same thing with subjection to common authority. The notions of Power and consanguinity blend, but they in nowise "supersede one another."

The Institution of *hamsāyah* among the Balochis and Pathāns, by which refugees from one tribe who claim the protection of the chief of another tribe are affiliated to, and their descendants become an integral part of the latter, is an admirable example of the second of these two processes; and in the substitution of land for blood as the basis of tribal unity, we very probably find the explanation of that standing puzzle of Indian tribal tradition, how the common ancestor managed to conquer the tribal territory single-handed, or how, if he had followers, it happens that all the living members of the tribe trace their descent from him, while the lineage of those followers is nowhere discoverable.

Within the tribe the same basis of sub-division is often found to exist, the clans being apparently territorial, while the smaller septs are probably founded upon real descent. In fact it is exceedingly difficult to draw the line between tribe and clan, except where the two are connected by the present occupation of common territory and subjection to a common tribal authority. When a section of a great tribe such as the Punwār Rājpūts separates from the parent tribe and acquires for itself a new territory as did the Siāls, the section becomes for all practical purposes a new and independent tribe, and the memory of the old tribe is to the new one what caste is to tribes in the west, a mere tradition of origin. So when a member of a tribe rises to such importance as to become independent of tribal authority, he practically founds a new tribe, even though he may still occupy the territory formerly held as part of the old tribal domain; as, for instance, appears to have been the case with the Barār section of the Sidhu Jāts. Perhaps the most striking instance of the degree in which tribal divisions depend upon political and territorial independence, is afforded by the Baloch tribes, who were originally five. Of these two, the Rind and Lashāri, rose to prominence and divided the nation into two corresponding sections. As time went on the nation broke up into a number of independent tribes, each with a separate territory and organisation of its own; and now, though every Baloch refers himself to either Rind or Lashāri stock, the names are but a tradition of origin, and in the Punjab at least no Rind or Lashāri tribe can be said to exist as such. The groups of tribes found in different parts of the Province who claim common descent from some one of the great Rājpūt races, the Bhatti, Chauhān, Punwār, and the like, are instances of the same process. The local tribes are now independent units, and can hardly be included under the original tribal name save as a symbol of origin. Thus the line of demarcation between the tribe and clan is no better defined than is that between caste and tribe. As soon as a section of a caste abandons the customs of the parent stock, whether as regards hereditary occupation or social habits, it tends to become a new caste. As soon as a clan separates itself from the territory and organisation of the parent tribe, it tends to become a new tribe. Where the Indian tribal and caste restrictions upon intermarriage are still observed, the best definition would probably be obtained by taking endogamy and exogamy as the differentiæ of the caste and tribe respectively; a caste being the smallest group outside which, and a tribe the largest group within which, marriage is forbidden. But in a great part of the Punjab this test does not apply.

**Tribal divisions among the priestly and mercantile castes.**

In the case of the castes or classes who, not being essentially landowners, possess no political or territorial organisation, the basis of tribal division is very different. Here we have no compact tribes based upon real or fictitious community of blood and occupying tribal territories. The Brāhman has almost invariably accompanied his clients in their migrations; and indeed it will sometimes be found that the Brāhmans of a tribe or of a group of village communities, being too small in number to be independent, have kept up the connection with their place of origin long after it has fallen into neglect or even oblivion among the landowning communities with whom they dwell. Thus we find Brāhmans of different *gotras* or clans scattered haphazard over the country without any sort of tribal localization, and the same is true of the mercantile classes also. In both cases the divisions are wholly based upon real or imaginary common descent. The *gotras* of the Brāhmans, the clans of the Khatris and Aroras are innumerable; but they are not localised, and are therefore probably more permanent than are the territorial tribes of the landowners. This absence of tribal organisation is perhaps one of the reasons why, of all classes of the community, the Brāhmans and traders observe most strictly the artificial rules which preserve the integrity of caste organisation. How far the Brahmanical *gotra* is really tribal is a distinct question to which I shall presently return.

[1] There is another possible explanation of the tradition, and that is that the caste was inherited in the female line. There is no inconsiderable weight of evidence to show that this was the custom, at any rate among certain classes, within comparatively recent times. But the matter, like all other similar matters, needs further examination.

But in the case of both the priestly and the mercantile classes, we find that their castes are broken up into sections, too large and too devoid of cohesion to be called tribes, and approaching much more nearly to separate castes, both in the actual effect of the divisions upon social intercourse and intermarriage, and probably also in their origin. These divisions are generally known by geographical designations, such as the Gaur Brāhmans of the ancient Gaur and the Sārsūt Brāhmans of the Saraswati and the Punjab, the Uttarādhi Aroras of the north and the Dakhani Aroras of the south, the Agarwāl Banyas of Agroha and the Oswāl Banyas of Osia. But the present distinction between these sections is as a rule based upon difference of social and religious customs. It is not unnatural that, in the course of ages, the strictness with which the artificial restrictions which regulate social and caste matters are observed should vary in different parts of the country; and it is no less natural that, where the two standards come into contact, those whose standard is the stricter should look down upon those whose practice is more lax. The Gaur Brāhman sees with horror his Sārsūt brother eat bread from the hands of other than Brāhmans, and do a thousand things which to him would be pollution. The result is that the Gaur refuses to eat or intermarry with the Sārsūt, and that for all practical purposes the sections are not one but two castes; far more so indeed than, for instance, the Jāt and the Gūjar. Nor does it seem to me impossible that these sections may in some cases represent real diversity of race or origin; that the Gaurs may have been the Brāhmans of Gaur and the Sārsūts the Brāhmans of the Punjab, both called Brāhmans because they were priests, but having nothing else in common. Again, among some of the Punjab trading castes great sections have been fixed within recent times, which are based not upon geographical distribution, but upon voluntary divergence of social custom. Such are the great Dhaighar, Chārzāti and other sections of the Khatris. Throughout all these great sections, whether geographical or social, the same tribal divisions are commonly found unchanged. The tribes or clans of the Gaur and Sārsūt Brāhmans, of the Uttrādhi and Dakhani Aroras, of the Agarwāl and Oswāl Banyas are in great part identical. Now where these divisions are really tribal, and based upon common descent, this must mean that the tribal divisions preceded the divergence of custom which resulted in the formation of what I have here called sections, and that the original stock was one and the same. But where, as is often the case, they are mere Brāhminical *gotras*, I do not think that this necessarily follows.

**Tribal divisions among artisan and menial castes**

Among the artisan and menial castes we find precisely the same great sections, based either upon differences of custom which in turn depend upon geographical distribution or, I believe in very many cases indeed, upon difference of origin, one section of an industrial caste being descended from Jāts who have sunk in the social scale, another perhaps from Ahīrs, while a third is the original stock to which the industry has been hereditary beyond the memory of the tribe. The Chamār of the middle Sutlej will not intermarry with the Jatia Chamār of the Dehli Territory because the latter works in the skins of impure animals; the Sutār carpenter from Sindh looks down upon and abstains from marriage with the Khāti of the Mālwa; and so forth throughout the list. Among the menial castes moreover, as among the priestly and mercantile, we have a double classification; and by the side of the great sections we find what correspond with tribal divisions. But among the menial castes, or at least among those who occupy the position of hereditary village servants, I believe that these divisions often have their origin rather in allegiance to the tribal master than in any theory of common descent. It has often been noticed that the menial castes denote their tribal sub-divisions by names famous in political history such as Bhatti, Khokhar or Chauhān; and our present papers furnish abundant instances. Now on the frontier a Lohār who is attached to a village of the Muhammadzāi tribe will call himself Lohār Muhammadzāi, while one who lives in the service of the Daulatkhel will call himself Lohār Daulatkhel. There can be no doubt that the connection between the village menials and the agricultural communities whom they serve was in old times hereditary and not voluntary, and that the former were in every sense of the word *adscripti glebæ*. In fact, as I shall presently explain in greater detail, we still find the tribal organisation of the territorial owners of a tract perpetuated in great integrity by the territorial organisation of the village menials, where all but its memory has died out among their masters. It seems to me more than probable that in old days, when menials were bound more closely to the tribes they served, the names of those tribes were used to distinguish the several groups of menials; and that for instance Chamārs serving Bhattis would be called Chamār tribe Bhatti, and those serving Khokhars called Chamār tribe Khokhar. When the bonds grew less rigid and a change of masters became possible, the old name would be retained though the reason for it had ceased to exist, and thus we should find Bhatti and Khokhar Chamārs scattered throughout the Province. In fact the process would be simply another instance of that substitution of the idea of subjection to a common authority for that of common blood as the basis of tribal division, regarding which I have already quoted Sir H. Maine's language in section 349.

**The Brahmanical gotras.**

I have said that among the priestly and mercantile caste we find a set of divisions corresponding with the true tribal divisions of the landowning classes, which runs through the great geographical or social sections which I have described above. These divisions are, among the Khatris and Aroras, in all probability real tribes denoting common descent, or at any rate special association of some sort, at an earlier stage in the history of the caste, of the ancestors of all those who now bear the same tribal name. Among the Brāhmans and Banyas these divisions are known as *gotras*, and it is not so certain that their origin, among the Banyas at least, is tribal. The word *gotra*, more commonly known under the corrupted form of *got*, means a family or lineage, the descendants from a common ancestor, and it also means a flock, those who shelter within a common fold. The Brāhmans say that their

*gotras* are named after the great Hindu Rishis, though it does not clearly appear whether the members of each *gotra* claim descent from the Rishi whose name it bears as from a carnal or as from a spiritual father. It is curious that the names of many of the founders of these *gotras* occur among the ancient genealogies of the prehistoric Rājpūt dynasties, the Rājas in question being not merely namesakes of, but distinctly stated to be the actual founders of the *gotra*; and it would be strange if inquiry were to show that the priestly classes, like the menials just discussed, owe their tribal divisions to the great families to whom their ancestors were attached.[1] At any rate, whatever their origin, the Brahmanical *gotras* have among the Brāhmans become absolutely hereditary; and every Brāhman, whether Gaur, Sārsūt, Dākaut, or otherwise, belongs to some one or other of these *gotras*. Thus, taking these great sections as tribes, the *gotra* is wider than the tribe; and while new tribes and clans can be and are constantly being formed, no new *gotra* is possible [2]

But the Brahmanical *gotra* extends far beyond the body of Brāhmans; for the theory of the Hindu religion is that every Hindu, whatever be his caste, belongs to some one or other of them. The *gotra* thus defined is used only at marriage, on the occasion of *sankalpa*, and in similar formal ceremonies; and the great majority of the Hindu peasantry do not so much as know that they have a *gotra* at all, much less what it is. But all the stricter Hindu castes, such as the Banyas and Khatris and Aroras, know and recognize their *gotra*. Indeed the Banyas have, so far as I know, no tribal divisions within the great sections of Agarwāl, Oswāl and the like, except these Brahmanical *gotras*. Thus the question suggests itself whether the universal currency of the same set of *gotras* throughout the whole Brāhman caste, and their adoption by the Banyas, is not due to a wish to conform with the rule of Hinduism just enunciated, rather than to any real community of descent denoted by a common *gotra*. In any case these *gotras* are of singularly little importance. Except to the priests and merchants and to some of the stricter and more educated classes they mean little or nothing; while although to those priests and merchants they do stand in some degree in the place of tribal divisions, yet as they are in no way localised their significance is almost wholly religious, and the divisions which are really important among these castes are what I have called the great sections. It matters little or nothing whether a Brāhman, a Banya, or an Arora is of the Gautama or of the Bhārdwāj *gotra*; what we really want to know is whether he is Gaur or Sārsūt, Agārwāl or Oswāl, Uttarādhi or Dakhani. The horrible trouble and confusion which resulted in the Census from the fact that the peasantry of the eastern Punjab call their tribes by the same word *got* as is commonly used for the Brahmanical *gotra*, will be noticed presently.

**Tribal divisions of women.**

A curious question arose in the record of tribes in the Census schedules; namely, whether a woman changed her father's tribal name for that of her husband on marriage. There is no doubt whatever that the Brahmanical *gotra* follows that of the husband; and the more educated enumerators, knowing this, often objected to record the *got* or tribe of the wife as different from that of the husband. I asked some of my friends to make inquiries as to the customs in various parts of the Province, but in many cases the *got* and *gotra* have evidently been confused in their investigations and replies. But on the whole the result seems to be as follows. With Brāhmans, Banyas, Khatris, Kāyaths, and Aroras the woman's *got* follows that of her husband. But this is almost certainly the Brahmanical *gotra*. In some of the cases it must be so, as the sections do not intermarry, and there is nothing else to change. Among the Khatris it would be interesting to know whether a Kapūr woman marrying a Mahra man would be considered a Kapūr or a Mahra. Throughout the Western Plains Hindus change the clan; but here again they almost all belong to the castes mentioned above. In the hills and the submontane tracts the tribe is certainly changed; for in the lower hills there is a formal ceremony called *got kunāla* or "the tribal trencher," at which the women of the tribe eat with the bride and thus admit her to the community. In the eastern districts the tribe is as certainly *not* changed at marriage, nor does a boy change it on adoption. It is born and dies unaltered with both man and woman. In Sirsa it does not change, for a man always speaks of his wife by her tribal and not by her personal name; and the same custom obtains among the Dehli Gūjars. On the other hand in Fīrozpur, which adjoins Sirsa, the custom of *got kunāla* is said to obtain. Among the Musalmāns of the west the tribe does not appear to change by marriage; but if the wife is of standing which is nearly but not quite equal to that of her husband, she is often addressed by courtesy as belonging to the tribe of the latter. The point is practically important in this way. The diversity of custom which prevails, added to the interference of the educated enumerator, makes the record of tribal divisions for women of exceedingly uncertain value; and it would have been better to tabulate the males only for the several tribes and clans. At a future Census the enumerator should be directed to record the clan or tribe of a married woman as stated by her husband, whether the same as his own or different.

**The tribal organisation of the people.**

An extensive collection of facts bearing upon the tribal organisation of the people, together with a most valuable dissertation on the general subject, will be found in Vol. II of Mr. Tupper's treatise on *Punjab Customary Law*. The Punjab affords a peculiarly complete series of stages between the purely tribal organisation of the Pathān or Baloch of the frontier hills and the village communities of the Jamna districts. The territorial distribution of the frontier tribes in the fastnesses of their native mountains is strictly tribal. Each clan of each tribe has a tract allotted to it; and within that tract the families or small groups

[1] For a curious instance of classification of Brāhmans into tribes by the command of a Rājpūt ruler, see the quotation from Mr. Barnes given above.

[2] Is it possible that the *gotra* is a relic of descent through the female line, like the corresponding phænomenon among the Australian and North American Indians.

of nearly related families either lead a semi-nomad life, or inhabit rude villages round which i e the fields which they cultivate and the rough irrigation works which they have constructed. In these they have property, but beyond them there are no boundaries in the common pasture lands of the clan. Where the tribe or clan has occupied a tract within our border in sufficient numbers to undertake its cultivation, the distribution differs little from that obtaining beyond the border. We have indeed laid down boundaries which mark off areas held by groups of families ; but these boundaries are often purely artificial, and include hamlets which are united by no common tie and separated from their neighbours by no line of demarcation save one based upon administrative convenience. When however the tribe conquered rather than occupied the tract, and its cultivation is still in the hands of the people whom they subjugated, we find that they did almost exactly what we have done in the case last described. They drew arbitrary boundaries which divided out the land into great blocks or village areas, and each clan or section of a clan took one of these blocks as its share, left the cultivating population scattered in small hamlets over the fields, and themselves occupied central villages of some strength and size. These two types are found more or less prevailing throughout the Western Plains and Salt-range Tract. But in the great grazing grounds we find, perhaps even more commonly than either of these a third type which is not based upon any sort of tribal organisation. A miscellaneous collection of cultivators have broken up the land and so acquired rights in it, or have been settled by capitalists who acquired grants of land on condition of bringing it under cultivation. This form of settlement was especially encouraged under Sikh rule ; when the cardinal principle of administration was to crush the gentry, to encourage cultivation, and to take so much from the actual cultivator as to leave nothing for the landlord.

In the east of the Province we find the village community about which so much has been written ; and nowhere perhaps in more vigorous perfection than in the south-eastern districts. But it is a great mistake to suppose that the village community wholly supersedes tribal organisation. The tribal maps of the Punjab when published will show how very generally tribes hold compact territories, even where the village communities are strongest. Where this is the case the villages of the tribe constitute one or more *tapās*, or tribal groups of village communities held together by feudalities and by the fact or fiction of common ancestry. Under the Moghals the revenue administration used to be based upon these *tapās*, the revenue being assessed upon the group of villages as a whole, and being distributed among them by the headmen of the collective villages under the presidency of the headman of the parent village. So too, till our time the definite boundaries which now separate each village from its neighbours were very indefinitely marked even in the cultivated tracts, as is proved by the manner in which they zig-zag in and out among the fields ; while in the common pastures they were probably almost unknown, as to this day the cattle of neighbouring villages belonging to the same tribe graze in common without reference to boundaries. The following description of the *tapā* organisation is taken from my settlement report of Karnāl. The vigorous organisation of the priestly and menial castes, based upon the tribal organisation of their clients and masters, is especially interesting.

It would be interesting to know whether the same holds good with the mercantile castes.

"A tribal community having obtained possession of a tract, in course of time it would be inconvenient for them "all to live together, and a part of the community would found a new village, always on the edge of a drainage line "from which their tanks would be filled. This process would be repeated till the tract became dotted over with "villages, all springing originally from one parent village. The people describe the facts by saying that of several "brothers one settled in one village and one in another ; but this no doubt means that the parts of the community that "migrated consisted of integral families or groups of families descended in one common branch from the ancestor. "In this way were divided the many villages known by the same name, with the addition of the words *kalān* and "*khurd* (big and little). This by no means implies that *kalān* is *larger* than *khurd*, but only that the elder branch "settled in *kalān*.

"The group of villages so bound together by common descent form a *tapā*, and are connected by sub-feudalities "which are still recognized, the village occupied by the descendants of the common ancestor in the eldest line being, "however small or reduced in circumstances, still acknowledged as the head. To this day when a headman dies, the "other villages of the *tapā* assemble to instal his heir, and the turban of the parent village is first tied on his head. "When Brāhmans and the brotherhood are fed on the occasion of deaths, etc., it is from the *tapā* villages that they "are collected ; and the Brāhmans of the head village are fed first, and receive double fees. So among the menial "castes, who still retain an internal organization of far greater vitality than the higher castes now possess, the repre-"sentative of the head village is always the foreman of the caste jury which is assembled from the *tapā* villages "to hear and decide disputes. In old days the subordinate villages used to pay some small feudal fees to the head village "on the day of the great Diwāli. The head village is still called "the great village," the "turban village," "the "village of origin," or "the *tika* village," *tika* being the sign of authority formally impressed in old days on the "forehead of the heir of a deceased leader in the presence of the assembled *tapā*. In one case a village told me that "it had changed its *tapā* because there were so many Brāhmans in its original *tapā* that it found it expensive to "feed them. I spoke to the original *tika* village about it, and they said that no village *could* change its *tapā*, and "quoted the proverb, 'A son may forget his sonship; but not a mother her motherhood.'"

It is curious to note how the fiction of common descent is preserved when strangers are admitted into these tribal groups or village communities. The stranger who receives by gift a share of another's land is called a *bhūmbhāi* or "earth brother ;" and if a landowner of a tribe other than that of the original owners is asked how he acquired property in the village, his invariable answer is "they settled me as a brother."

**Marriage and intermarriage between tribes**

The restrictions upon intermarriage will be given in some detail in Part II of Chapter VII in treating of civil condition ; and it is unnecessary to repeat the information here. The custom as to intermarriage in the hills will be found described in the sections on Rājpūts of the eastern hills, Rāthis and Rāwats, and Kolis and Dāgis ; while the curious rule against taking a bride from a village marching with one's own has already been discussed. The marriage customs of the people of Karnāl will be found minutely described at pages 127 to 134 of my settlement report on that district. A brief notice of some curious customs will be found in the present chapter under the head of Jāts of the western sub-montane.

The subject is one of great interest and value, and sadly needs more detailed inquiry. Customs of this sort are of all others the most persistent, and often throw most valuable light upon the origin and affinities of the tribes. The reason why I allude to the subject in this place is, because I wish to point out how obviously the rules and customs regulating marriage point to the former existence of marriage by capture and, perhaps less obviously, of an intermediate stage when the capture had become fictitious, but the fiction was enacted with greater veri-similitude than now-a-days. Some of the suggestions I am about to make may very probably be fanciful; but the general tendency of the facts is beyond the possibility of a doubt. The strict rule of tribal exogamy which still binds all classes both Hindu and Musalmān throughout the Eastern Plains, excepting however the priests and traders who observe only the prohibitions of the Sanskrit scriptures; especially the rule against marrying from a neighbouring village; the formal nature of the wedding procession, which must be as far as possible mounted on horses, and in which only males may take part; the preparatory oiling of the bridegroom, the similar treatment of the bride being perhaps a later institution; all point to marriage by capture. So does the use of the mark of the bloody hand at both villages. The marking all the turnings from the village gate to the bride's house may be a survival of a very common intermediate stage, where the bridegroom visits the bride by stealth. The rule that the procession must reach the girl's village after midday, and must not enter the village, but remain outside in a place allotted to them; the fight between the girl's and boy's parties at the door of the bride's house; the rule that the girl shall wear nothing belonging to herself; the hiding of the girl from the boy's people at the wedding ceremony; all point to marriage by capture. So do the rule by which the boy's party must not accept food at the hands of the girl's people after the wedding, and must pay them for what they eat on the succeeding night, and the fiction by which the girl's father is compelled to ignore all payment of money by the bridegroom's friends. The bloody hand stamped on the shoulder of the boy's father by the girl's mother as he departs, and the custom which directs the girl to go off bewailing some one of her male relatives who has lately died, saying "Oh my father is dead," or "Oh my brother is dead," are very marked; as is the fight with sticks between the bride and bridegroom. Finally we have the rule that after the ceremonial goings and comings are over, the wife must never visit her father's house without his special leave; and the fact that—

"the village into which his daughter is married is utterly tabooed for her father, her elder brother, and all near elder "relatives. They may not go into it or even drink water from a well in that village, for it is shameful to take any-"thing from one's daughter or her belongings. Even her more distant elder relations will not eat or drink from the "house into which the girl is married, though they do not taboo the whole village. The boy's father can go to the "girl's village by leave of her father, but not without."

Similarly, all words denoting male relations by marriage are commonly used as terms of abuse; as, for instance, *sūsra*, *sāla*, *bahanoi*, *jawa*, or father-in-law, wife's brother, sister's husband, and daughter's husband. Of these the first two are considered so offensive, that they are seldom used in their ordinary sense.[1]

Social intercourse between castes.

The rules regulating social intercourse between different castes as they exist in the Jamna districts are given in the following quotation from the Karnāl Settlement Report.

"Broadly speaking, no superior tribe will eat or drink from the hands or vessels of an inferior one, or smoke its "pipes. But the reputed purifying influences of fire, especially as exercised upon *ghi* and sugar, and the superior "cleanliness of metal over earthen vessels, are the foundation of a broad distinction. All food is divided into *pakki* "*roti*, or fried dry with *ghi*, and *kachchi roti*, or not so treated. Thus, among the Hindus a Gūjrāti Brāhman will eat "*pakki*, but not *kachchi roti*, from a Gaur, a Gaur from a Taga, any Brāhman or Taga from a Rājpūt, any Brāhman "Taga or Rājpūt from a Jāt, Gūjar, or Ror. Excepting Brāhmans and Tagas, each caste will drink water from a metal "vessel if previously scoured with earth (*mānjna*), and will smoke from a pipe with a brass bowl, taking out the stem "and using the hand with the fingers closed instead, from the same people with whom they will eat *pakki* bread; but "they will not drink or smoke from earthen vessels, or use the same pipe-stem, except with those whose *kachchi* bread "they can eat. Jāts, Gūjars, Rors, Rahbāris and Ahirs eat and drink in common without any scruples. These again "will eat a goldsmith's *pakki* bread, but not in his house; and they used to smoke with carpenters, but are ceasing to do "so. Musalmāns have lately become much less strict about these rules as governing their intercourse among themselves, "and many of them now eat from any respectable Musalmān's hand, especially in the cities. And, subject strictly to the "above rules, any Musalman will eat and drink without scruple from a Hindu; but no Hindu will touch either *pakki* "or *kachchi* from any Musalman, and will often throw it away if only a Musalmān's shadow falls upon it, partly "perhaps because Musalmāns eat from earthen vessels, which no Hindu can do unless the vessel has never been used "before. This affords an easy mode of telling whether a deserted site has been held by Musalmāns or Hindus. If the "latter, there will be numbers of little earthen saucers (*rikābis*) found on the spot. Brāhmans and Rājpūts will not eat "from any one below a Jāt, Gūjar, or Ror, while these three tribes themselves do not as a rule eat or drink with any of "the menial castes; and the following castes are absolutely impure owing to their occupation and habits, and their mere "touch defiles food; leather-maker, washerman, barber, blacksmith, dyer (*chhimpi*), sweeper, *dom*, and *dhanāk*. The "potter is also looked upon as of doubtful purity. The pipes of a village, being often left about in the common rooms "and fields, are generally distinguished by a piece of something tied round the stem—blue rag for a Musalman, red for a "Hindu, leather for a *Chamār*, string for a sweeper, and so forth; so that a friend wishing for a smoke may not defile "himself by mistake.

"*Gur* and most sweetmeats can be eaten from almost anybody's hand, even from that of a leather-worker or "sweeper; but in this case they must be whole, not broken."

The extraordinary state of matters in the hills is described under the heads Hill Menials, and Kolis and Dāgis. In the west of the Province, where all caste restrictions are so lax, any Musalmān will eat from the hands of any respectable member of the same faith, while even Hindus are much less strict than in the east. So in the Sikh tract also; but here the rule

[1] Mr. Wilson writes: "There is a very general rule against speaking of one's wife's father as 'father-in-law' "(*sūsra*). The Musalmāns of Sirsa call him 'uncle' (*tāya* or *chācha*); the Brāhmans of Gurgāon, 'Pandit Ji' or "Misr Ji'; the Kāyaths, 'Rai Sāhib'; the Banyas, 'Lāla Sāhib' or 'Sāh Ji'; the Meos, 'Chaudhri' or 'Muqaddam,' "or—a specially Meo usage—*dokra* or 'old man' (see Fallon); insomuch that if you call a Meo woman *dokri*, she will "fly at you with 'Do you call me your mother-in-law!'; while if you address her as *burhya*, which really means "exactly the same thing, she will reply 'Very well, my son! Very well!'"

against a Hindu eating from the hand of a Musalmān seems to be even more strict than in the east. In all parts of the Province and among all classes any sort of intercourse with the impure castes, whether polluted by their occupation or by the nature of their food, is scrupulously avoided.

Community of food is formally used as an outward and visible token of community of blood; and any ceremony in which the tribe, clan, or other agnatic group takes a part as such, generally includes some sort of formal eating[1] together or *confarreatio*, more especially when the object of the ceremony is to admit a new member into the group, as at adoption or marriage.'

[1] For instance, the ceremony of *got kanāla* described above. The eating together very commonly takes the form of a distribution of *gur* or sweetmeats.

## M. Senart's theory of the origin of caste.

Longtemps on a cru, sur le témoignage de Platon et d'Hérodote, que l'Égypte aurait été régie par le système des castes. C'est une vue abandonnée aujourd'hui par les juges les plus autorisés. Elle paraît décidément contredite par les monumens indigènes. Les Grecs, peu accoutumés à de vastes organismes héréditaires reliés par le privilège du rang ou la communauté de la fonction, pouvaient aisément, là où ils en rencontraient des types plus ou moins stricts, en exagérer l'importance ou l'étendue. Jusqu'à présent, l'Inde a seule révélé un régime universel de castes, au sens où nous l'avons constaté et défini. Tout au plus trouve-t-on ailleurs des traces accidentelles, des germes d'institutions analogues ; elles ne sont nulle part généralisées ni coordonnées en système.

La Grèce a connu, à Lacédémone et ailleurs, plusieurs cas de fonctions et de métiers héréditaires. Malgré les incertitudes qui en obscurcissent l'interprétation, les noms que portent les quatres tribus (*phylé*) ioniennes de l'Attique sont bien des noms professionnels : soldats, chevriers, artisans.* Ce ne sont assurément pas des castes. L'exemple prouve au moins que la tradition âryenne pouvait, sous l'empire d'une situation favorable, incliner vers la caste. L'enseignement est bon à retenir.

Un fait social qui domine un pays immense, qui s'enchevêtre dans tout son passé, a nécessairement plus d'une cause. A l'enfermer dans une déduction unique, trop précise, on s'égare à coup sûr. Des courans si puissans sont faits d'affluens nombreux. L'explication vraie doit, j'en suis convaincu, faire sa part à chacun des agens qu'on a tour à tour poussés au premier plan, dans un esprit trop systématique et trop exclusif. Il est bien d'autres pays où une race immigrante s'est trouvée juxtaposée à des occupans qu'elle a vaincus et dépossédés, et cette situation n'y a pas fait naître la caste. D'autres populations ont connu de fortes distinctions de classes, et la caste leur est demeurée étrangère. La théocratie s'accommode d'autres cadres. Il faut donc que le régime résulte dans l'Inde de l'action combinée de plusieurs facteurs. J'espère avoir discerné les principaux.

Tâchons d'embrasser d'un coup d'œil le raccourci de cette histoire.

Nous prenons les âryens à leur entrée dans l'Inde. Ils vivent sous l'empire des vieilles lois communes à toutes les branches de la race. Ils sont divisés en peuplades, clans et familles : plus ou moins larges, les groupes sont également gouvernés par une organisation corporative dont les traits généraux sont pour tous identiques, dont le lien est une consanguinité de plus en plus étroite. L'âge de l'égalité pure et simple de clan à clan, de tribu à tribu, est passé. Le prestige militaire et le prestige religieux ont commencé leur œuvre. Certains groupes, rehaussés par l'éclat des prouesses guerrières, fiers d'une descendance plus brillante ou mieux assurée, enrichis plus que d'autres par la fortune des armes, se sont solidarisés en une classe nobiliaire qui revendique le pouvoir. Les rites religieux se sont compliqués au point de réclamer, soit pour l'exécution des cérémonies, soit pour la composition des chants, une habileté spéciale et une préparation technique : une classe sacerdotale est née, qui appuie ses prétentions sur les généalogies plus ou moins légendaires qui rattachent ses branches à des sacrificateurs illustres du passé. Le reste des âryens est confondu dans une catégorie unique au sein de laquelle les divers groupes se meuvent dans leur autonomie et sous leurs lois corporatives. Des notions religieuses dominaient dès l'origine toute la vie ; le sacerdoce déjà puissant double ici le prestige et la rigueur des scrupules religieux.

Les âryens s'avancent dans leur nouveau domaine. Ils se heurtent à une race de couleur foncée, inférieure en culture, qu'ils refoulent. Cette opposition, le souci de leur sécurité, le dédain des vaincus, exaltent chez les vainqueurs l'exclusivisme natif, renforcent toutes les croyances et tous les préjugés qui protègent la pureté des sectionnemens entre lesquels ils se répartissent. La population autochthone est rejetée dans une masse confuse que des liens de subordination assez lâches rattachent seuls à ses maîtres. Les idées religieuses qu'apportent les envahisseurs y descendent plus ou moins avant, jamais assez pour la relever à leur niveau. Cependant, en s'étendant sur de vastes espaces où leurs établissemens ne sont guère cantonnés par aucunes limites naturelles, les envahisseurs se dispersent ; ébranlés par les accidens de la lutte, les groupemens primitifs se disjoignent. La rigueur du principe généalogique qui les unissait en est compromise : les tronçons, pour se reformer, obéissent aux rapprochemens géographiques ou à d'autres convenances.

Peu à peu se sont imposées les nécessités d'une existence moins mouvante. C'est dans des villages d'industrie pastorale et agricole que se fixe la vie devenue plus sédentaire ; et c'est d'abord par parentés qu'ils se fondent ; car les lois de la famille et du clan conservent une autorité souveraine ; on continue d'observer les usages traditionnels que sanctionne la religion. Les habitudes plus fixes développent les besoins et les métiers d'une civilisation qui est mûre pour plus d'exigences. Les corps d'état sont à leur tour enveloppés dans le réseau, soit que la communauté de village entraîne la communauté d'occupation, soit que les représentans dispersés d'une même profession dans des lieux assez voisins obéissent à une nécessité impérieuse en se modelant sur le seul type d'organisation usité autour d'eux.

Avec le temps deux faits se sont accusés : des mélanges plus ou moins avoués se sont produits entre les races ; les notions âryennes de pureté ont fait leur chemin dans cette population hybride et jusque dans les populations purement aborigènes. De là deux ordres de scrupules qui multiplient les sectionnemens, suivant l'impureté plus ou moins forte, soit de la descendance, soit des occupations. Si les principes anciens de la vie familiale se perpétuent, les facteurs de groupemens se diversifient : fonction, religion, voisinage, d'autres encore, à côté

* Schömann, *Griech. Alterth.*, éd. 1861, 1, p. 327 suiv.

du principe primitif de la consanguinité dont ils prennent plus ou moins le masque. Les groupes s'accroissent et s'entre-croisent. Sous la double action de leurs traditions propres et des idées qu'elles empruntent à la civilisation âryenne, les tribus aborigènes elles-mêmes, au fur et à mesure qu'elles renoncent à une vie isolée et sauvage, accélèrent l'afflux des sectionnemens nouveaux. La caste existe dès lors. On voit comment elle s'est, dans ses diverses dégradations, substituée lentement au régime familial dont elle est l'héritière.

Un pouvoir politique eût pu subordonner ces organismes aux ressorts d'un système régulier. Nulle constitution politique ne se dégage. L'idée même n'en naît pas. Comment s'en étonner ? La puissance sacerdotale n'y peut être favorable, car elle en serait diminuée ; or son action est très forte et très soutenue ; elle paralyse même dans l'aristocratie militaire l'exercice du pouvoir. Le relief du pays ne constitue pas de noyaux naturels de concentration ; toute limite est ici flottante. La vie pastorale a longtemps maintenu un esprit de tradition sévère ; aucun goût vif de l'action ne l'entame. La population vaincue est nombreuse ; refoulée plus qu'absorbée, elle est envahie lentement par la propagande sacerdotale plutôt que soumise par une brusque conquête. Avec quelques tempéramens elle garde, là surtout où elle se cantonne et s'isole, beaucoup de son organisation ancienne. Par sa masse qu'elle interpose, par l'exemple de ses institutions très rudimentaires, par la facilité même avec laquelle ces institutions se fondent dans l'organisation assez sommaire des immigrans, elle oppose un obstacle de plus à la constitution d'un pouvoir politique véritable. Donc nul rudiment d'État.

Dans cette confusion, la classe sacerdotale a seule, en dépit de ses fractionnemens, gardé un solide esprit de corps ; seule elle est en possession d'un pouvoir tout moral, mais très efficace. Elle en use pour affermir et pour étendre ses privilèges ; elle en use aussi pour établir, sous sa suprématie, une sorte d'ordre et de cohésion. Elle généralise et codifie l'état de fait en un système idéal qu'elle s'efforce de faire passer en loi. C'est le régime légal de la caste. Elle y amalgame la situation actuelle avec les traditions tenaces du passé où la hiérarchie des classes a jeté les fondemens de sa puissance tant accrue depuis.

Sorti d'un mélange de prétentions arbitraires et de faits authentiques, ce système devient à son tour une force. Non seulement les brâhmanes le portent comme un dogme dans les parties du pays dont l'assimilation se fait à une date tardive ; partout, grâce à l'autorité immense qui s'attache à ses patrons, il réagit par les idées sur la pratique. L'idéal spéculatif tend à s'imposer comme la règle stricte du devoir. Mais, des faits à la théorie, il y avait trop loin pour qu'ils aient pu jamais se fondre complètement.

Ce qui nous intéresse, c'est le chemin qu'a suivi l'institution dans sa croissance spontanée. Je puis donc m'arrêter ici.

La caste est, à mon sens, le prolongement normal des antiques institutions âryennes, se modelant à travers les vicissitudes que leur préparaient les conditions et le milieu qu'elles rencontrèrent dans l'Inde. Elle serait aussi inexplicable sans ce fond traditionnel qu'elle serait inintelligible sans les alliages qui s'y sont croisés, sans les circonstances qui l'ont pétrie.

Que l'on m'entende bien ! Je ne prétends pas soutenir que le régime des castes, tel que nous l'observons aujourd'hui, avec les sections infinies, de nature et de consistance diverses qu'il embrasse, ne contienne que le développement logique, purement organique, des seuls éléments âryens primitifs. Des groupes d'origine variée, de structure variable, s'y sont introduits de tout temps et s'y multiplient encore : clans d'envahisseurs qui jalonnent la route des conquêtes successives ; tribus aborigènes sorties tardivement de leur isolement farouche ; fractionnemens accidentels soit de castes proprement dites, soit de groupes assimilés. Il y a plus : ces mélanges qui, aggravés de combinaisons multiples, donnent à la caste de nos jours une physionomie si déconcertante, si insaisissable, se sont, à n'en pas douter, produits de bonne heure. S'ils ont été en s'accussant, ils ont commencé dès l'époque où le régime se formait. Je l'ai dit déjà, je le répète à dessein : à condenser en une formule sommaire une conclusion générale, on risque de paraître outrer son principe ; effort de précision ou séduction de nouveauté, on risque de fausser, en l'étendant à l'excès, une pensée juste. Je ne voudrais pas que l'on me soupçonnât d'un entraînement contre lequel je suis en garde.

Ce que j'estime, c'est que, quelques influences qu'ils aient pu subir du dehors, quelques troubles qu'aient apportés les hasards de l'histoire, les âryens de l'Inde ont tiré de leur propre fonds les élémens essentiels de la caste, telle qu'ils l'ont pratiquée, conçue et finalement coordonnée. Si le régime sous lequel l'Inde a vécu n'est ni une organisation purement économique des métiers, ni un chaos barbare de tribus et de races étrangères et hostiles, ni une simple hiérarchie de classes, mais un mélange de tout cela, unifié par l'inspiration commune qui domine, dans leur fonctionnement, tous les groupes, par la communauté des idées et des préjugés caractéristiques qui les rapprochent, les divisent, fixent entre eux les préséances, cela vient de ce que la constitution familiale, survivant à travers toutes les évolutions, gouvernant les âryens d'abord, puis pénétrant avec leur influence et s'imposant même aux groupemens d'origine indépendante, a été le pivot d'une lente transformation.

Qu'elle ait été traversée d'élémens hétérogènes, je n'ai garde de l'oublier. D'ailleurs une fois achevée dans ses traits essentiels, elle a, cela va sans dire, comme tous les systèmes vieillissans où la tradition ne se retempe plus dans une conscience vivante des origines, subi l'action de l'analogie. Les principes qu'on a cru y découvrir, l'arbitraire même, armé de faux prétextes y ont fait leur œuvre. Pour être accidentelles ou secondaires, ces altérations n'ont pas laissé que de jeter quelque désarroi dans la physionomie des faits. Je n'y insiste pas cependant. On en retrouvera au besoin les sources dans les détails que j'ai eu l'occasion de signaler en passant.

Même à nous enfermer dans la période de formation, c[illegible] des dates ! Ce que j'ai dit de la tradition littéraire expliquera [illegible] à offrir. Des institutions anciennes ne s'imprègnent que par [illegible] esprit nouveau ; des mouvemens qui peuvent, suivant les circonstanc[illegible] dans des régions diverses, ne se manifestent dans les témoignages que [illegible] est devenu tout à fait méconnaissable. Ils sont obscurs parce qu'ils [illegible] supportent pas de dates rigoureuses. Tout au plus pourrrait-on se flatter de dét[illegible] moment le système brâhmanique, qui régit théoriquement la caste, a reçu sa forme dernière. La prétention serait encore trop ambitieuse. Nous pouvons nous en consoler ; nous n'en serions pas beaucoup plus avancés, s'il est vrai que ce système résume l'idéal de la caste dominante plus qu'il ne reflète la situation vraie.

Même en ce qui concerne le Véda, la valeur des indices qu'il apporte n'est rien moins que définie. Il faudrait savoir s'il épuise bien l'ensemble des faits contemporains, s'il les rend intégralement et fidèlement. C'est ce dont je n'estime pas du tout que nous soyons certains. Ce qui est sûr c'est qu'on y voit saillir encore en un plein relief cette hiérarchie de classes qui s'est plus tard résolue dans les régimes des castes. Il est pourtant indubitable que, dès la période védique, les causes avaient commencé d'agir qui, par leur action combinée et suivie, devaient sur le vieux tronc âryen greffer un ordre nouveau.

Les âryens de l'Inde et les âryens du monde classique partent des mêmes prémisses. Combien les conséquences sont de part et d'autre différentes !

A l'origine, les mêmes groupes, gouvernés par les mêmes croyances, les mêmes usages. En Grèce et en Italie, ces petites sociétés s'associent et s'organisent. Elles s'étagent en un système ordonné. Chaque groupe conserve dans sa sphère d'action sa pleine autonomie ; mais la fédération supérieure que constitue la cité embrasse les intérêts communs et régularise l'action commune. Le chaos prend forme sous la main des Grecs. Les organismes disjoints se soudent en une unité plus large. Au fur et à mesure qu'elle s'achève l'idée nouvelle qui en est l'âme latente, l'idée politique, s'ébauche. Comme la caste, la cité est issue de la constitution primitive commune ; jetée dans le moule des mêmes règles religieuses, des mêmes traditions, mais inspirée par des nécessités nouvelles, elle dégage un principe nouveau d'organisation. Elle se montre capable de s'élargir, de s'affranchir des barrières qui ont soutenu, mais aussi contenu ses premiers pas. Plus tard, elle suffira, en se transformant, aux besoins des révolutions de mœurs et de pouvoir plus profondes.

Dans l'Inde la caste continue les antiques coutumes ; elle les développe même à plusieurs égards dans leur ligne logique ; mais elle perd quelque chose de l'impulsion qui avait créé les groupes primitifs et elle n'en renouvelle pas l'esprit. Des notions diverses se mêlent ou se substituent ici au lien généalogique qui avait noué les premières sociétés. En se modifiant, en devenant castes, elles ne trouvent pas en elles-mêmes de principe régulateur ; elles s'entrecroisent, chacune isolée dans son autonomie jalouse. Le cadre est immense, sans limites précises, sans vie organique ; masse confuse de petites sociétés indépendantes, courbées sous un niveau commun.

La langue classique de l'Inde se distingue des langues congénères par une singularité frappante. Le verbe fini a peu de place dans la phrase ; la pensée s'y déroule en composés longs, de relation souvent indécise. Au lieu d'une construction syntactique solide où le dessin s'accuse, où les incidences se détachent elles-mêmes en propositions nettement arrêtées, la phrase ne connaît guère qu'une structure molle où les élémens de la pensée, simplement juxtaposés, manquent de relief. Les croyances religieuses de l'Inde ne se présentent guère en dogmes positifs. Dans les lignes flottantes d'un panthéisme mal défini, les oppositions et les divergences ne se soulèvent un moment que pour s'écrouler comme un remous instable dans la masse mouvante. Les contradictions se résolvent vite en un syncrétisme conciliant où s'énerve la vigueur des schismes. Une orthodoxie accommodante couvre toutes les dissidences de son large manteau. Nulle part de doctrine catégorique, liée, intransigeante. Sur le terrain social, un phénomène analogue nous apparaît dans le régime de la caste. Partout le même spectacle d'impuissance plastique.

Quelque sève qu'il ait empruntée aux circonstances extérieures et historiques, c'est bien le fruit de l'esprit hindou. L'organisation sociale de l'Inde est à la structure des cités antiques ce qu'est un poème hindou à une tragédie grecque. Aussi bien dans la vie pratique que dans l'art, le génie hindou se montre rarement capable d'organisation, c'est-à-dire de mesure, d'harmonie. Dans la caste tout son effort s'est épuisé à maintenir, à fortifier un réseau de groupes fermés, sans action commune, sans réaction réciproque, ne reconnaissant finalement d'autre moteur que l'autorité sans contrepoids d'une classe sacerdotale qui a absorbé toute la direction des esprits. Sous le niveau du brâhmanisme, les castes s'agitent, comme les épisodes se heurtent désordonnés dans la vague unité du récit épique. Il suffit qu'un système artificiel en masque théoriquement le décousu.

Les destinées de la caste sont, à y bien regarder, un chapitre instructif de la psychologie de l'Inde.

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